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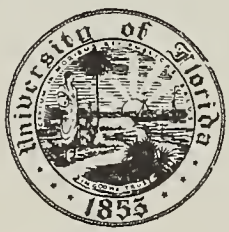

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JUDGE WILLIAM PRESSLEY THOMPSON

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

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JUDGE WILLIAM PRESSLEY THOMPSON

BY J. BERRY KING

William Pressley Thompson was born on a cotton plantation near Tyler, in Smith County, Texas, November 19, 1866, his parents being James Franklin and Caroline E. (McCord) Thompson, the former a native of Georgia and the latter of Mississippi.

His father accompanied the Cherokee Tribe of Indians on their removal from the Southern States of Georgia, and Tennessee to Indian Territory in 1838, and for a time followed the profession of teaching. While still a young man he went to Texas, becoming engaged in merchandising, milling and lumbering in that section of East Texas which has now become famous as an oil field, and in fact his uncle, Benjamin Franklin Thompson, owned thousands of acres of timber and farm land in Texas, some of which is still in the hands of his descendants living in and around Kilgore in Smith and Rusk Counties.

The father of Judge Thompson enlisted at the outbreak of the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy and served under Colonel Patrick Cleburn, Grandberry's brigade with General Hood's army and was wounded in the engagement at Franklin, Tennessee in 1864, being sent for treatment to the hospital at Nashville.

After recovering from his wounds he participated in the siege of Richmond, Virginia, and upon receiving his discharge at the end of the war returned to Texas.

In 1869 he returned to Delaware District, Cherokee Nation in the Indian Territory and set out to re-fence, rebuild and rehabilitate the old homestead which had suffered the disasters of border and guerrilla destruction blighting that section of the Territory. Ruins of the old home upon Beattie's Prairie, now Delaware County, built by the grandmother of Judge Thompson, in 1838 still stand, and in the cemetery within the sacred and hallowed soil rest five generations of this illustrious family. The father became an influential and prominent figure in the formative affairs of his people and was a member of the Citizenship Committee of the Cherokee Nation. Engaged in teaching school and farming, he met his death in 1874 while breaking in a team of wild horses which ran away and threw him violently against a tree.

William P. Thompson had no brothers who lived beyond infancy, and but one sister, Ella, who married George Freeman. Her grandchildren, the Garland Baird family are still living on the old original farm situated in the Northeast corner of Oklahoma. Judge

Thompson spent the period of his boyhood upon the home farm in Delaware District attending the public schools of the neighborhood, growing up with and alongside, and in fact just across a rail fence from William Wirt Hastings whose career is entwined with his throughout their lives.

Thompson and young Hastings entered the Cherokee Male Seminary at Tahlequah and graduated therefrom in 1884, each being seventeen years of age, having been pupils while there under Honorable Robert L. Owen, afterwards to become the first United States Senator from the new formed State and still living at this writing in Washington, D. C.

The Male Seminary graduating class of 1884 comprised only three graduates: Hastings, Thompson and Judge J. T. Parks, living at this time in Tahlequah, the old capital of the Cherokee Nation.

For one year after their graduation from the Male Seminary they each engaged in teaching school and together entered Vanderbilt University at Nashville, Tennessee, to take a literary and law course where they were room-mates and belonged to the same literary and debating societies, and together joined the Delta Tau Delta college fraternity. In his later years Thompson revealed that he was influenced to go to Vanderbilt for his higher education because his father had told him many times of the good samaritans and wonderful Southern women who had nursed and administered so lovingly to him while he was convalescing in the hospital, a casualty of the Confederacy.

By reason of the Cherokee Indian blood they possessed, Thompson and Hastings received considerable attention upon their admission to Vanderbilt. Indians from the Western country at that early day were somewhat of a curiosity, and particularly with a basic education which they both possessed, superior to that of a good many fellow students from other sections. Upon one occasion they were invited to address the assembly of the old Ward Seminary, which later became Ward Belmont, a girls' school near Vanderbilt. They arranged a program by which Hastings was to deliver an oration in the Cherokee language, and Thompson was to interpret it. As a matter of fact, their vocabulary of the Indian language was limited to only a few words, but the young ladies wanted to hear these Indians, and so they did not reveal how little they really knew of their own language. This resulted in Hastings running through the Indian alphabet, using numerals and what few words he knew without any sequence or definite meanings—only for the sound effect. Thompson, therefore, was forced to formulate a speech in his interpretation that had a definite meaning. Realizing the predicament Hastings had his companion in, he stood on his feet several minutes just repeating words and figures over and over which, of course, meant nothing to the audience. Thompson, however, delivered

an extemporaneous oration that was long remembered and the subject of many compliments by the faculty and young ladies in attendance.

From Vanderbilt University both Thompson and Hastings received Law Degrees and in 1889, after having completed the four year course, Thompson opened his first law office at Muskogee, then Indian Territory. He remained there for two years and in 1891 removed to Tahlequah to become a member of the firm of Boudinot, Thompson and Hastings, with which he was identified until 1899.

In the meantime he became active in the affairs of the Cherokee Nation serving as Clerk of the Lower House of their legislative body in 1889 and 1890, and for a short time served as Clerk of the Senate. Later he served as Secretary of the Treasury and for two years was Executive Secretary of the principal Chief, C. J. Harris.

He was then appointed United States Commissioner at Tahlequah and the letter from Judge C. B. Stuart transmitting his appointment recites:

". . that you are the first citizen to receive recognition from the government at Washington in this capacity."

Preceding his appointment as United States Commissioner he was also attorney for the Cherokee Nation at its then capital—Tahlequah.

In 1896 a partnership between Thompson and E. D. Hicks, his first client, was formed for the purpose of establishing a telephone exchange in the town of Tahlequah, which has laughingly been referred to by "Uncle Ed" Hicks, still alive, as one in which Thompson furnished the money and Hicks the knowledge, and together they built the first telephone system in the old Indian Territory, and the same is in operation today as a part of the great Bell System.

In 1898 he was sent as representative of the Cherokees to Washington appearing before Congress in connection with legislation affecting that Nation and he was made Secretary of the First Commission of Cherokees to treat with the Dawes Commission, rendering most important and effective service in winding up the affairs and bridging the gap between Tribal relations of the Cherokees and their new status as citizens of the State of Oklahoma. He lived to be the last of the nine members of this Commission which included: Clem Rogers (father of the late humorist, Will Rogers), W. W. Hastings, George Benge, John Gunter, Henry Lowery, Soggy Sanders, Robert B. Ross and Percy Wyly, all of whom left indelible intellectual and statesmanship imprints on the pages of this State's history.

Thompson served as Mayor of Tahlequah and held numerous offices in his party and political organizations.

He was married September 14, 1892, to Elizabeth Clyde Morris, a charming daughter of the Cherokee Nation, born at Dalton, Georgia. Her father, Major James C. Morris, was an officer in the Confederate Army, serving under General Stonewall Jackson. Major Morris in his early life had devoted attention to agricultural pursuits, but after the close of the war between the states he engaged in mining and merchandising at Birmingham, Alabama and Dalton, Georgia, thus occupied until 1889 when he migrated to Indian Territory, establishing his home at Tahlequah where his demise occurred in 1896. Survived by a wife and a large family of attractive children, the Morris home was long the center of social, court and official circles until recent years when death dispersed this fine family.

William P. Thompson and his wife were parents of three children, the first a son, Morris, died in infancy. One daughter, Sadye Pendleton, has been married for years and lives with her husband, J. Berry King, in Oklahoma City at this time, while the younger daughter, Elizabeth Clyde, married the son of one of Tahlequah's and the Cherokee Nation's foremost citizens of that time and is the wife of John W. Stapler, manager of the Telephone Company at Duncan, Oklahoma.

Both girls received elementary education in the common schools of Oklahoma, and junior college at the National Park Seminary in Washington, D. C. Elizabeth Clyde later graduated from the University of Oklahoma, with the Bachelor of Arts degree.

Judge Thompson liked and was liked by people. He loved the arts and possessed an accumulation of much poetry and prose which he had carefully assembled throughout his lifetime, together with his literary library which he passed on to his only grandchild, William Thompson Stapler, named for him.

When the youngster was born his parents were living in Houston, Texas. So thrilled was the Judge when he received notice that his first grandchild had been born, a boy, he sat right down and sent a telegram to the hospital in Houston which read as follows:

"Send the bill for Bill to Bill.
(Signed) "Bill" —Thompson."

Thompson was a devoted family man and frequently took the children with him on business and social trips. These trips included the National Democratic Convention at Chicago in 1896, as well as the National Convention at San Francisco in 1920 where he went as a Delegate, and taking the girls with him. Judge and Mrs. Thompson made a European tour in the summer of 1911 and he was especially interested in visiting Killiecrankie Pass, the home of his illustrious Scotch ancestors.

John Lynch, founder of Lynchburg, Virginia, was a grandfather on the maternal side of Judge Thompson's grandmother, Mariah Lynch Thompson.

Judge Thompson moved from Tahlequah to Vinita, another court town in the Indian Territory in 1899, leaving Hastings in control of most of the preferred practice at Tahlequah, while he formed a partnership with the late James S. Davenport and became established in a successful and lucrative practice at Vinita which lasted until his appointment on the Supreme Court Commission in April of 1923.

Thompson was confirmed in the Episcopal Church at Tahlequah in 1892. His fraternal life consisted of membership in the Benevolent Order of Elks; Knights of Pythias; both branches of Masonry up to and including that of 32nd degree, and a Knight Templar. He was a member of the Vinita and Muskogee country clubs, and for years the Oklahoma City Golf and Country Club, golf being in his later life his principal and most engrossing diversion and recreation, although in his younger days he had followed hunting and fishing and always had a pen of bird dogs and a stable of fine horses.

After serving his State for three years from 1923 to 1926 on the Supreme Court Commission when its docket was at its fullest mark, he retired to the private practice of law, becoming associated with C. Ed Hall as a partner and was for twelve years in the Perrine Building, Oklahoma City. In April 1938 after Mr. Hall had been appointed General Counsel for the Home Owners Loan Corporation, Judge Thompson removed his office to the First National Building alongside of and in connection with his son-in-law, J. Berry King.

The high spot of his law practice was reached in June 1939, when in commemoration of fifty years in the continuous active practice of law, his son-in-law gave a banquet for him in the Oklahoma Club to which it was originally planned to invite only fifty of Judge Thompson's most intimate friends, members of the bench and bar of Oklahoma. But the Judge was permitted to make out his own list and with apologies to his son-in-law, who was to be the host, he increased his fifty friends by a name or two at a time until the final table was set for 115 lawyers who thus paid homage to their friend of so many years.

Stricken some eighteen months before his death, he was admonished by his physician to ease up and conserve his energy and strength. This was difficult for him to do. He rebelled against even staying in bed a single day. He insisted upon going to his office daily and had a routine as regular as the sun in its course across the skies. It was therefore at his desk in his own office on October 28, 1940 when the final summons was served upon him to come before the bar of the all highest tribunal where virtues and abilities such as he possessed would be given final review and reward in accord with the merit thereof.

He never lost an atom of his boyhood love and loyalty for the Cherokee Nation, its people, its traditions and the section of this State upon which its history has been impressed. He preferred to be known—not as Judge William Pressley Thompson of Oklahoma City, the capital of Oklahoma, but as—"Bill Thompson of Vinita, Indian Territory."

For the past fifteen or twenty years his first interest outside of his family and profession was likewise his first hobby, the Oklahoma Historical Society, of which he was not only an active supporter, but a member of the Board of Directors at the time of his demise.

Funeral services attended by a host of grief stricken friends were held at Oklahoma City in the forenoon of October 30, 1940, after which the entourage proceeded to Tahlequah. There on a high knoll in the center of the Cherokee country from which point can be seen the ruins of the Cherokee Male Seminary where he had attended school; the farm he selected as his allotment of Cherokee Tribal land and still in his name; the capital of his Nation where he had held office and later practiced law after Statehood took it over as a County courthouse; the location where he had maintained his office; the homestead where he found his life's mate, and in the sight of the last resting place of friends like Hastings and many of his relatives, he, a tired old man was laid down to quiet and peaceful rest.

Mrs. Thompson had preceded him in death in 1917 but had been interred at Vinita where the family then lived. By the plans of Judge Thompson her remains were removed from Vinita and interred upon the same day and at the same service with his body in its last repose in the lot he had owned since the formation of the Tahlequah cemetery. Certainly no more fitting spot or sacred ceremony could have been found or planned for the permanent abode of this loving and lovable couple.

Throughout the three score and more of his years we never found him untrue to a friend or unequal to an occasion. He could be as tender as a tear at times, and if necessity required, as resolute as steel. He was:

"An oak and stone in time of storm;
A vine and flower when the sun did shine."

Among the many poets he had a few favorites, possibly Burns and Tennyson were first, and so we extract from his favorite scrapbook one of Tennyson's best expressed poems:

"Sunset and Evening Star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea.

"Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;

"For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar."

And for farewell we would borrow the same quotation that he himself used at the funeral oration of his friend "Bill" Hastings which may well be said again of him here:

"Few hearts so full of virtue warmed,
Few heads with knowledge so informed,
If there is another world,
He lives in bliss,
If there is none,
He made the best of this."

GOVERNOR WILLIAM MALCOLM GUY

BY JOHN BARTLETT MESERVE.

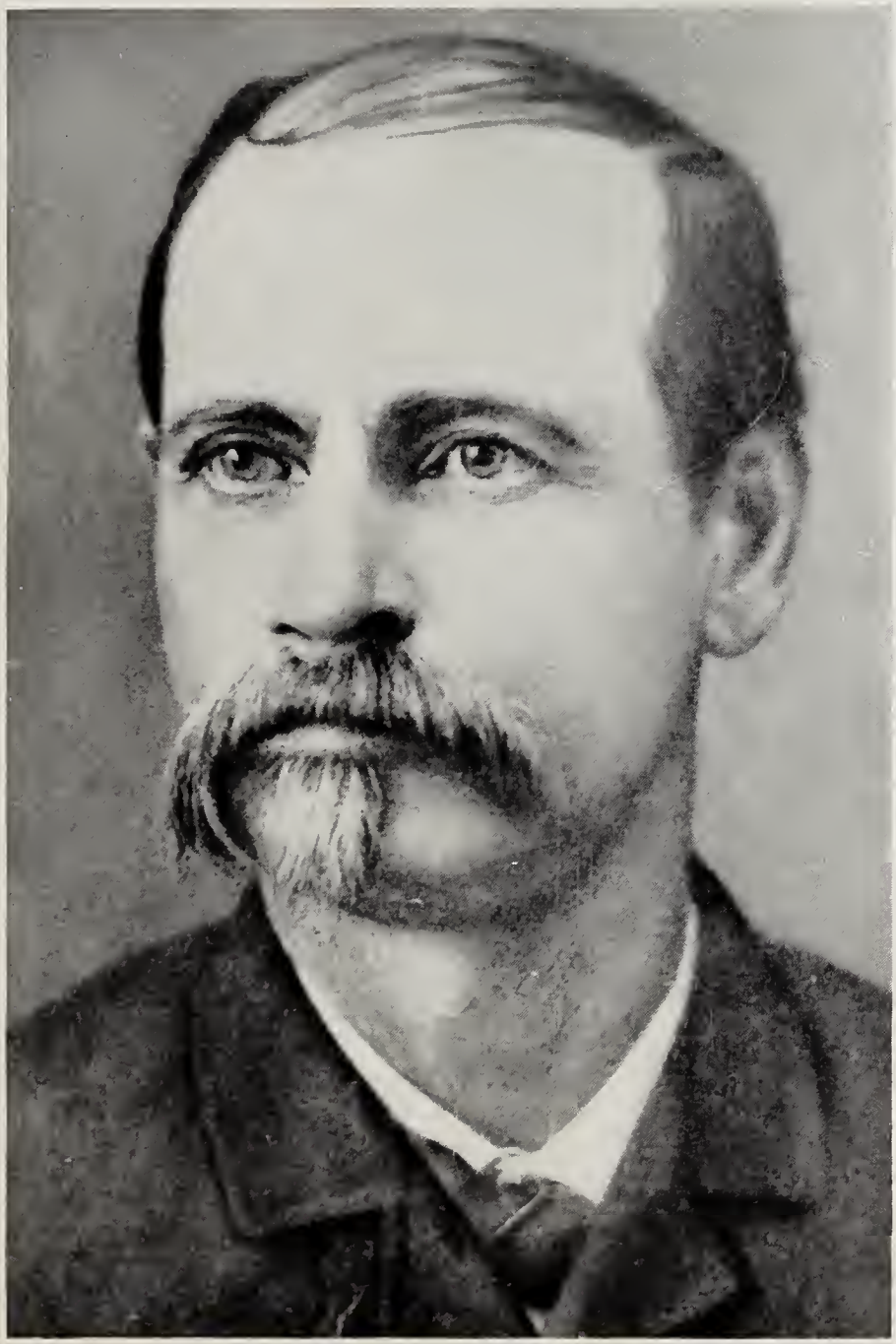
An interesting and worthwhile character was William Richard Guy, a native of Tennessee, who came west with a contingent of the Chickasaws in 1837. He had served as an officer in the Florida War and functioned as a commissary and assistant conductor of one of the Chickasaw removal parties and settled at Boggy Depot in what is today Atoka County, Oklahoma, where he constructed and operated a saw mill. During those early years, he acted as a sub-agent for the Government and when the postoffice was established at Boggy Depot on November 5, 1849, William R. Guy was named the first postmaster. He passed away at Paris, Texas about 1859. William R. Guy married Jane Aldridge *nee* McGee at Boggy Depot, where she died about 1857. She was a daughter of Malcolm McGee, a Scotchman who was born in New York City, and Elizabeth Harris *nee* Oxbury, his wife and was a half sister of Gov. Cyrus Harris of the Chickasaws.

William Malcolm Guy, a son of William R. Guy and Jane Aldridge, his wife, was born at Boggy Depot, Chickasaw Nation, on February 4, 1845. After the death of his father, he lived at the home of his uncle, Cyrus Harris and attended the tribal schools until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 when he enlisted as a private in Company F in the 17th Mississippi Regiment for service in the Confederate army, on April 29, 1861, at North Mount Pleasant. Col. Winfield S. Featherstone commanded the regiment which was assigned to the Barkdale Brigade and attached to Longstreet's Division.[1] His military career was most remarkable. He was in the battle of Bull Run and was severely wounded in the left shoulder and head during the second day at Gettysburg where he was taken a prisoner and held as such for a brief time, being subsequently exchanged at City Point, Virginia. He participated in the Seven Days battles near Richmond, the battles of Harpers Ferry and Antietam and the two engagements at Fredericksburg. He was with the army of General Lee at the time of the surrender at Appomattox. His record as a soldier, faithfully performed, has few equals.

Upon the conclusion of the war, he returned to Mississippi and entered Marshall Institute, at Early Grove, where he resumed his education under the tutilage of his old army captain, D. W. Steager and where he remained for two years. He rejoined his uncle Cyrus Harris at Mill Creek, Chickasaw Nation in 1868 and assisted his uncle in the stock business.

The political career of William M. Guy modestly began in 1870 when he was appointed secretary of the Chickasaw senate, which

[1] Records Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C. Records Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson. For more extended sketch of ancestry of Gov. Wm. M. Guy, see "Governor Cyrus Harris" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. XV, p. 375 *et. seq.*



GOVERNOR WILLIAM MALCOLM GUY

position he occupied for six years. In 1883, he became a member of the lower house of the legislature and in 1885 was chosen to the senate. His public life was influenced by his illustrious uncle, Gov. Cyrus Harris. The influx of white settlers among the Chickasaws began to assume proportions and to bear heavily in their influence upon the political affairs of the Nation. The issue became highly controversial in the summer of 1886 when William M. Guy became the candidate of the Progressive Party for the governorship of the Chickasaw Nation to succeed Gov. Jonas Wolfe. In this campaign, he was pitched against William L. Byrd of the Pullback or Full-blood Party. The result of the election held in August was close and was thrown into the legislature where the election of Guy was declared by a majority of one vote.

The political situation in the Chickasaw Nation became tense during the administration of Gov. William M. Guy, provoked largely, it seems, through the lack of cooperation by the Byrd faction. A campaign to defeat his reelection two years later was inaugurated by the Byrd adherents, immediately after his induction into office. The efforts of Governor Guy for reelection in August, 1888, were defeated by William L. Byrd in a campaign which is memorable for its bitterness. For some unexplained reason, Governor Guy approved an act of the legislature passed on April 8, 1887 which disfranchised the adopted and intermarried white members of the tribe. The aftermath of this action was evident in his campaign for reelection. On the face of the returns, Governor Guy had a clear majority of the votes cast but the controversy again was thrown into the legislature when that body undertook a canvass of the returns. The Byrd faction controlled this body and the legislature, in order to accomplish Byrd's election disregarded certain of the election returns which were favorable to Guy. Armed members of both factions gathered at Tishomingo and trouble was averted by a reference of the dispute to the Secretary of the Interior who recognized the declaration of the legislature and Governor Guy was ousted from office. Said the *Indian Chieftain,* of October 4, 1888, "If Guy had been an aggressive or quarrelsome man, many lives might have been sacrificed, but the nephew of old Governor Harris partakes of the kindly and peaceful disposition of his uncle and we look for nothing less than a satisfactory settlement." This appraisal of his character, contemporaneously written lingers as a tribute to his high, sterling worth. Governor Guy acknowledged his defeat with a moral heroics only to be met in men of superior courage.

Governor Guy again became a candidate for the governorship in 1890 but again suffered defeat by Governor Byrd who ran for reelection. He was elected to the senate in 1892 and succeeded himself in 1896. He represented the Chickasaws as a delegate to Washington in 1895 and 1897 during which years he also visited the States of Tennessee and Mississippi in the interest of his people. The matter of education enlisted his interest. He established the Sulphur

Neighborhood School at Sulphur and from October 18, 1900 to May 3, 1902 served as trustee of that institution. The name of this school was subsequently changed to the Guy National School and later to the Sulphur National Institute.

The governor was a progressive in his concept of the social and political life of his people and opposed all discriminating policies affecting the tribal members because of their quantity of Indian blood. In his official career, he invited the counsel and support of the dependable white members of the tribe but in no sense was he unmindful of the best interests of the full blood members. The Chickasaws had made wonderful progress after their removal to the West and had assumed an engaging posture among the Five Tribes. Governor Guy was unwilling that this advancement should be halted and insisted that his people should be prepared for the individualistic life of participating American citizenship, which was approaching. He actively supported the ratification of the Atoka Agreement of April 23, 1897 and the Supplemental Agreement of March 21, 1902. He was an active supporter of Palmer A. Mosely for Governor in the fall of 1902.

The fidelity of Governor Guy to the welfare of his people is reflected in his fearless denunciation of October 27, 1888 addressed,

"To the non-citizens residing in the Chickasaw Nation;

"In reference to the anonymous call made by some of you and now in circulation throughout the Nation, for the non-citizens to meet in convention at the town of Purcell, I. T. on the 31st day of October, 1888, to organize a so-called Protective Association, I am forced to say in behalf of the truth, that it is an injustice to my country and people, that the representations made in that call are infamous lies fabricated for a purpose, by a lawless class of intruders in Pickens County, who had orders to get out of the limits of this Nation by the first day of November, 1888 or be forcibly ejected therefrom. They have decided a cunning scheme with the hope of delaying the execution of that order and gaining time to better organize and strengthen their lawless band of mischief-makers, between the citizens and non-citizens, with a view of a final disruption of our national government. In short, it is another Oklahoma move and as the chief executive of this Nation, I deem it my duty to enter my protest against such an uncalled for move on the part of a class of people who voluntarily placed themselves here amongst us and are not here by compulsion or solicitation on our part. Our treaties and laws of intercourse with the United States Government amply provide for the protection of their lives and property while they choose to temporarily sojourn amongst us and cultivate our soil and if such protection is too meager and the restrictions too great for comfort and happiness to them, they are not compelled to remain, but can return from whence they came without hinderance or restraint. I shall lay the matter of this call at once before the Department in all its meaning and purport and shall further make it a special point to obtain the names and location of all the non-citizens participating in this mischievous scheme and report them to the Indian Agent as intruders for immediate removal. Our local and intercourse laws in regard to non-citizens will be strictly enforced without respect to persons or position."[2]

[2] *Purcell Register*, October 27, 1888.

The governor maintained his interest in the political affairs of the Chickasaw Nation until all tribal affairs were folded up and its membership absorbed into American life. Upon the advent of Statehood for Oklahoma, he entered into retirement upon his farm near Sulphur, in Murray County, Oklahoma. He was accorded recognition by Gov. C. N. Haskell, who on February 20, 1908 appointed him to his personal staff with the rank of Colonel. The governor belonged to the Masonic and Knights of Pythias secret societies.[3]

Governor Guy married Maggie Lindsey at Ardmore on June 25, 1890. She was a daughter of John Lindsey and Frances Simms, his wife, and was born at Oxford, Alabama. The governor passed away at his farm home near Sulphur on June 2, 1918 and is buried in the Oaklawn Cemetery at that place where his grave is marked by a plain marble slab.

[3] "The Indian Territory, Its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men," by O'Beirne, p. 125. "The Indian Territory," by Gideon, p. 456.

GENERAL RICHARD BARNES MASON

BY CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN.

Few citizens of Oklahoma are familiar with the lives and services of the men who commanded the early army posts in the state. Some of these United States Army officers were born in states far away from this region; many of them saw their first service after graduation from West Point at a frontier post in Indian Territory. One regiment of infantry served twenty years at Fort Gibson and received graduates from the Military Academy year after year to replace men who were promoted, or, more often, to take the places of officers who died at the post then known as the "Grave Yard of the Army." Many of these men participated in the Seminole War, the war with Mexico and at the time of the Civil War held high rank.

Among these officers was Richard Barnes Mason, a native of Virginia and a descendant of Col. George Mason, English statesman and soldier during the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., who emigrated to the Virginia colony in 1654. General Mason's grandfather, born in Virginia in 1726, was also named George Mason; author of the Declaration of Rights and the Constitution of Virginia, he was a celebrated member of the Continental Congress and of the national convention that framed the Constitution of the United States.[1]

Richard Barnes Mason, born in Fairfax County, Virginia, January 16, 1797, was the son of George Mason and Elizabeth Mary Ann Barnes Hooe, who were married April 22, 1784.[2]

When twenty years of age Mason accepted an appointment as second lieutenant in the Eighth United States Infantry in the city of Washington on September 2, 1817.[3] The same month he was promoted to a first lieutenancy. From Camp Dorman, A. T., he wrote to General D. Parker in Washington, April 30, 1819, request-

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[1] *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography*, Philadelphia, 1888.

[2] *The Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. XII., p. 319. According to Dumas Malone in his *Dictionary of Biography* (New York, 1928-32) Richard Barnes Mason was the son of George Mason VI. and his second wife Eleanor Patton, and a great-grandson of George Mason of Gunston. It seems reasonable to believe that he received his middle name of Barnes from his mother, Elizabeth Mary Ann Barnes Hooe. After the death of her husband Mrs. Mason married George Graham, Commissioner of the Land Office, and their son, General George Mason Graham, appointed William Tecumseh Sherman commander of the State Military College of Louisiana because he was aware of the affection his half-brother, General Mason, had for Sherman during their service in California (Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman Fighting Prophet*, New York, 1932, p. 112). Thanks are due to Mrs. Rebecca Johnston, Assistant Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, for information concerning the Mason family.

[3] Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files": Richard B. Mason, Va.; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 1888, vol. 4, p. 243.

Photo by U. S. Army Signal Corps

GENERAL RICHARD BARNES MASON

ing that his commission be forwarded to him at Columbia, Tennessee.[4] His captain's commission was dated July 31, 1819.[5]

The files of the War Department contain a letter from Col. N. Pinkney to Maj. Charles I. Nourse, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Eastern Department, Governor's Island, concerning Mason. Pinkney's letter was dated Fort Howard, Wisconsin, April 3, 1821, and related:

"Sir . . . painful task of reporting to you, an accident which happened yesterday, to Capt. Mason of my Regiment who I had detached with a party of men to the public saw mill, on Fox river, about ten miles above this Fort, for the purpose of running the mill to a more eligible site on Duck creek.

"While at work . . . some citizens delegated to him a man who had deserted from the fort some days previous." One of the soldiers made impertinent remarks about the deserter and he was ordered to be silent. The man then refused to work and the "Captain boxed his ears with his open hand, and sent him to his business and went to his tent to write me a note on the subject of the mill. . . . Bull (the soldier) appeared at the door of his tent and shot him—pigeon shot entered the right breast, a horrible ragged wound . . . not mortal."

Given leave of absence after this unhappy affair, Captain Mason dispatched a letter from Pohick Run, Fairfax County, Virginia, April 30, 1821, to the secretary of war asking for a furlough in order that he might study military science at West Point. He was transferred to the Third Infantry June 1, 1821, and on October 23 of that year was assigned to the Fourth Infantry[6]

Early in 1830 Captain Mason was ordered to Fort Crawford to the scene of hostilities between the Sauk and Fox Indians and the Sioux.[7] As a captain of the First Infantry he participated in the Black Hawk War and after the battle of Bad Axe accompanied General Atkinson and other officers aboard the *Warrior,* which dropped down the river to Prairie du Chien.[8]

On March 4, 1833, Mason became a major of the recently organized regiment of First Dragoons commanded by Col. Henry Dodge; Stephen Watts Kearny was the lieutenant colonel and Jefferson Davis, not long out of West Point, a first lieutenant. The regiment was assembled at Jefferson Barracks and one of the soldiers, several years later, wrote an interesting description of Major Mason:

"A few days after our arrival here, an errand brought me early in the morning to the Major's quarters. After I had twice knocked at the door, he called out in somewhat of a surly tone, 'Come in!' whereupon I obeyed the summons, and the next minute stood in the presence of Major Mason. He had not yet made his toilet, and sat at the breakfast table

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[4] Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files": Richard B. Mason, Va.
[5] *American State Papers,* "Military Affairs," vol. 2, p. 842.
[6] Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files": Richard B. Mason, Va.
[7] Henry Putney Beers, *The Western Military Frontier* 1815-1846, Philadelphia, 1935, p. 82.
[8] Frank E. Stevens, *The Black Hawk War,* Chicago, 1903, p. 225.

sans culott, surrounded by his four favorite dogs. The apartment presented a bachelor-like appearance, and my first glance gave me no very favorable impression of its inmate. I have heard that he was a man severe to a fault, and although well esteemed by his brother officers on account of his soldiership, yet not much of a favorite with those under his command."[9]

A further account by the same writer tells of desertions by enlisted men during the first month. One of these soldiers on being arrested, pretended insanity and was sent to the hospital from which he escaped to the sutler's store where he got so intoxicated that he did not recognize an officer; he was insolent and struck at him. The punishment the soldier received was characteristic of the day and age; a pyramid of muskets with fixed bayonets was made and the hands of the prisoner were tied to the top while his feet were fastened to the base. The Major, the doctor and two drummers took station in the center of the square near the deserter, and upon signal fifty lashes were laid upon his bare back with a cat-o-nine-tails. The man shrieked and fainted and when carried to the hospital his back was treated to a dose of salt and water, after which he was remanded to the guard house.[10]

After weeks and weeks of almost constant drills the first battalion paraded under Major Mason on November 9, 1833; the following day the inspector general pronounced soldiers, equipment and horses in excellent order.[11] Hildreth related that the regiment was "drilled by Major Mason, and considering the many disadvantages under which we labored, and very little practice . . . we came off with credit." The Dragoons left Jefferson Barracks for Fort Gibson November 20, 1833. Their march took them through Fayetteville, Arkansas, and they arrived at Camp Jackson, one and a quarter miles from Fort Gibson, shortly before Christmas.[12]

The position of Colonel Dodge became a most unhappy one owing to the jealousy of some of his officers. He wrote to his friend George W. Jones in Michigan Territory, April 18, 1834, that

"Davis who I appointed my adjt. was among the first to take a stand against me. Major Mason and Davis are now two of my most inveterate enemies. The desire of these gentlemen appears to be to harass me in small matters. They don't want to fight. If Mason would say fight, I would go to the field with him with great pleasure . . . to undertake an expedition with such men I should run the risk of losing what little reputation I have acquired."[13]

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[9] *Dragoon Campaign to the Rocky Mountains* . . . by a Dragoon (Hildreth), New York, 1836, pp. 37, 43; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Washington, 1903, vol. I, p. 695.

[10] Hildreth, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50.

[11] Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley*, Iowa City, Iowa, 1917, p. 22.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52.

[13] *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, Letters of Henry Dodge to Gen. George W. Jones," Dr. William Salter (ed.), vol. III, No. 3, Third Series, pp. 221-22.

In spite of the bickering among the officers of his regiment Colonel Dodge departed with the Dragoons from Fort Gibson for the plains on June 15, 1834; he was accompanied by the artist George Catlin who wrote fascinating accounts of the expedition to the villages of the Comanches and Pawnee Picts. Catlin described the beautiful location of the Comanche village and the interest he, Major Mason and some of the other officers had in investigating the immense troops of horses belonging to the Indians; they had heard reports that the Comanches were the owners of splendid Arabian horses but he found them "a medley group of all colors and shapes, the beautiful Arabian we had so often heard of at the East . . . must be a *horse of the imagination.*"[14] Mason was fond of hunting and this expedition across the prairies gave him and other officers an opportunity to hunt and kill buffaloes.[15]

After a conference with the Plains Indians the command set out on the return trip July 28 and reached Fort Gibson after many hardships caused by the excessive heat, lack of water, and illness. Major Mason sent his three companies of exhausted and ill men twenty miles up the Arkansas River in the Creek Nation, hoping the change to a healthier location would restore them. Here they built log cabins with clapboard roofs which they occupied for some time.[16]

"Two of the Dragoon companies now here are almost naked; they left Jefferson Barracks last spring and have had no clothing since, the unissued clothing of those companies left at that place, has not yet reached this. Many of the men have their bare feet on the ground, without even a mockasin to cover them & are wearing buckskin leggings for want of pantaloons" and have only tents to live in.

"There is I believe at this post [Fort Gibson] a large building built I believe, by the troops and occupied as a tavern which contains not less than seven good rooms besides kitchen &c. This building together with the Billiard room which of itself is large enough for half a company. . ." Lieutenant Miles wrote Mason that the buildings "outside the pickets" occupied by Stokes and Stambaugh were necessary for their convenience. "The buildings occupied by 'camp women' are in most part their *private property* having been suffered to erect them at their own expense by the present com*d* officer's predecessors."[17]

It appears that Mason and Davis were not such close friends as Colonel Dodge had thought; Mason, on December 24, 1834, charged that Acting Assistant Quartermaster Davis was absent from reveille roll-call and he reminded him that he had ordered all officers of his command to attend the roll-call of their respective companies. "Lieut. Davis did in a highly disrespectful, insubordinate, and contemptuous

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[14] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Philadelphia, 1857, vol. 2, pp. 489, 491.

[15] Lieut. T. B. Wheelock's Journal: *American State Papers*, "Military Affairs," vol. v. pp. 373-382.

[16] Quartermaster General, "Hall of Records," Fort Myers, Virginia: Mason to Jesup, August 30, 1834.

[17] AGO, OFD, 245 M. 34. Mason to Jesup, Fort Gibson, October 10, 1834.

manner, abruptly turn upon his heel and walk off saying at the same time 'Hum.' " He was ordered back by Major Mason who informed him he was not in the habit of receiving such treatment and that he must consider himself under arrest and return to his quarters; Davis stared Major Mason full in the face and showed no intention of obeying the order of his superior officer. When Mason repeated his command Davis, still staring the Major in the face demanded, "Now are you done with me?" and did not go to his quarters until after Mason had repeated his order the third time. A court-martial of Davis was held at Fort Gibson February 12, 1835, and the verdict was "guilty of specifications exhibited against him, except the words 'highly disrespectful, insubordinate, and contemptuous conduct' wherever they occur in the specifications; and attach no criminality to the facts of which he is found guilty."[18]

The western Indians had been promised by Colonel Dodge that a council would be held in their country and on May 18, 1835, Major Mason left Fort Gibson with a detachment of Dragoons for the headwaters of Little River to establish a camp where the conference could be held. They marched southwest about one hundred fifty miles to a position near the site of Lexington, Oklahoma, where they would be in touch with Coffee's trading post on Red River. The post, in the edge of the Cross Timbers, was called Camp Holmes. Lieut. Augustine Fortunatus Seaton of the Seventh Infantry was sent from Fort Gibson June 16 with a force of soldiers to cut a wagon road through to Mason's camp. He also conveyed provisions for the troops.

About the first of July the Comanche and other plains Indians began to arrive at Mason's camp in great numbers. They established their camp eight or ten miles from Camp Holmes and one authority claimed there were seven thousand present. Major Mason became disturbed at the menacing attitude of the Indians and dispatched Osage messengers to Fort Gibson asking for reinforcements. General Arbuckle immediately sent two companies of the Seventh Infantry under Capt. Francis Lee, and a piece of ordnance. On August 6 General Arbuckle and Gov. Montfort Stokes left for Camp Holmes with two more companies of the Seventh as an escort. After the conference the dragoons reached Fort Gibson on September 5; the men were in good condition and had suffered no loss.[19] The day after his return to Fort Gibson Major Mason wrote to a friend in Washington describing some of his adventures on the plains: "We lived on buffalo meat principally. I killed *some few,* as I did also bear, deer and turkeys; but caught no wild horses. The sports of the chase I enjoyed you may know; and assure you often wished for you to witness the

[18] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier,* 1830-1860, Norman, 1933, pp. 46, 47.

[19] Camp Holmes was sometimes called Camp Mason in honor of Major Mason, (*Chronicles of Oklahoma,* "Survey of a Wagon Road from Fort Smith to the Colorado River," Grant Foreman, vol. XII, No. I, p. 83, note 17); Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest,* Cleveland, 1926, pp. 160-64.

immense number of buffalo that were often in full view of the camp, from within a few hundred yards to almost as far as the eye could reach.

"I saw one of our Osage hunters ride up at full speed along side of a large buffalo cow, and killed her with a single arrow. It was shot entirely through her; it went in on the right and passed out on the left side, and was lost in the prairie, breaking a rib in its passage.

"I saw another of the Osages kill a large cow with a single arrow. He shot it into her, up to within a few inches (say two or three) of the feathered end; he caught hold of it, pulled it out, and shot it into her again, when she immediately fell. This of course was at full speed."[20]

In a letter written in Washington City, March 14, 1836, to Lewis Cass, secretary of war, Major Mason stated: "I fully agree with [Mr. Austin J. Raines] . . . in the beneficial results that would arise from, and the very favourable impression it would make upon the Comanchie and other roving bands of Indians on our South West border, to have a deputation of their Chiefs visit the Seat of Government & travel through the interior of our country, but I differ entirely from that Gentleman as to the Manner of getting a deputation of Chiefs to visit this place. There cannot be a doubt in the Mind of any disinterested man at all conversant with Indian Matters as they now stand in the South West, that if it is the wish of the Department to have some of the Chiefs of the Roving band visit the seat of Government, that instructions should be given to the officer Commanding on that frontier to take such steps to effect the object as to him might seem fit, I assure you it will then be accomplished in less time, & at less expense, than by the employment of a Special Agent for the purpose, there is not, & will not be any difficulty whatever in effecting the object.

"No intercourse was held with these roving bands previous to the Dragoon expedition in that quarter in 1834, when they very readily sent in a deputation to Fort Gibson upon being asked to do so, at the treaty held by Gov. Stokes and Genl. Arbuckle in August last with those Indians, at Camp Holmes in the Grand prairie West of the cross timbers, they expressed the greatest desire to be permitted to visit the President of the United States, & stated they would at all times be in readiness to come into Fort Gibson, preparitory [sic] to their visit to Washington. . . .

"Nor can I agree with Mr. Raines that it is 'idle to send an armed force on those prairies to effect an object of this nature,' the result of the expedition of the Dragoons from Fort Gibson in 1834

[20] *Niles' Weekly Register*, October 17, 1835, p. 106. Copied from *Army and Navy Chronicle.*

& 5, proves the error of that Gentleman's opinions, for their object (& it was one 'of this Nature') was most fully accomplished in both instances, & has left those people, in my opinion, very friendly & well disposed towards us.

"Mr. Raines speaks of those Indians having 'torn up the Treaty made by the Commissioners on the part of the Government & said they had no treaty with us & those that contracted, had no right to enter into any such treaty,' he certainly must be misinformed on that subject, for a large number of the various bands of roving Indians was assembled at Camp Holmes & the treaty was entered into & signed by their *acknowledged Chiefs.*

"I was present & know the fact, it is not probable they would in a few weeks afterwards tear up the paper & deny having made a treaty, particularly when they gave up Nothing by this treaty, it being one entirely of amity & friendship entered into by themselves, the whites, & the Red People under the immediate protection of our Government, it is well known how much importance Indians attach to a written paper & how carefully they preserve it . . . If those people have torn up the copy of the treaty that was given them, I am well convinced in my own mind that they have been instigated to the act by some white man who has his own views to answer by it; that those people commit depredations upon the Texians, is altogether probable, for it was fully explained to them by the Commissioners last Summer that the Texians were not subject to, or under the control of our government."[21]

Mason became a lieutenant colonel July 4, 1836, and was sent to Fort Des Moines to relieve Kearny who had also been promoted.[22] Fort Des Moines (No. 1) was located on the right bank of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Des Moines River, near the site of the present Montrose. In a letter to the war department September 18, 1836, Colonel Mason wrote: "A town has been laid off at this place and lots sold, which takes in a part of our garrison . . ." On receipt of this communication it was decided to abandon the post without delay "rather than encounter the conflict with the land-grasping element in the western section," especially as Colonel Mason reported men were putting up buildings and making arrangements to sell whisky to the soldiers and Indians.

A feeble garrison remained at Fort Des Moines during the winter; the soldiers suffered with intermittent fever and in the spring the camp was invaded by fleas. Colonel Mason, who had been on detached duty at St. Louis and elsewhere during the winter, returned to Fort Des Moines in the spring. He addressed a letter to the war department March 30, 1837, asking for information as to the probable

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[21] Office Indian Affairs, Misc. File. Washington, March 14, 1836: Major R. B. Mason.

[22] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* vol. III, No. 3, p. 45.

time the post would be retained in order that he might know how to regulate his requisitions for needed supplies. Mason's last official communication from Fort Des Moines was dated June 1, 1837. He notified the department: "The post is this day abandoned, and the squadron takes up its march for Fort Leavenworth. It has been delayed until this date in order that the grass might be sufficiently high to afford grazing for the horses, as corn cannot be had on some parts of the route."[23]

Gen. James C. Parrott of Keokuk, Iowa, who served as a sergeant in Company I of the United States Dragoons, described Colonel Mason as "an aristocratic Virginian, a large portly man, six feet in height. He possessed all the peculiarities of a southerner, accentuated."[24]

Charges were preferred[25] by Lieut. L. B. Northrop, First Dragoons,[26] against Major Mason, who requested a Court of Inquiry to investigate the accusations. The court, composed of Lieut. Col. Sullivan Burbank, president, Major Clifton Wharton, Brevet Major Nathaniel Young, as members, and Lieut. S. G. Simmons, recorder, sat at Fort Gibson December 20, 1836.[27]

"Courts of Inquiry may be ordered only upon the demand of an officer or soldier whose conduct is to be investigated, by the President or any commanding officer. It does not give opinions, except when specially ordered to do so, but simply states the facts disclosed by its investigations into the accusations or imputations against the officer or soldier who has demanded the inquiry, and its conclusions therefrom. A court of inquiry consists of one or more officers, not exceeding three and a recorder. It has the power to summon and question witnesses, and makes a full examination of all the circumstances following the form of record prescribed for the general court martial."[28]

Three charges, which included fifteen specifications, were made against Major Mason. Charge 1 was "Disobedience of General Order and Regulations" and the specifications were to the effect that Mason had at camp near Fort Gibson, on or about December 26, 1834, in disobedience of General Order No. 37 of April 28, 1832, confined to his quarters Lieutenant Northrop although that officer had given reason to believe that no act of his was a case in which

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[23] *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, "Fort Des Moines (No. 1), Iowa, vol. III, nos. 5-6, Third Series, pp. 359-362.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[25] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, October 13, 1836.

[26] Lucius Ballinger Northrop of South Carolina was graduated from the Military Academy July 1, 1827; he became a brevet second lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry four years later and on August 14, 1833, he was transferred to the First Dragoons. He served in that regiment until he was dropped on January 8, 1848; he was re-instated in August of that year. He resigned in 1861, and served until the close of the Civil War in the Confederate army (Heitman, *op cit.*, vol. I, p. 751).

[27] War Department, Office of the Judge Advocate General, December 11, 1940; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, January 26, 1837, copied from *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock).

[28] *Nelson's Encyclopaedia*, vol. III, p. 420.

close confinement was permitted; the second specification stated that on December 24, 1834, Mason had confined to his quarters First Lieut. Jefferson Davis and retained him there for three days. Davis first applied to Mason for relief from close confinement but apparently with no success, as he then appealed to General Arbuckle "for protection against the oppression under which he was suffering." This act of Mason's was also said to be in disobedience to General Order No. 37. In specification three it was stated that Major Mason on December 20, 1834, failed to report the arrest of Lieutenant Northrop at a camp near Fort Gibson to General Arbuckle until after December 21 when he offered to withdraw charges and release Lieutenant Northrop, plainly showing "his intention to arrest and release without the sanction of the commander of the Post."

Charge 2—"Arbitrary and oppressive conduct," included nine specifications which paint a picture of the time and place not otherwise to be found. It appeared that when Major Mason visited the new quarters on December 20, 1834, he did not find a single officer present with the working parties or about the buildings. Noticing only the absence of Lieutenant Northrop and Lieutenant Davis he forthwith sent Lieut. William Eustis, Acting Adjutant of the Dragoons, to arrest them, "thus making a distinction in his conduct to the officers under his command, or watching some and passing over others." Mason was next charged with confining Northrop to his tent with a view to arbitrarily punishing him without submitting his conduct to the jurisdiction of a court martial. Northrop also charged that sometime between November 24 and December 28, 1834, Mason reproved him in the usual manner of that officer for not attending to the proper discharge of the duty of a man in his company detailed for duty in the quartermaster department, although the lieutenant had received no previous order. Moreover, he had no reason to believe that such duties were expected of him or required of any other officer.

The next specification depicts the arbitrary attitude of Mason and the bad effects of the closely restricted life of these men without any distractions from the outer world to break the deadly monotony of their existence. On or about December 7, 1834, at the Dragoon stables, Mason directed Lieutenant Jefferson Davis in command of E Company of the Dragoons to send Corporal Harrison and Bugler Reid of his company to the officer of the day to be put upon the wooden horse. This was a ridged or studded device with long wooden pegs for legs on which soldiers were condemned to sit astride as a military punishment. Davis had previously ascertained that the breaking loose of the horse which Corporal Harrison was leading was unavoidable but Mason had ordered him under guard and directed Lieutenant Northrop, officer of the day, to place both Harrison and Reid on the wooden horse. Upon Northrop's inquiring if the noncommissioned officer should be thus punished Mason replied yes,

thus violating paragraph 129, General Army Regulations and subjecting Corporal Harrison, one of the best non-commissioned officers in the squadron, to a degrading punishment without a trial.

On or about December 21, 1834, Major Mason ordered privates Parker, Dickerson, Reynolds and Fielding of the Dragoon regiment on the wooden horse to remain there until midnight and until two o'clock the following day. This punishment was decreed because a pair of hand-cuffs were missing and the men were to be kept on the wooden horse until they were accounted for. In about an hour the prisoner who had secreted the hand-cuffs produced them and when Lieutenant Northrop reported the fact to Major Mason he remarked the prisoner should be whipped; when the lieutenant had walked away Mason called the corporal of the guard and authorized him to deliver up the prisoner to the four Dragoons in order that they might whip him as satisfaction for the humiliating punishment they had unjustly received.

According to specification six, Major Mason, near Fort Gibson, confined Private Hammond of H. Company, Dragoons, under guard from or about January 10 to the first of February, 1835. During the days of the period he caused the private to walk under charge of Sentinel No. 1 with a pair of saddle bags weighted with stone regardless of the fact that Private Hammond had been neither charged nor tried.[29] Similar punishment was decreed by Mason for Private Geurley of K. Company from April 9 to April 12, 1835, when he was compelled to walk under charge of sentinel with a pair of saddle bags weighted with sixty pounds of stone from "revelee until totor" the first day and from "revalee until guard mounting" the next. Mason refused the prisoner permission to cease walking to attend to eating and other necessary wants; Geurley being small and young became lame after the first day and remained so after his release—all without charge against him or a trial.

In the light of present day opinion Mason appears to have acted in a most arbitrary manner and to have overreached his authority when he refused permission to Private Corbit, Company F, Dragoons, to leave his post and go in search of a thief who had his watch. Corbit, with a detail of the squadron had been ordered to report from the camp in the Creek Nation to Fort Gibson to assist in erecting the Dragoon quarters, which apparently put him under the immediate command of Lieutenant Colonel Burbank, then commandant of Fort Gibson. Private Corbit, when informed that he was under the sole control of Lieutenant Carter, quartermaster of the post, related the facts to that officer who lent him a horse and granted him a permit countersigned by Colonel Burbank. On the return of Corbit Major Mason sent for him, threatened to tie him

[29] For similar punishments at military posts in the Indian Territory see *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 2, "Military Discipline in Early Oklahoma" by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, pp. 140-44.

up and whip him and he had the private put in irons and kept him there even after Lieutenant Carter applied to the Major for his release. The following day when Carter found the man still in irons he applied to Colonel Burbank, who found upon inquiry that the prisoner had been freed after being in irons from October 22 to October 24, 1834.

Specification nine is quoted in full as it gives an enlightening account of matters at Fort Gibson during the regime of Mason: " . . . 2nd Lieut. L. B. Northrop of the Regiment of Dragoons U. S. A. having on or about the 17th or 18th of March 1835 invited the officers and visitors of the post to a party, the said Lieut. Northrop having been informed on or about the morning of the 11th March 1835 that Major Mason as aforesaid had remarked that he no longer would permit parties in the camp the aforesaid Lieut. Northrop in order that the amusements of the evening should not be interrupted and to avoid collision with the said Major Mason's views procured a room at the Settlers [sutler] store, above two hundred yards from the nearest quarters, and entirely without the precincts of camp, about 9 or 10 o'clock the aforesaid Major Mason sent the officer of the day to direct the Settler to close his doors and to order all present to retire, the officer of the day, Capt. [Jesse] Bean U. S. Dragoons informed the said Major Mason that it was not a casual meeting of young men but that there were visitors of age and high public standing or words to that effect. Major Mason as aforesaid directed him to do as ordered. Thus affronting Lieut. Northrop and Company, this after Major Mason had on several occasions a short time previous permitted parties immediately in camp, being present at one or two himself and had never given any order previous forbidding them or had interferred with any other officers, but had sanctioned parties in Camp, and when at Camp Jackson in 1834 in charge of the entire police of camp in the widest sence [sic] on or about the month of Jan. got drunk and taken an active part in one of the most noisy parties which ever occurred in the vicinity of Fort Gibson."

Charge 3, "Conduct unbecoming a gentleman and a Commanding Officer," contained six specifications, most of which show Mason in a bad light. He was accused of taking advantage of his rank to make insulting remarks about Lieutenant Northrop to an officer of another corps; this not being enough he repeated his insult in evidence before the court on the trial of Northrop, "thus publicly insulting a prisoner without any necessity who by his particular position there, and the general relative position with the aforesaid Major Mason had no redress."

When General Arbuckle, in January, 1835, wished Mason to renew the arrest of Lieutenant Northrop which had been suspended, he evaded carrying into effect this direction which would have frustrated the object for which Mason had been watching the lieutenant; he was also charged with equivocation to Arbuckle and inconsistancy

in his evidence during the trial of Northrop. Mason was said to have placed his charges against his junior officer in an aggravated light when giving evidence against him "and conducted himself as an individual pursecuter and not as an official prosecutor" when he testified that he had seen Northrop in the suttler's shop by day and night; also by "testifying under oath to what was untrue, namely that he Major Mason saw the aforesaid Lieut. Northrop out in the snow at a wolf fight, the 2nd of the only two which ever occurred at the Dragoon Camp."

Major Mason, while in conversation with the commanders of two of the companies of Dragoons of his squadron on the deficiencies of clothing, suggested, as a method which he had employed, the appropriation of the effects of dead men and deserters who frequently left new articles which could be turned into the item "worn" and thus supply the needs of men during the winter.

A charge against Major Mason that puts him in a bad light was the statement that he "did in the vicinity of Fort Gibson in the Month of Dec. 1834 open a Faro Bank, and deal, being prepared with a quantity of new 10 cent pieces, used as counters by the said Major Mason and issued and redeemed as dollars." A similar charge was made that during the winter of 1835, Mason, "when in full charge of the interior police of the Dragoon Camp in the vicinity of Fort Gibson which constituted him the immediate commanding officer of Camp, was engaged in an association with one or more individuals and established a Faro Bank or joint stock of which the said Major Mason was generally dealer, and counters being prepared and notice given when the bank would open. The aforesaid Major Mason did deal in the months of Jan. and Feb. 1835, both within the garrison and at the public house attached to Fort Gibson."

The Court of Inquiry in conclusion stated that "all the charges, and specifications which were laid before it for examination had their origin in a *spirit of recrimination,* a motive of action which, although in certain instances it may lead to disclosures of official delinquencies, in much more numerous cases only terminates in personal controversies prejudicial to the best interests of the service, furnishing evidence of temper far from creditable to the party who indulges in it."[30]

In compliance with a request of the Cherokees, Governor Stokes, Cherokee agent, sent invitations to ten Indian tribes to meet at Takatoka on September 15, 1838. Mason, at Fort Leavenworth, learned of the meeting and sent a letter to Gen. Edmund P. Gaines at St. Louis, telling him that the Indians from the Red River to the upper Mississippi planned an attack upon the white people. Indian Superintendent William Armstrong did not attend the council because of illness, but he assured the war department there was no foundation

[30] War Department, Office of the Judge Advocate General.

for the reports. General Gaines had ordered troops from Fort Leavenworth and Jefferson Barracks and even asked the governors of Tennessee and Arkansas to call out the militia of their states. Mason's absurd letter was widely copied in newspapers of the country.[31]

A site was selected for a new army post in 1838, by Capt. John Stuart and Maj. Charles Thomas; it was called Camp Illinois but the name was later changed to Fort Wayne. This post was designed for a dragoon station and in the spring of 1839 Colonel Mason, with four troops of dragoons was ordered to the place to build the barracks.[32] There was much anxiety among the citizens of Arkansas who anticipated disturbances among the Indians and this fort was built to relieve their fear.

On August 25, 1840, work was suspended at Fort Wayne and Colonel Mason and the Dragoons were sent back to Fort Gibson.[33]

In his diary Col. Ethan Allen Hitchcock noted, November 26, 1841, at Fort Gibson: " . . . spent the evening with Mason, who was formerly a Captain in the old 8th Infantry with me in 1820-21 at Bay of St. Louis. He thinks [John] Ross a rascal, i. e., an artful, cunning, shrewd, managing, ambitious man . . . I am inclined to think that Ross is merely ambitious of elevating his nation into perfect independence. It is known that he [Ross] wishes all the U. S. troops withdrawn. Mason thinks that Fort Wayne (Beatty's Prairie) should be continued if it be designed to establish the cordon of posts projected along the frontier." Mason was in command of Fort Gibson at this time and he was greatly astonished at facts told him by Hitchcock "tending to the proof of great frauds having been committed in this country in feeding Indians."[34]

Continuing his journal at Fort Gibson, January 19, 1842, Hitchcock related that Colonel Mason "looks to his ice house and prays for cold weather . . . some years the ice is not to be had in sufficient quantities to fill the ice house, or it is bad, not solid and clear." Five days later Hitchcock wrote: I also urged Col. Mason to send a quantity of damaged provisions, of which he has a large quantity on hand, as a gratuity to the Seminole band under Coacooche over the Arkansas near the mouth of Grand River. He told me he thought he would do it."

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[31] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 276; *ibid.*, *Advancing the Frontier*, Norman, 1933, p. 199; *ibid.*, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, Norman, 1934, p. 289.

[32] Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 277; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, vol. VIII, no. 18, p. 287. *The Arkansas Gazette*, May 29, 1839, reported that Lieutenant Colonel Mason had passed aboard the steamboat *De Kalb* on his way to superintend the building of Fort Wayne.

[33] Adjutant General's Office, Washington. General Orders, No. 43, August 25, 1840.

[34] Grant Foreman (ed.) *A Traveler in Indian Territory. The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930, pp. 27, 28.

"Two or three days ago I spoke to Col. Mason of the gambling carried on here and described some of the things I had seen and more I had heard of—alluding to the dissipations at the post generally . . . expressed apprehension that the attention of the public might be particularly called to the moral condition and character of the Post."[35]

Colonel Mason showed Hitchcock an order he was about to issue prohibiting all gambling and card playing within Fort Gibson and announcing his intention to punish cases of violation of his order "without respect to persons." Mason's notice stated he intended to remove from the garrison all persons known to be blacklegs, gamblers and loafers; he would not allow persons from other states to run horse races at the fort; all arrivals at McDermott's tavern must register, giving their name, residence, and business; to complete the matter he ordered the tavern closed in June.[36]

Colonel Mason wrote Cherokee Agent P. M. Butler on June 14, 1842, stating: " . . . there are now many gamblers in the Cherokee Nation, particularly in the vicinity of Mrs. Coody's & John Drew's on the Bayou Manard, I do not know all of their names but I believe I can give you some of them viz: Smith (*commonly called big Smith* or goggle-*eyed Smith*), Davis, McMilland, Willison, the latter has settled and lives between this and the Verdigris river & was once arrested as a notorious gambler by the troops at this Fort at the instance of Capt: Armstrong the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in this quarter, but was let off, upon a promise to good behaviour, and at the instance of some of the Cherokees, he has again been playing at Faro & gambling in this vicinity . . ."

In *Letters From the Frontier* Major General George A. McCall[37] related that Colonel Mason had two squadrons of dragoons hutted half a mile from Fort Gibson. He described him as an ardent sportsman who owned some fine dogs. They often hunted together and in a spirit of rivalry agreed that when they stopped shooting at the end of the day, they would empty from their pockets the birds they had shot. They each brought in from twenty to thirty birds a day and never differed more than two and generally they had the same number of birds. McCall wrote his brother in great glee that he had a "high-bred imported stock" dog named Blue, a pup of Mason's celebrated setter Nell, by an imported pointer.

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[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 98.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 99 and note 58. *Arkansas Gazette*, July 6, 1842. In his *History of Fort Leavenworth* 1827-1927, Maj. Elvid Hunt reports Lieutenant Colonel Mason as commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth from 1841 to 1843 (Appendix A, p. 223). The adjutant general's office reports this officer as commandant at Fort Gibson from June 20, 1841, to August, 1842; from July 4, 1842, to October 7, 1842; from September 18, 1843, to December 17, 1843, and from June 20, 1844, to February 27, 1846.

[37] Philadelphia, 1868, pp. 374, 416.

Coacooche (Wild Cat) and Alligator, a Seminole chief, with a delegation of their people went to Washington late in 1843, to interview the heads of the Indian Office to try to learn the status of affairs of their tribe. On their return to the Indian Territory they found their people destitute. They were encamped around Fort Gibson and the great flood in the Arkansas and Grand rivers in 1844 had destroyed all of their supplies; they were reduced to begging and Colonel Mason issued rations to prevent them from starving.[38]

Colonel Mason became ill and a wordy controversy as to which of two captains succeeded to command of the fort, and the records of attempted arrest of each by the other became amusing and consumed many pages before Mason left his sick bed again to assume command and end the quarrel. Mason at that time reported the building of a house twenty-two by forty feet to be used as a church and school room. Church services had formerly been held in the post library which was too small for the congregation.

The Commandant and Gov. Pierce M. Butler, Cherokee agent, were bitter enemies and Mason ordered Butler to remove his office from the reservation, claiming that his Indian charges were objectionable to the army officers. He also ordered the sutler in the post not to trade with the Indians or sell them goods but he afterwards relaxed this command. The Fort Gibson Jockey Club was organized in July, 1844, and Governor Butler was made the president; races were run on a track laid out many years before by the Seventh Infantry—This was also frowned upon by Colonel Mason.[39]

Secretary of War Wilkins, in the autumn of 1844, sent a commission to the Cherokee Nation to investigate conditions and learn if the laws were equably inforced; President Tyler had appointed as members of the commission Roger Jones, Adjutant General of the army, Cherokee Agent Butler and Colonel Mason. The commission was organized November 15 and the investigation was commenced December 4 at Tahlontuskee, the council ground of the Old Settlers on the Illinois River near the home of John Jolly.[40] Hearings were held at Tahlequah from the first to the sixteenth of January, 1845, when the commission returned to Fort Gibson. In Tahlequah the members of the commission were treated with the greatest respect and they left the town with the good wishes of the citizens.[41]

"The thoroughness of their investigation, the lucidity of their report, the personnel of the board—all men of high standing—preclude the idea of a partial investigation or a report determined by

[38] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 237.

[39] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 175.

[40] *Cherokee Advocate*, November 21, 1844, p. 3, col. 1; *ibid.*, December 4, 1844, p. 3, col. 2; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 332; Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* 1838-1907, Norman, 1938, pp. 56, 57.

[41] *Cherokee Advocate*, January 2, 1845, p. 3, col. 1; *ibid.*, January 16, 1845, p. 3, col. 1.

partisan bias. To show that there was ample opportunity for the Old Settlers and Treaty party to present their grievances, as well as for the Ross party, the committee reported that on December 4, 5, 6, 1844, a council of the Cherokees met the commission near Fort Gibson. There was an attendance of 485, of whom 286 were Old Settlers, and 195 of the Treaty party . . .''[42]

Colonel Mason, greatly exasperated by the conduct of the enlisted men in frequenting disorderly houses outside the reservation, ordered the guard doubled, the gates of the post closed at retreat, and the rolls called at unexpected hours.[43] These restrictions were probably the result of a disgraceful affair between the soldiers and some Cherokees at the house of the notorious Polly Spaniard. The *Cherokee Advocate* of March 27, 1845, published a letter Mason had written in 1843 objecting to testimony of Indians being accepted in court against that of the military. He said one half barrel of whiskey would buy oaths enough to swear away the commissions of all of the officer's at the post. Indian testimony was not accepted in Arkansas or Missouri so why should it be in Indian Territory.

Bill Conner, a Delaware Indian, brought to the Cherokee agency in March, 1845, a white boy who said his name was Gillis or Giles. He lived in Texas when stolen by the Comanches. Connor claimed he bought the boy from a Comanche chief, paying for him a gun and a horse worth $300. Cherokee Agent Butler, who paid the Indian one hundred dollars, was to retain possession of the lad until the wishes of the Indian department were learned. Colonel Mason wrote that he fully concurred in Butler's views and earnestly recommended that the boy ''be ransomed, & the Indian be promptly paid, liberally and in full.''[44]

The Indian Commission reported January 17, 1845; the full report was printed in the *Cherokee Advocate*, June 12. It was recommended that the Cherokee authorities be heard in support of claims against the United States and that a new treaty be concluded based on promises of President Tyler in his letter of September 20, 1841.

Authority was given the sutler at Fort Gibson to sell liquor to the soldiers under regulations issued by Colonel Mason, who reported that drunkenness had greatly decreased and disorderly houses in the vicinity had been abandoned.[45]

In the journal kept by Lieut. James William Abert, topographical engineer, on his trip from Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River

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[42] Thomas Valentine Parker, Ph. D., *The Cherokee Indians*, New York, 1907, pp. 59, 60.

[43] Adjutant General's Office, "Old Records Division," 134 A 45: Arbuckle to Cooper, March 19, 1845.

[44] Office of Indian Affairs; Misc. File B 2420-2508-2532. Cherokee Agency—27th March, 1845.

[45] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 174.

to St. Louis in the autumn of 1845[46] he reported that he and his party laughed at the hardships they had endured on the way when they were seated within the hospitable walls of Fort Gibson on October 21. They were delighted to meet "with gentlemen and ladies, and [to be] participating with them those comforts and elegancies from which we had for so long been banished." They found at Fort Gibson several companies of infantry, and one of the First Dragoons. Of Colonel Mason he wrote: "It would be presumption in me to speak of so accomplished and well known an officer; but I cannot refrain from expressing my grateful sense of the kindness and hospitality with which we were received and treated by himself and his amiable lady, and indeed, by all the officers and ladies attached to the command."

Abert well deserved his cordial treatment at Fort Gibson, as his expedition was the first to make the journey of six hundred miles with wagons from Bent's Fort to the settlements by way of the Canadian River. Added glory was his because he had accomplished his mission without a battle or loss of life.[47]

When, early in the spring of 1846, Colonel Mason was ordered to New York on recruiting duty, he was succeeded by Col. Gustavus Loomis as commandant of Fort Gibson.[48]

In his memoirs Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman wrote that he reported for recruiting service in May, 1846, to the general superintendent for that duty, Col. Richard B. Mason, at Governor's Island. In the summer the U. S. store-ship *Lexington* was preparing to go to California; she sailed July 14, 1846, carrying Sherman and several other officers who became famous in the years to come. Among them were Halleck, Ord and Loeser. Colonel Mason boarded the ship and sailed down the bay and out to sea with his friends, returning to New York with the tug.[49] Colonel Mason was still in New York in November preparing to proceed to California to supersede Col. J. D. Stevenson in the command of the California expedition.[50] "He designs to charter a vessel to take him to Chagres immediately; from thence he will cross to the Pacific, and take one of the government vessels for San Francisco. It is also said that Col. Stevenson was notified by telegraph of the intention to supersede him, and that this was the cause of his hasty departure."[51] The following day *The Sun* contained an item to the effect that Colonel

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[46] Senate Document, 438, Twenty-ninth Congress, first session, p. 74.

[47] Leroy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men*, Denver, 1931, p. 177.

[48] *Cherokee Advocate*, February 26, 1846, p. 3, col. 1; *ibid.*, March 5, 1846, p. 3, col. 1; *ibid.*, April 9, 1846, p. 3, col. 1.

[49] *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman by Himself*, New York, 1875, vol. 1, pp. 9-12.

[50] *The Sun* (Baltimore, Md.) Thursday, November 12, 1846.

[51] *Louisville* (Ky.) *Daily Democrat*, November 16, 1846, p. 3, col. 2.

Stevenson had not been superseded; he was ranked by Mason who would take command until the arrival of General Kearny.

The *New York Morning Express,* Saturday, November 14, 1846, quoted from the *Union* that Colonel Mason ranked Stevenson; that he deserved "all of the compliments which the New York Courier pays him, if we may judge from the character he has already attained, and from the impressions which every one who sees him, derives from the amiable as well as manly bearing of the man." Colonel Mason and Lieutenant Watson, of the Navy, sailed from New York on the tenth, in a fast sailing vessel for Chagres, intending to go from there to the Pacific. Colonel Mason was to have military command in California until the arrival of General Kearny and Watson carried dispatches to the commanding officer of the United States squadron in the Pacific.[52]

Mason arrived in California aboard the store-ship *Erie* in March. Col. Philip St. George Cooke with his battalion of Mormons had reached California and all of the troops considered General Kearny as the rightful commander, although Fremont was still at Los Angeles, calling himself the governor, issuing orders and holding his California Volunteers in defiance of General Kearny. Colonel Mason and Major Turner went to Los Angeles by sea with a paymaster and muster rolls with orders to muster this battalion out of the service. General Fremont refused to consent and the controversy became so acute that a challenge was thought to have passed between Mason and Fremont, although a duel was not fought.[53]

General Kearny left for the East the last of May and with him went Fremont; "with him departed all cause of confusion and disorder in the country . . . no one could dispute the authority of Mason as in command of all United States forces on shore."[54] On June 1, 1847, Mason succeeded Stephen Watts Kearny as colonel of the First Dragoons. An authority wrote that the dragoons, during fifteen years, had done more duty and marched farther than any other body of men; the first regiment had gone three times to the mountains, it had been almost to the head waters of the Mississippi and to the far Northwest along the Canadian border. "From Texas to the extreme point of the western frontier this regiment has marched, always sustaining every expectation formed of it . . ."[55]

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[52] *New York Morning Express,* Thursday, November 19, 1846.

[53] Sherman, *op. cit.,* p. 25. According to one writer Mason reached San Francisco February 12, 1847 (Z. S. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco,* San Francisco, 1912, vol. 2, pp. 688-691).

[54] *Ibid.,* p. 28; John T. Hughes, A. B., *Doniphan's Expedition,* Cincinnati, 1848, pp. 253-54; *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* vol. V, p. 256; Albert G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry,* New York, 1865, p. 77.

[55] Fayette Robinson, *An Account of the Organization of the Army of the United States,* Philadelphia, 1848, vol. 2, p. 157.

No mention has been found that Colonel Mason was accompanied to California by his family and he lived in Monterey with Captain Lanman of the United States Navy in a house "not for from the Custom House." Mason chose as secretary of state for California, Lieutenant Henry W. Halleck of the Engineers; this was a fortunate selection, as he was of great assistance to the Governor in dealing with land titles. Having observed young Sherman's executive ability Mason appointed him his adjutant general,[56] and one writer states that Mason and Sherman held the fate of California in their hands.[57] They first established the governor's headquarters in the office of Consul Thomas O. Larkin that had been used by General Kearny, but they soon had a broad stairway built, rising from California Street, to the upper front porch of the barracks; a large door was cut through the adobe wall and the center room on the second floor became the office. Governor Mason's private office was in a side room.[58]

An interesting visitor made his appearance in Monterey in October, 1847, when Kit Carson arrived there to deliver dispatches to Governor Mason. He had no sooner corraled his horse at a public-house in the town than he was visited by "a gaunt, red-headed first lieutenant of artillery, William Tecumseh Sherman, who introduced himself as adjutant-general to the commander-in-chief and governor, Colonel Mason." Sherman gave a vivid description of Carson as a "small, stoop-shouldered man, with reddish hair, freckled face, soft blue eyes, and nothing to indicate extraordinary courage or daring." Carson delivered his package into the hands of the Governor and Mason ordered that for the time being he should be assigned to duty with A. J. Smith's company of the First Dragoons of Los Angeles.[59]

In the spring of 1848 Governor Mason and Sherman visited Santa Barbara in the sloop-of-war, *Dale*. Sherman and other officers supplied the commissary at Monterey with game from the abundance of deer, elk and wild fowl which they killed; Mason made a record of killing eleven geese by one discharge of small shot.[60]

Two men arrived at Sherman's office one day early in 1848, bearing a letter to Governor Mason from John A. Sutter, asking to be allowed to preempt land on which gold had been discovered. Cap-

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[56] Eldredge, *op. cit.*, Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman Fighting Prophet*, New York, 1932, p. 76.

[57] James P. Boyd, A. M., *The Life of General William T. Sherman* (place not given), 1891, p. 28.

[58] Laura B. Powers, *Old Monterey, California's Adobe Capitol*, San Francisco 1934, p. 199; H. Liddell Hart, *Sherman, Soldier-Realist-American*, New York, 1929, p. 22.

[59] Milo Milton Quaife (ed.) *Kit Carson's Autobiography*, Chicago, 1935, p. 122; Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days* 1809-1868, "Adventures in the Path of Empire," New York, 1935, vol. 2, p. 577; Sherman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 46, 47; Blanche C. Grant, (ed.) *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life*, Taos, New Mexico, 1826, p. 87.

[60] Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

tain Sutter's messengers also brought half an ounce of placer-gold from a deposit near a saw-mill he owned in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Sherman, who had seen gold in Georgia in 1844, was excited about the find in California. Mason ordered Sherman to write Sutter that California was still under Mexican law and would remain so until the United States set up a civil government. The Governor was not interested in the discovery of gold until Sherman urged him to make an investigation.[61]

Governor Mason finally decided to send his adjutant general to visit Captain Sutter's discovery in order that he might report the truth to the government. Towards the end of June Sherman set out with four soldiers and Mason's Negro servant, Aaron, for Yerba Buena. They were supplied with a good outfit of horses and pack mules. At Yerba Buena the party was joined by Captain Folsom and two citizens of the town. Their first difficulty was to cross the bay at Sausalito. Quartermaster Folsom had a scow with a large sail in which they crossed, but because of shallow water it took almost a whole day to get the old craft up to the only wharf. Their way led to San Rafael Mission where they stopped with Don Timoteo Murphy. The next day they went to Bodega and on to Sanoma where they spent the day with General Vallejo. Their route beyond Sanoma was by way of Napa, Suisun and Vaca's ranch to the Puta.[62]

Sherman's report finally convinced Mason, although he had been reluctant to believe the reports circulating as to the prodigious amount of gold being taken out of the mines; he and the other army officers were "disgusted with the crass commercialism and wealth hunger that were stampeding soldiers into desertion." When Governor Mason visited the mining district in July he found four thousand persons hunting for and collecting gold.[63]

San Francisco and Monterey were almost deserted by gold seekers; Mason's soldiers left with the rest, and it is said that fifteen minutes after he had ordered a sentry on duty the man had disappeared and the soldiers sent to bring him back followed the deserter. Mason was obliged to cook his own meals and his salary was not sufficient to support him in the style in which he should have lived, as prices of all commodities had soared.[64]

Mason, who had been made a brigadier general May 30 for meritorious conduct, spent the Fourth of July at Fort Sutter before making an inspection trip to the mines. Sherman wrote that the

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[61] *Ibid.*, p. 46; Hart, *op cit.*, p. 24; Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 79.

[62] Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 48.

[63] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 80; James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* 1789-1902, 1903, President James K. Polk in his Fourth Annual Message to Congress, December 7, 1848, vol. IV, p. 363.

[64] James Peter Zollinger, *Sutter the Man and his Empire,* New York, London, Toronto, 1939, p. 248.

dinner to celebrate the national holiday would have done credit to any frontier town. Captain Sutter presided and Governor Mason sat at his right.[65]

General Mason and his party visited the Mormon Diggings before returning to Monterey on July 17. Mason heard the story of the discovery of gold first hand from Marshall, who guided him to various diggings in the district where he got samples of coarse gold and some nuggets. The Governor recommended that a mint be established at some place on San Francisco Bay and he described a quicksilver mine he had visited in the spring at "Tepic twelve miles south of Pueblo de San Jose'."

Mason's report, dated August 17, 1848, was sent east by Lieut. Lucien Loeser, Third Artillery, who sailed from Monterey August 30, 1848, aboard the schooner *Lambayecana.* Loeser, in addition to Governor Mason's letter, carried a tea-caddy containing two hundred and thirty ounces, fifteen pennyweight and nine grains of gold as a fair sample of the gold from Sacramento; he also took east specimens of gold sent by thirteen prospectors.[66]

Rumors of the discovery of gold floated back to Indian Territory and Arkansas, but made little impression until Governor Mason's report was read. Mason was well known at Fort Gibson and Fort Smith and when news of his report reached that part of the country the citizens realized there was no doubt of the truth of previous accounts. Hundreds of emigrants rendezvoused at Fort Smith to make the perilous trip and many Indians joined the exodus; these people followed the route traveled by Mason's Dragoons in 1835, and the Indians camped around Camp Mason (or Fort Holmes) established by Major Mason and named for him.[67]

When Governor Mason received official news in September, 1848, of the treaty with Mexico, he at once mustered out all of the volunteer soldiers, retaining in California only a company of artillery at Monterey and one of dragoons at Los Angeles.[68]

A high tribute was paid to Mason's report by Joseph Warren Revere:[69] "I could have written nothing so complete and graphic as the account furnished by the accomplished temporary governor, Col. R. B. Mason. His admirable report has been copied all over the world—published in every newspaper, and reprinted in ten thousand catch-penny pamphlets. But it still remains the most ac-

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[65] *Idem.*, p. 251.

[66] J. C. Fremont, *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Oregon and California . . . . ,* Buffalo, 1851, pp. 427, 433, 449, 454; Eldredge, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 688-91.

[67] Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers,* Norman, 1939, pp. xi, 9, 59, 60, note 29.

[68] Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[69] *A Tour of Duty in California,* New York, 1849, p. 228.

curate and authentic history of the discovery of the gold deposits and of the early operations of the gold collectors . . . the standard authority—the celebrated report of Col. Mason.''[70]

At his request Governor Mason was relieved by Lieutenant Colonel Bennet Riley, Second Dragoons, on April 13, 1849; he sailed on the first of May for Washington and St. Louis where he was given command of Jefferson Barracks.[71]

Bancroft wrote that Mason ''performed most satisfactorily the duties of a difficult position, and though by his strict discipline and apparent harshness of manner he made an unfavorable impression in some quarters and inspired bitter enmities, yet his record is that of an honest, faithful, and able soldier.''

Sherman, who from his close association with Mason probably knew him better than his other army comrades, describes him as ''an officer of great experience, of stern character, deemed by some harsh and severe, but in all my intercourse with him he was kind an agreeable. He had a large fund of good sense, and during our long period of service together, I enjoyed his unlimited confidence.''[72] He also wrote: ''I parted with my old commander, Colonel Mason, with sincere regret. To me he had ever been kind and considerate, and while stern, honest to a fault, he was the very embodiment of the principle of fidelity to the interests of the General Government. He possessed a strong native intellect, and far more knowledge of the principles of civil government and law than he got credit for . . .''[73]

Rodney Glisan wrote at Jefferson Barracks, July 23, 1850, of having paid his respects, as required by the army regulations, to the commanding officer, Gen. Richard B. Mason; on August 17 he noted: ''On arriving here, we found this pestilence [Asiatic cholera] in full force, and have just heard the sad news of the death, at Jefferson Barracks, of Brevet Brig.-General Richard B. Mason, Colonel of the First Dragoons, and commandant of the post, from cholera. He died on the twenty-fifth ultimo. Only three weeks ago I saw him surrounded by a doting and happy family, all unconscious that the angel of death was hovering near.''[74]

The St. Louis Intelligencer,[75] in its account of the death of General Mason, stated that he discharged the duties of governor of California in a most satisfactory manner. ''He enjoyed a high

[70] Mason's report is noted in *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* by Lansford W. Hastings, Princeton, 1932, as appearing in *A New Description of Oregon and California* . . . . by L. W. Hastings, a Resident of California . . . . Cincinnati, 1856.

[71] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 4, p. 734; Eldredge, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 688-91; Sherman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 65.

[72] *Idem.*, vol. 1, p. 29.

[73] *Idem.*, p. 64.

[74] *Journal of Army Life*, San Francisco, 1874, pp. 15, 17, 22, 23.

[75] Saturday, July 27, 1850, p. 3, cols. 1, 4.

reputation in the army, as a brave, generous and intelligent officer, and as a just and honorable gentleman." Occasional cases of cholera had occurred at Jefferson Barracks among troops that had recently arrived there and it is probable that in this manner the distinguished officer fell a victim to the scourge. General Mason's funeral was held at Jefferson Barracks, at eleven o'clock in the morning, Saturday, July 27, 1850, and his body was laid to rest in Belle Fontaine Cemetery.

General Mason's widow, Margaret (Turner) Mason, was married on November 19, 1851, to General Don Carlos Buell; she died in Airdrie, the home of General Buell in Muhlenburg County, Kentucky, August 10, 1881. On the death of General Buell, November 19, 1898, his estate went to Miss Nannie Mason, the daughter of his wife. Miss Mason afterwards made her home in Louisville, where she died November 19, 1912.[76] Other authorities state that General Mason was survived by his widow Margaret (Hunter) Mason of Mobile, Alabama, and two daughters.[77]

An honor was paid to General Mason in General Orders No. 133, November 25, 1882, which read in part: "By direction of the President the military post at Black Point, San Francisco Harbor, California, now known as 'Fort Point San Jose,' shall hereafter be known and designated as 'Fort Mason,' in honor of the late Brevet Brigadier General *Richard B. Mason,* colonel 1st U. S. Dragoons, military governor of California."[78]

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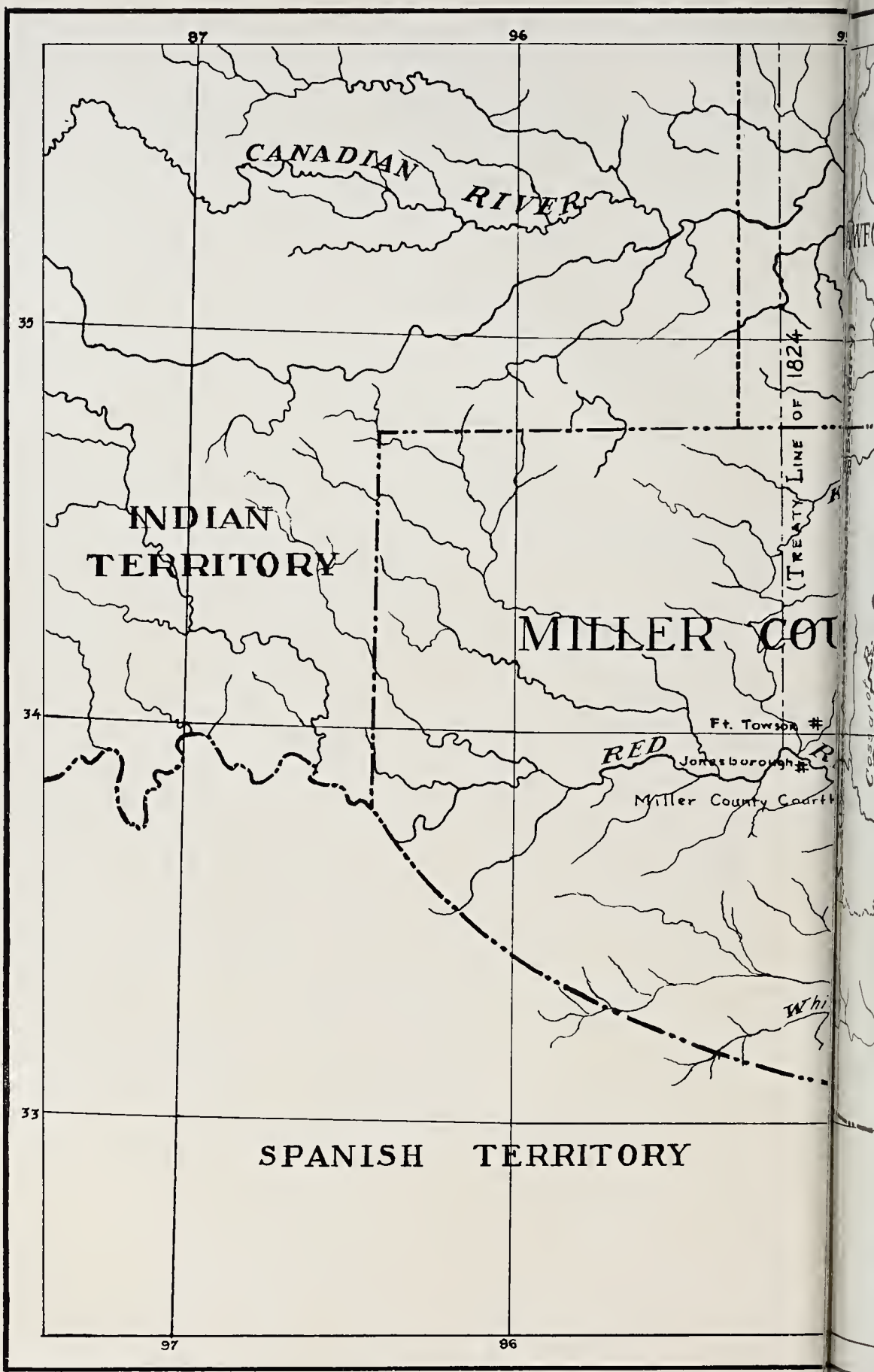
[76] Otto A. Rothert, *History of Muhlenburg County*, Louisville, 1913, p. 236; Mrs. Jouett Taylor Cannon, Secretary-Treasurer, Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, September 13, 1940.

[77] *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol 3, p. 241 (*Courier-Journal*, Louisville, September 4, and November 20, 1898); *The Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, "The Battle of Perryville, 1862," by Hambleton Tapp, vol. 9, no. 3, p. 161, note 12.

[78] The National Archives, P. M. Hamer, Division of Reference, September 10, 1940. Sincere thanks are due to Miss Mabel R. Gillis, State Librarian, California State Library, Sacramento, for much valuable material concerning Governor Mason; the following interesting bibliography was also furnished by her: Newspaper References:
The Californian, San Francisco, June 19, 1847, p. 2, col. 2, Notice signed by Mason, of his appointment as Military Governor of California. Printed in English and Spanish.
The Californian, August 14, 1848, p. 2, col. 3, Book of Laws of California, printed in English and Spanish, announcement of.
California Star, San Francisco, November 25, 1848, p. 2, col. 1, Interview between Governor Mason and Commander Jones.
San Francisco Alta California, January 11, 1849, p. 2, col. 3, Letter from Thomas H. Benton to the people of California (mentions Col. R. B. Mason).
San Francisco Alta California, May 3, 1849, p. 1, col. 3, Letter from Mason answering letter of Benton.
Sacramento Union, January 24, 1887, p. 2, col. 4, Threatened duel between Mason and Fremont (review article).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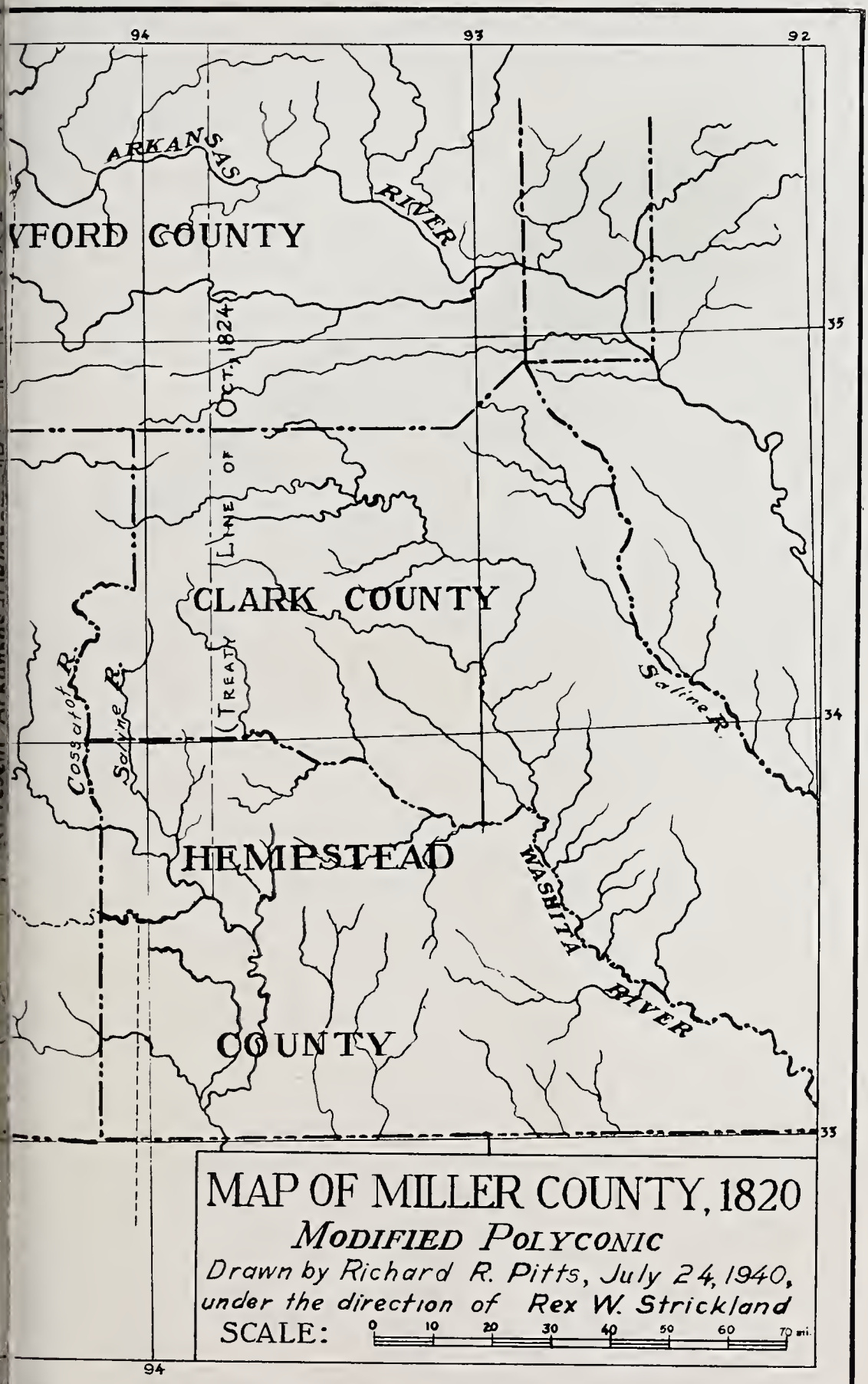

MAP OF MILLER COUNTY, 1820

MODIFIED POLYCONIC

Drawn by Richard R. Pitts, July 24, 1940, under the direction of Rex W. Strickland

SCALE: 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 mi.

MILLER COUNTY, ARKANSAS TERRITORY: THE FRONTIER THAT MEN FORGOT

CHAPTER III

THE FINAL BREAK-UP OF "OLD" MILLER COUNTY

BY REX W. STRICKLAND

1825 was an inauspicious year for Miller County. The Choctaw Treaty, signed at Washington, January 20, deprived its settlers of almost the last vestige of hope that the federal government intended to leave them in peaceful possession of their lands. Even had the national authorities been disposed to exercise some leniency in the enforcements of the boundary terms of the pact, the outbreak against the commander at Ft. Towson, involving as it did a majority of the county's inhabitants, served surely to aggravate an already critical situation and destroy the final possibility of an advantageous denouement to the long-standing controversy. Moreover, the settlers living south of Red River were teetering between loyalty to the Territory of Arkansas and the Mexican Province of Texas. This cleavage of allegiance made the discharge of civic duties on the part of local officials both onerous and unpopular.

Many persons, who had previously resided on the north side of the river, now crossed to the south bank and joined with the inhabitants there in their refusal to pay taxes to the sheriff of Miller County. Of a list of fifty delinquents, for 1825, only two were reported insolvent; the remaining forty-eight were cited as "removed" from the jurisdiction. Yet of this group of tax evaders, fully one-fourth are definitely known to have crossed Red River in 1825 to reside at Pecan Point and Jonesborough.[1]

In spite of the unfavorable circumstances the settlers were determined not to be summarily dispossessed from their holdings without a final effort at bringing their grievances to the notice of the president of the United States. Thus they prepared a lengthy petition in which they set forth with judicial logic and exact phraseology their claim as citizens of the United States to the protection of law and order. To this document, a truly remarkable product of the time and place in which it was written, two hundred and seventy persons affixed their signatures; many of whom, be it noted, were then residing, or, were soon to move into, northeastern Texas. The petition in itself is a splendid resume of the settlement and progress of "Old" Miller County from 1816 to 1825.

It points out that the tract of country upon which the petitioners were living had been acquired by the United States from the Quapaw Indians in 1818 and was thenceforth regarded as part of

[1] "A List of Tax Delinquents for County Taxes, in the County of Miller, Territory of Arkansas, for the year 1825." *The Arkansas Gazette*, May 30, 1826. See appendix to this chapter for list.

the public domain. Again in 1818 the legislature of the Territory of Missouri (in which the area was then situated) had included the settlers within the jurisdiction of Hempstead County. A year later under the authority of the United States the area as far west as the Kiamichi had been surveyed into townships and sub-divided into sections. It was admitted, however, that, by an order of January 5, 1819, the settlers on Red River west of the Kiamichi and on the Arkansas west of the Poteau had been moved east of the two tributary streams. Thereafter there had been no prohibition of settlements to the east of the Kiamichi and the Poteau and, indeed, the federal government had seemed to give it tacit consent to settlement by ordering the survey of the lands in the area. Interpreting the surveys as an indication on the part of the government of its intention to facilitate the location of public lands, a considerable population had immediately immigrated into Miller County. True the settlers had been alarmed in 1820 by the provisions of the Treaty of Doak's Stand which ceded their lands to the Choctaws but subsequently they had been assured by President Monroe that it was not the intention of the government to remove any persons from the ceded territory and, if necessary, their improvements would be repurchased from the Indians. These assurances had been renewed from time to time by the territorial delegate in Congress.

Furthermore, the petitioners affirmed that from the time of the first settlement they had enjoyed the benefits of civil government and had established and maintained civil and criminal courts. Not only had they done this, but in 1824 they had taken advantage of the right of pre-emption under the authority of Congress to set aside a quarter section of land upon which to build a courthouse to serve as a permanent seat of justice and had actually begun the construction of public buildings. Under these guarantees and manifestations of civil government, a large number of settlers had continued to "enlarge their improvements, planting orchards, and increase their Stocks, & c." They felt, in light of the facts, that to abandon their plantations and remove their families and property would be ruinous and unthinkable.

Finally, they assert:

> Your Petitioners are aware, that the General Government has heretofore removed from *Indian Lands*, Citizens of the United States, who settled upon lands owned *at the time of such settlement by Indians*, where the settlements at the beginning were upon Indian lands, but your present Petitioners respectfully *deny* having settled upon Indian lands. They settled upon the public lands of the United States, where settlement was not prohibited by any order of the Government, where part of the public lands were surveyed into sections (a thing Never done for Indian purposes) and where, after the same country was first ceded to the Choctaws, the people have had assurances from the highest Authority, that the settled parts of the said country would be re-purchased, and your Petitioners afforded an opportunity of acquiring titles to their possessions, and in a way that the Settlers upon public lands have usually done, in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois,

Missouri, Alabama, & c. Yet, notwithstanding all the foregoing assurances and circumstances, Your Petitioners are now informed that the lands that they now occupy, are ceded and confirmed to the said Choctaw Indians, and that Your Petitioners, are to be shortly removed from their farms, without payment or recompense for their improvement, to give place to Indians!! An Act that would have no example in any civilized Government, under the same circumstances, which these settlements were made. An improved Country of Citizens where they have had the protection of Civil Laws and Civil Government for more than six successive years, to be ceded by their Government to a Nation of Indians, has, it is believed, *No Examples.*

These settlements, not having been commenced on the lands of the Choctaw Indians, but upon the public Lands of the United States, then surveyed for market, still claim the same protection of the same laws and Government, under the faith of which they commenced their settlements. To be forced and driven by our Government from the farms and improvements that we have labored for years to make, for the support of our families, in order to give place to Indians, would under all the circumstances and assurances before mentioned, appear so unjust and unprecidented (sic) and to the Settler so ruinous, that its enforcement would produce the greatest possible excitement. Your Petitioners therefore respectfully ask of your Excellency to suspend the survey of the eastern boundary of Territory, lately ceded to said Choctaw Indians, and to suspend the time of giving said Indians possession of said Territory, and cause to be re-purchased from them, parts of said Territory settled and improved by Citizens of the United States, as aforesaid east of the Kia-Miche on red River, and of Poto on Arkansas, where the settlements by citizens has never been prohibited, but approbated and encouraged as before mentioned. As your Petitioners in duty bound will ever pray.[2]

That the number of inhabitants of Miller County and the extent of their possessions are not exaggerated in the petition is attested by a census drawn up by Sheriff Claiborne Wright and inclosed with the document. In 1825 the county had a population of 2,500 persons, who owned, in the aggregate, 8,500 horses, 10,000 hogs and 55,000 cattle. The combined farms and plantations in cultivation totalled 5,000 acres, of which 500 acres were planted in cotton. There was one cotton gin in the county that had been in operation a number of years and two more were in the process of construction. In addition to a number of small horse mills for grinding flour and meal, there were two large water mills in constant use; one of these, on Clear Creek, had been operated since 1818.[3]

In the meanwhile, Henry Conway, territorial delegate in Congress from Arkansas, strove diligently to obtain some promise of a delay in the enforcement of the time limit of the Choctaw Treaty.

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[2] "The Petition of the Inhabitants of that Part of Miller County, in the Territory of Arkansas, ceded and confirmed to the Choctaw Nations of Indians, by Treaty made with them at Washington City in the Present Year to the President of the United States" in the *Bureau of Rolls, Office of the Secretary of State.* I am indebted to Dr. Grant Foreman for the use of his transcript of the petition. An accompanying document shows that the petition was drawn up July 10-18, 1825.

[3] "A Census of Miller County, Arkansas, July 10, 1825," in the *Bureau of Rolls, Office of the Secretary of State* (photostat) Grant Foreman's copy.

March 15, 1825, he wrote James Barbour, the newly appointed Secretary of War, asking a suspension of the treaty until the first of January of the following year in order that the settlers might plant and gather a crop. Barbour replied that none of the population would be evicted from the ceded area until the boundaries could be determined and he was certain the projected surveys could not be completed until autumn. But, he warned Conway, the settlers need expect no indulgence thereafter; the treaty would be carried fully into effect.[4]

In the face of impending dispossession, the citizens of Miller County engaged in a particularly acrimonious political campaign in the summer of 1825. The voters seem to have alligned themselves into the "military" and "anti-military" party: i. e., those persons who condoned, and, those who did not condone Major Cummings' action in the spring riot. William Bradford, post sutler at Fort Towson, and Claiborne Wright, county sheriff, were the candidates for the seat in the Territorial Council. Aaron Hanscom of Pecan Point was choice of the "military" faction for the House of Representatives against the notorious Jesse Cheek and James Hanks of the "anti-military" group; William Shannon ran as an independent, representing the settlers south of Red River. In the election, held August 1, Bradford apparently defeated Wright by a vote of 107 to 102; the results of the election for a member of the lower house were Hanscom, 90 votes; Cheek, 43; Shannon, 38; and Hanks, 35.[5]

The General Assembly of the Territory met October 4, 1825. Hanscom presented his credentials to the House and was seated as the duly elected member from Miller County. Wright, however, presented himself to the Council and asked to be seated instead of Bradford, who he claimed had been fraudulently returned as member of the body.[6] His petition was referred to the Committee on Elections, Daniel Witter, Hempstead County, chairman. The committee reported that in reality Wright had obtained a majority of three votes over Bradford; the discrepancy between the true vote and the returns from the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Miller County had been caused by the rejection of the votes of Sevier Township for alleged illegality in the returns; the judges and clerks of the election in the disputed township had been selected and sworn in proper form; and Bradford had produced no evidence to the contrary. Wright, therefore, was the duly elected member of the Council and was seated as such.[7]

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[4] Henry W. Conway to James Barbour, March 15, 1825; James Barbour to Henry W. Conway, March 16, 1825, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, April 19, 1825.

[5] *The Arkansas Gazette*, September 20, 1825.

[6] "Journal of the General Assembly of the Territory of Arkansas" in *The Arkansas Gazette*, October 4, 1825.

[7] "Journal of the General Assembly of the Territory of Arkansas" in *The Arkansas Gazette*, October 11, 1825.

A further reprecussion of the election was an effort on the part of disgruntled settlers, led by Jesse Cheek, to discredit Aaron Hanscom by charging him with having exculpated the officers at Fort Towson from blame in the conflict between citizens and soldiers. Hanscom answered their petition with a statement in the *Arkansas Gazette* that he had not expressed his opinion about the affair; indeed he was not in the county at the time of the riot and had so told the Court of Inquiry; he, it was true, had not joined the clamour against Major Cummings. As for the eighty-nine names affixed to the petition, he believed most of them were written by the same hand and he was confident the hand of the forger was that of Jesse Cheek.[8]

During the fall session of 1825 the General Assembly adopted two measures of interest to Miller County. It memorialized Congress to rescind its action in regard to the Choctaw Treaty, at least, to re-purchase from the Indians the portion of the cession occupied by white settlers.[9] It also legalized the further use of Claiborne Wright's house as the seat of justice of Miller County until the Choctaw Treaty line should be definitely fixed.[10]

Despite Barbour's statement to Henry Conway (made in March, 1825) that the inhabitants of Miller County could expect no concessions after January 1, 1826, another year of grace was granted to them through the magnanimity of the Choctaw commissioners. In February, 1926, the Gazette reported:

> We are happy to state, and we do it on authority which may be relied upon, that an arrangement has been entered into between the Commissioners of the Choctaw Nations, who accompanied Mr. James S. Conway in his late survey of the eastern boundary of the lands ceded to them, and the citizens residing west of the line, by which the latter will remain in possession of their improvements for one year longer. This arrangement has been sanctioned by the authorities at Washington, provided the Commissioners should give assent to it, in behalf of their nation . . . which consent has been obtained.[11]

Politically, 1826 was an uneventful year. Many of the settlers, secure in their improvement for another year, continued their farming, animated, no doubt, by the belief, despite the statements of the federal government to the contrary, that in the end they would be confirmed in the ownership of their possessions. Not a few, less sturdy or less optimistic, left for other areas.[12] By the summer of

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[8] A. Hanscom to William Woodruff, October 31, 1825, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, November 1, 1825.

[9] "Memorial of the General Assembly of the Territory of Arkansas to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America" in *The Arkansas Gazette*, November 15, 1825.

[10] "An Act to establish the place of holding Circuit Court in Miller County," approved October 26, 1825, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, December 13, 1825.

[11] *The Arkansas Gazette*, February 7, 1826.

[12] "List of Delinquents and Insolvents owing County Taxes to the County of Miller, in the Territory of Arkansas for the year 1826" in *The Arkansas Gazette*, July 24, 1827. For list see the appendix at end of chapter.

1827, a population that had been estimated at 2,500 souls two years before had dwindled to 751.[13]

In the autumn of 1826 the General Assembly addressed a second memorial to Congress asking whether "some provision either in money or lands should not be made for the relief of those few of their distressed fellow-citizens who had made improvements . . . . east of the Poto and Kiamiche, and west of the Choctaw eastern boundry line as established by the treaty of January 20, 1825."[14] The gravamen of this petition was denied and the slender thread of hope to which the settlers had clung was broken on February 27, 1827, by an unfavorable report of the Committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives. The committee expressed the belief that there were extenuating circumstances so far as *bona fide* settlers were concerned, but refused to assume that they had located upon the public lands north of Red River in ignorance of the repeated statements of the federal government that the lands were within the unsurveyed public domain. The purchase of the improvements, the committee furthermore declared, would be in contravention of the Treaty of Washington.[15] In October, 1827, the General Assembly recognized in the Choctaw Treaty a *fait accompli* by enacting that the courthouse of Miller County was to remain at the residence of Claiborne Wright only until the boundary line of the cession should be definitely ascertained; thereafter the seat of justice was to be moved by the Judge of the Circuit Court to a place selected by him to the east of the treaty line.[16]

The days of "Old" Miller County were now indeed numbered. October 17, 1828, the General Assembly abolished the county of Miller north of Red River and west of the Choctaw Treaty Line. Out of the residue of the county plus a portion of the western part

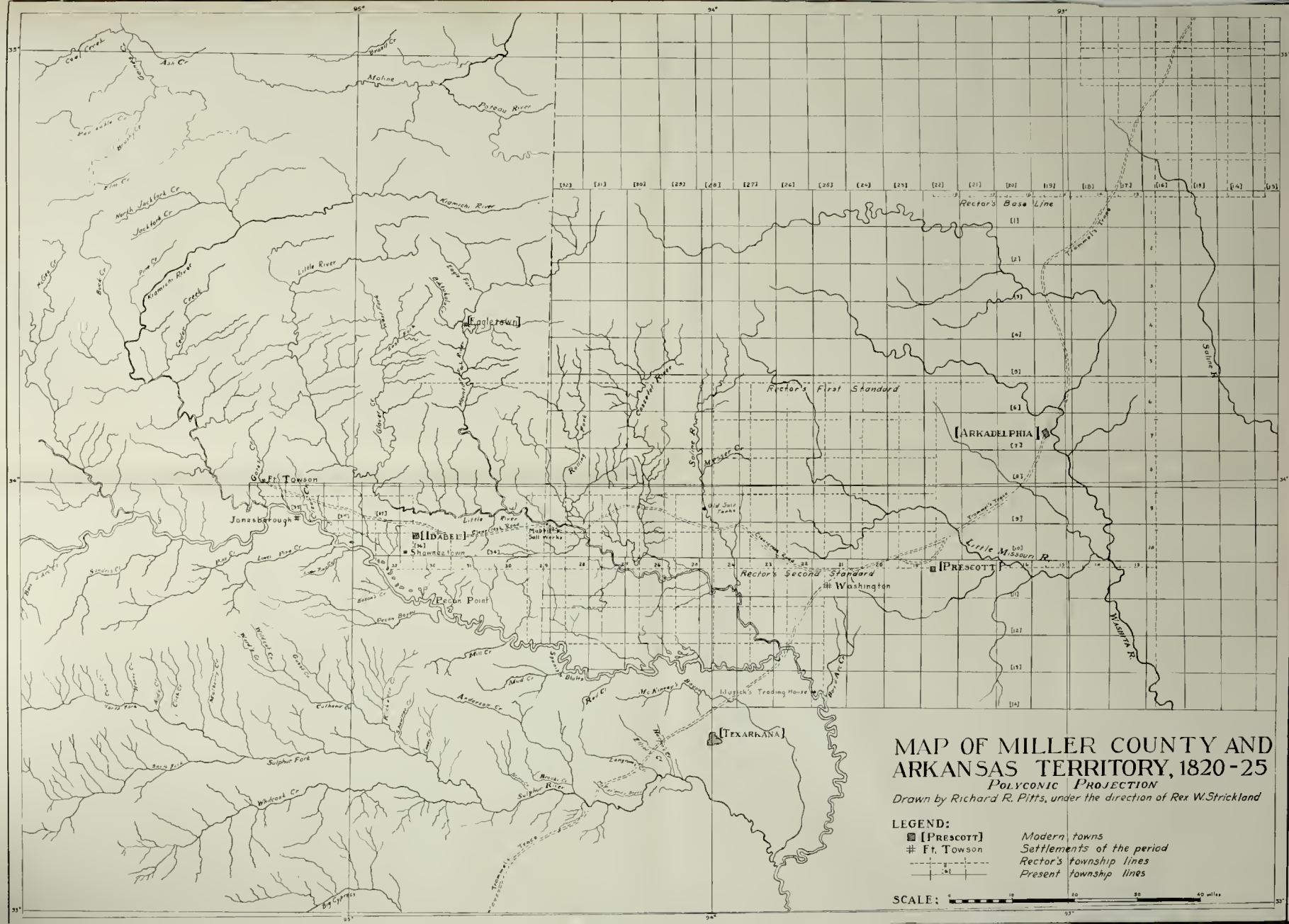
[13] *The Arkansas Gazette,* August 23, 1827. The population was distributed as follows:

	WHITE PERSONS					COLORED PERSONS					TOTAL
	MALES			FEMALES		FREE		SLAVES			
Townships	Over 45	14-45	Under 14	Over 14	Under 14	Males	Females	Over 45	16-45	10-16	
Pecan	12	50	43	36	31	0	0	3	16	2	193
Washington	11	33	35	29	24	0	0	3	10	7	152
Jefferson	5	17	22	14	29	0	0	1	1	0	89
Clay	11	38	70	49	42	0	1	1	15	2	229
Sevier	13	14	22	19	20						88
											751

[14] *American State Papers*: *Public Lands,* IV, 798.

[15] *American State Papers*: *Public Lands,* IV, 958.

[16] "An Act to provide for the temporary location of the seat of justice of Miller County," approved October 31, 1827, in *The Arkansas Gazette,* December 25, 1827.


MAP OF MILLER COUNTY AND ARKANSAS TERRITORY, 1820-25
POLYCONIC PROJECTION
Drawn by Richard R. Pitts, under the direction of Rex W. Strickland
LEGEND:
[PRESCOTT] Modern towns
Ft. Towson Settlements of the period
Rector's township lines
Present township lines
SCALE:
Rector's Base Line
Rector's First Standard
Rector's Second Standard
[ARKADELPHIA]
[PRESCOTT]
[IDABEL]
[TEXARKANA]
[Eagletown]
Ft. Towson
Jonesborough
Shawneetown
Pecon Point
Washington
Millwood
Mound Prairie
Old Jail Trace
Trammel's Trace
Little Missouri R.
Washita R.
Red R.
Sulphur Fork
Sulphur River
Kiamichi River
Little River
Mountain Fork
Cossatot River
Saline Bayou
Saline R.
Potean River
Jack fork Cr.
Coal Creek
Ash Cr.
Elm Cr.
Pine Cr.
Buck Cr.
McGee Cr.
Spring Cr.
Lower Pine Cr.
Mill Cr.
Anderson Cr.
Whitcock Cr.
Big Cypress
Trace
Blufts
Illustrick's Trading House
Madrid's Salt Works

of Hempstead County it proceeded to form Sevier County. The boundaries of the new area were defined as beginning at a point where the Choctaw line struck Red River, thence due south to the Louisiana or Mexican line, as the case might be, thence east to the western boundary of Lafayette (approximately the Texas-Arkansas boundary at present), thence north to Red River and thence down that stream (i. e., eastward) to a point opposite the mouth of the Saline, thence north to the mouth of the Saline, thence up that stream to the mouth of Mine Creek, thence up said creek to a point where the line between ranges 27 and 28 crossed said creek, thence north with that line to the north boundry of Clark County, thence due west to the Choctaw boundary and thence south to the point of beginning.[17] Five days after the approval of the act establishing Sevier County, a second measure was adopted increasing the extent of the area of the new jurisdiction south of Red River. The point of beginning of its western boundary was moved up the river from the intersection of the Choctaw line to the mouth of Mill Creek, and ran thence up the creek to its source and thence due south to the southern boundary of the territory.[18]

Despite the fact that all of Miller County north of Red River had either been ceded to the Choctaws or had been incorporated in Sevier County, the Assembly tacitly acknowledged its existence south of the river by providing that the seat of justice should be moved from the residence of Claiborne Wright to the home of Gabriel N. Martin on the south bank.[19] Thus after October 20, 1828, Miller County, Arkansas Territory, lay entirely within the limits of the present state of Texas, as indeed did a good half of Sevier County. The boundaries of the county were not immediately delimited but it is safe to say that the population of the amorphous area lived along Red River between Pecan Point and Upper Pine Creek. The county site was roughly half way between Pecan Point and Jonesborough near the mouth of Bason Creek.[20]

The last gesture of disgust on the part of the inhabitants of Miller County who resided north of the river was the destruction of the courthouse by fire, November 5, 1828. The act of incendiarism destroyed all of the county's records accumulated since 1821.[21] The

[17] "An Act to erect and establish the County of Sevier," approved October 17, 1828, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, November 11, 1828.

[18] "An Act to further define the boundary of Sevier County," approved October 22, 1828, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, November 18, 1828.

[19] "An Act to change the location of the seat of justice in the County of Miller," approved October 20, 1828, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, November 11, 1828.

[20] Martin's head right fronted Red River just above the mouth of Bason Creek. Incidentally Gabriel Martin was Claiborne Wright's son-in-law, having married Henrietta Martin in 1825. Martin was killed by Indians in 1834 and his widow later married Dr. George Bason. The water course takes its name from Dr. Bason, not from Pierre Besson, commandant of the French post of St. Louis de Cadodacho, as Henderson Yoakum erroneously infers in his *History of Texas*, I, 125.

[21] *The Arkansas Gazette*, November 18, 1828.

loss of the archives accounts in part for the scarcity of source material concerning "Old" Miller County and forces the historian to rely upon the files of the *Arkansas Gazette* to a greater extent than he would wish ordinarily. Fortunately, William Woodruff, its editor, depended very little upon hearsay for news but printed *verbatim* letters from representative citizens of the county, many official papers and the correspondence of the civil and military authorities of the territory.

Now that we have traced the political history of "Old" Miller County to its dissolution, it is necessary to retrace our steps and portray the course of domestic events from 1825 to 1828. This review will logically include two significant aspects: first, the constant struggle against Indian depredations, and secondly, the intrigue of the settlers south of Red River with the Mexican authorities of Coahuila and Texas.

Life on the frontier was always complicated by the fear of Indians spoliation. In a large measure the settlers of Miller County, especially those who lived in the Pecan Point and Jonesborough neighborhoods, were fortunate in having, during the formative years when they were most exposed to such inroads, the assistance of friendly immigrant Indians. Particularly serviceable as a bulwark against predatory raids of the nomadic tribes were the Choctaws, Delewares and Shawnees.[22] In 1822, however, a band of sixty Choctaws located on the south side of the river and began a series of raids against the Osages who lived on the Arkansas. These Choctaws, outlaws from their own tribe east of the Mississippi, acted also as intermediaries in the traffic in stolen horses which was carried on over Trammel's Trace from the White River section to Nacogdoches. In consequence of their depredations the powerful Osages retaliated not only upon the renegade Choctaws but upon the white settlers likewise.[23] In addition, white hunters were regularly entering the region west of the Kiamichi in violation of an act of Congress which forbade such practices without the consent of the commandant at Fort Towson.[24] As a result isolated hunting parties were attacked by the Osages and the frontier kept in a continual state of apprehension lest the Indians in revenge should carry their forays into the heart of these settlements.

In April, 1826, Adam Lawrence and his son, John, and his nephews, Henry and Adam Lawrence, in company with a hunter named Dewall were engaged in capturing wild mustangs on the

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[22] "Reminiscences of George Wright," *Sam Bell Maxey Papers*, Paris, Texas, in possession of Mrs. S. B. Long.

[23] R. Wash to Colonel M. Arbuckle, October 31, 1823, in Grant Foreman's transcripts, *Adjutant Generals Office, Old Files Division*, 10 S 24.

[24] Alexander Cummings to Sam C. Roane, November 24, 1824, copy inclosed in Cummings to Gen. N. Atkinson, April 8, 1825, in Grant Foreman's transcripts, *AGO, OFD*, 30 C 25.

Washita. The elder Lawrence, his son, and young Adam were attacked by a large band of Indians, supposed to be Osages, and pursued several miles on horseback before they were overtaken and the father and son killed. Young Adam made his escape although his hunting shirt was shot full of holes. At the same time Dewall and Henry Lawrence were set upon, while in another direction, and Lawrence was murdered. Dewall owed his life to the superior speed of his mount. Other hunters in the vicinity the same day, April 17, while chased by the Indians were able to outride their assailants. The men who got off without harm brought the news back to the settlements from whence scouting parties were sent out at once to bury the dead.[25] Although Dewall and young Adam Lawrence believed their attackers to have been Osages, the party who went out to inter the dead men found near the bodies a cup with a French inscription, which led some to suspect the Pawnees.[26] This judgment was later confirmed by Wallace, an Indian trader, who returned in the autumn of 1826 from an expedition up Red River. He had visited the Pawnee village and there had seen various articles that he recognized as having belonged to the Lawrences. It was the Pawnees' boast, Wallace reported, that they had killed eight white men recently and announced their further intention of raiding the Red River frontier in the next few months. Moreover, they tried to assassinate Wallace but he was saved by the intervention of the Comanches, with whom he was friendly.[27]

If the Osages were guiltless of the murder of the Lawrences they were sufficiently culpable in other cases to warrant the suspicion that fell upon them. On the last day of July, 1826, Richard Poston and his six hunting companions were attacked by Mad Buffalo's band of Osages in the vicinity of the Caddo Hills. Five of the men escaped without harm; but John Hall and a man named Porter fell into their hands. The two were severely beaten, especially Porter, and then stripped entirely naked and forced to walk home bare-foot across the prairies. Hall, the less hardy of the two, suffered terribly from sun-burns; although Porter did not escape their effects. Mad Buffalo and his band then invaded the settlements and on August 4 stole a number of horses from the immediate neighborhood of Fort Towson. The Indian chief was seen at John Stiles' place within four miles of the fort, wearing Porter's hat. Among the horses stolen was Major Cummings' private charger. In reprisal, a party of 100 volunteers left Fort Towson August 16, with the avowed intention of seeking out and destroying Mad Buffalo's village but further silence of the record leads us to believe that the expedition accomplished nothing of

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[25] A letter from Pecan Point to William Woodruff, April 29, 1826, in *The Arkansas Gazette,* May 28, 1826.

[26] *The Arkansas Gazette,* June 27, 1826.

[27] A Letter to the Editor from Miller Courthouse, A. T., October 13, 1826, in *The Arkansas Gazette,* December 5, 1826.

consequence.[28] Incidentally, Hall and Porter recovered from the effects of their ordeal under the expert ministrations of Dr. John Thurston, post surgeon at Fort Towson.

Not satisfied with attacks upon hunting parties, in April, 1827, the Osages invaded Miller County and killed two members of the Roberts family on Upper Pine Creek, a mile or two from Red River in present day Lamar County, Texas. Tradition asserts, for there is no contemporary account of the murders, that the victims were Luke and John Roberts, brothers and heads of families, who were killed during the absence of their sons.[29] To avenge the death of their kinsmen the sons and nephews of the victims, three in number, accompanied by two Indian allies, invaded the Osage country and killed and scalped a Christian Osage at the Union Mission on Grand River. The Osages, aroused by this hostile incursion, pursued, killed and scalped the entire party.[30] Concerning the entire episode, Thomas Ragsdale, a neighbor of the Robertses, said in later years:

> The Roberds [Roberts] and Masons were very likely killed by Osage Indians. The Indians came in about 1825 or '7 and murdered two of these families in the absence of the young men. Three of the young men—two Roberds and one Mason—followed them to their village and secreted themselves in a sink hole. At daylight they attacked the village and fought them all day, and would have made their escape, but one of them had got his thigh broken and the others would not leave him. During the night their ammunition gave out and they were taken prisoners, and their heads cut off.[31]

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[28] A Letter from Miller Courthouse, August 3, 1826, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, August 19, 1826, for the mistreatment of Hall and Porter. Further particulars concerning the attack and the theft of the horses will be found in a letter written August 15, which appears in the *Gazette*, August 29, 1826.

[29] Fragmentary evidence shows that Luke and John Roberts, senior (?), each had a number of sons, but, at present it is not possible to differentiate one group from the other. Butler, W. P., and Luke Roberts signed the Miller County petition; Reading and James Roberts were cited for assault to murder Thomas Scott in 1824 (*vide Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVIII, 161); James Roberts helped John Bowman to kill a friendly Cherokee in Texas, March, 1827, Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 248. John Roberts, junior (?), lived in the vicinity of Jonesborough in 1834. "Order for a road from M. C. to Sulphur Fork, July 24, 1834" in *George Travis Wright Papers*. In an article published in the Clarksville *Northern Standard*, August 25, 1882, the name of one of the victims was recalled as W. P. Roberts. Despite the comparative lateness of the date of this article, it carries almost the weight of contemporary evidence since it was compiled by Charles DeMorse from the recollections of men and women whose memories went back to the earliest days of the settlements on Red River.

[30] *The Arkansas Gazette*, October 8, 1828.

[31] *Lamar Papars*, III, 276. Thomas Ragsdale was a brother-in-law of one of the younger Robertses—probably John Roberts, junior (?); thus his recollection is more than just that of a man who listened to current rumors. It is known furthermore that Mansel Mason married one of Ragsdale's sisters; therefore, he, too, was a brother-in-law of John Roberts, junior (?). In the *Arkansas Gazette*, October 8, 1828, it is said the avenging party was made up of one white man and two half breeds. The white man must have been Mason, possibly an elder brother of Mansel Mason. It appears then one of the elder Roberts had married an Indian.

Despite the confusion of the sources, two things seem certain: First, certain older members of the Roberts family were killed by an invasion of the Osages, and secondly, efforts at retaliation by younger members resulted in their death at the hands of the aborigines. [32]

Early in April, 1828, Governor George Izard of Arkansas received a petition from a great number of the citizens of Miller County setting forth that bands of Shawnees and Delawares had congregated at Pecan Point and were threatening the security of the community. This news was confirmed by a sworn statement from the grand jury of the county, prepared at the March term of the court, and by a letter from Major J. W. G. Pierson, the commander of the county's militia. [33] In response to the appeal Izard sent Colonel William Rector, Adjutant General of the Arkansas Militia, to Pecan Point. Rector applied to Captain Hyde at Fort Towson for assistance to remove the unruly Indians but was told the garrison was too weak to spare a contingent for the service. Rector then called upon the citizens of Miller County and sixty-three volunteers responded to the summons. He marched to the village with the intention of using force, if necessary, to remove the intruders. The Indians, however, sued for peace; their request for twenty days time in which to remove from the limits of the territory was deemed reasonable and the request granted.[34] Rector returned to Little Rock, May 5, and reported the success of his mission to Izard. The governor commended Rector's action in the matter and showed his appreciation of the alacrity with which the citizens had responded to his call by issuing commissions to Pierson and his subordinates and by asking for a muster roll of the volunteers, so that he could issue pay to them for their services.[35]

In the fall of 1828, the inhabitants of the Jonesborough and Pecan Point settlements, alarmed by the rumors of an Indian invasion, deserted their homes and crossed to the north bank of the river. With them went friendly Delawares and Shawnees, who, for some reason, had escaped expulsion with their kinsmen in the spring. On the whole there seems to have been no real occasion for apprehension,

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[32] The stone erected by the Texas Centennial Commission near the traditional site of the Roberts massacre carried two erroneous statements. First, it states that the family of J. W. G. Pierson was among the victims and secondly that the killings occurred in 1821. Pierson, we know, did not come to the Red River area until 1824; he was already married to Isaac Pennington's daughter by whom he had three children. Two of these were alive much later than April, 1827, the true date of the murders. If Mrs. Pierson and the other child had been killed by Indians, the fact would have surely been recorded in Pierson's biographical sketch in *Lone Star State: Central Texas*, 612. Pierson left Miller County after the break-up in 1828 for south Texas, participated in the revolt against Mexico, took part in the Mier Expedition of 1842, was imprisoned in Mexico until 1844, from whence he returned to his home in Robertson County, Texas, where he died April 9, 1849.

[33] "Proclamation of Governor George Izard," issued May 8, 1828, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, May 14, 1828.

[34] *The Arkansas Gazette*, May 7, 1828.

[35] *The Arkansas Gazette*, May 14, 1828.

although, it is true, that, earlier in the summer, either the Pawnees or Osages had killed two soldiers within a few miles of Fort Towson. J. W. G. Pierson wrote to Governor Izard on October 2 that he had been out the frontier but had been unable to find evidence of Indians other than the party which had attacked the soldiers. Of the hostile party, seven of its eleven members were killed by the soldiers during the fight and subsequently two more were killed by friendly Cherokees. This stanch reception, Pierson believed, would discourage any further attempt on the part of the hostiles to invade the settlement.[36]

The continual fear of Indian depredations lent itself in 1827 to the machinations of various leaders, living south of Red River, who felt, justly perhaps, that the government of the United States had made no vigorous effort to protect their settlements against predatory raids. Using this state of affairs as a basis to rationalize their actions, Nathaniel Robbins and Charles Burkham, among others, opened negotiations with José Antonio Saucedo, political chief of the province of Texas, with the view of establishing an *ayuntamiento* at Pecan Point. The intrigue grew up in part as a reaction against the efforts of the leaders of the ill-advised, abortive Fredonian Rebellion to attach the settlers at Pecan Point to their cause. For in December, 1826, Benjamin W. Edwards and H. B. Mayo had written the Red River settlers a particularly inflammatory letter, calling upon them in the name of Americans to resist the instruments of tyranny as exemplified by the Mexican government. [37] Apparently the results obtained were directly the opposite to those desired. The men of Pecan Point were not interested in a republic built upon an alliance with the Cherokees; on the other hand they eagerly accepted the opportunity to protest their loyalty to the Mexican government, and, at the same time, to give vent to their smoldering opposition to the real and fancied wrongs they had suffered at the hands of the officials of the Arkansas Territory. To that end, on February 20, 1827, they drew up a memorial to José Antonio Saucedo, political chief of the department of Texas, pointing out that they were ready to cast off the anomalous relationship which they had with the United States and to assume their proper place in the Republic of Mexico. Nathaniel Robbins and Doctor Lewis B. Dayton conveyed the petition to San Felipe de Austin and presented it to Saucedo. The political chief's reply to the overture was reflected in a proclamation, addressed by Charles Burkham to the inhabitants of Lost Prairie, June 12, 1827, in which he said:

> I have the honor to inform you, that I have completed by business with the Mexican government, to go against any hostile Indians in the Government. The men will keep all the property they take from the enemy and it is believed, the officers of the Mexican Government will allow them

[36] *The Arkansas Gazette*, October 21, 1828.

[37] B. W. Edwards and H. B. Mayo to the Inhabitants of Pecan Point, December 25, 1826, in E. C. Barker (ed.), *The Austin Papers*, II, 1542; *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, Second Part, 1919.

a handsome compensation for their services. Any man or men wishing to engage in the service, will be thankfully received, at any place, above the Spanish Bluffs, on the south side of Red River, as it is unknown where the boundary line between the two governments will fall, and I do not wish to get into any difficulty whatever. The men must furnish themselves with a horse and gun, ammunition and 35 days' provisions. They will rendezvous at Pecan Point, the 20th day of July next, and elect their officers, and march to the Pawnees or Comanches. The Government of the Province of Texas has sent a letter to the inhabitants of Pecan Point, a copy of which I will send you at the first opportunity.[38]

The letter to which Burkham refers here is undoubtedly the one written by José Antonio Saucedo to the inhabitants of Pecan Point, April 19, 1827, from San Felipe de Austin. Two copies are available; one found in the *Austin Papers* and the other in the *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of the Arkansas Territory.* The copies do not differ materially; the one quoted here is that found in the committee's report, to which is appended "Orders to Dayton and Robbins," missing in the *Austin Papers*:[39]

I have received, from Messrs. Nathaniel Robbins and Doct. Lewis B. Dayton, the representations which you directed to me, under the date of 20th February, of the present year, in which you complain, that officers of the U. S. of America, exact from you taxes and other contributions, which, in your opinion, you ought not to pay, on account of your being established on the lands of the Republic of Mexico; at the time petitioning assistance and protection from this government, as well as to avoid those exactions, as for your defense against incursions of hostile Indians. On which particulars I have to state to you, it is not in the bounds of my faculties to remedy the evils which afflict you, not knowing the place where the division line of the two Republics will fall. You must, therefore, bear with patience the disgust of such treatment, with the understanding that, under this date, I forward your representations to His Excellency the Governor of this state, asking of him the necessary auxillaries for that part of the frontier, of which you will undoubtedly reap the benefit, should your fate decide, that you are within the Mexican territory. And, in the meantime, until the resolution of the Supreme Government is made known, I see no objections to prevent the inhabitants who are in the Mexican territory in that quarter, from forming a provisional organization, for the administration of government for yourselves, regulated by the laws and customs with which you are acquainted, provided that such regulations shall not be contrary to the constitution of the country which you wish to adopt.

The courier who bore Saucedo's letter to the inhabitants of Pecan Point brought also a memorandum from the political chief detailing the steps which he believed expedient for the formation of a municipality of the Mexican province of Texas on Red River. This advice was incorporated in the "Orders to Dayton and Robbins," as follows:

I, Jose Antonio Saucedo, Chief of the Department of the Province of Texas, do make known, to Doctor Lewis B. Dayton and Colonel Nathaniel

[38] Inclosure in the "Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of the Arkansas Territory", October 19, 1827, in *The Arkansas Gazette*, November 6, 1827.

[39] The letter carried by Robbins and Dayton to Saucedo is not to be found in the *Bexar Archives*; but J. A. S(aucedo) to "Avitantes" at "Puenta Pecana", April 19, 1827, is in the collection.

Robbins, the lawful Representatives of the inhabitants of Pecan Point, on the south bank of the Red River, within the Province of Texas, and the Government of Mexico, that the said inhabitants are authorized to organize a provisional Government, if they think proper, provided that the said provisional organization is not repugnant to the Government of Mexico, and that protection is promised the said inhabitants while they remain in the Province of Texas.

Article 1st. The inhabitants are to elect a suitable number of representatives to form such civil laws, and military laws as they are entitled to live under.

Art. 2nd. Two Commissioners to be elected, to make reports to the government, and to receive orders from the government.

Art. 3d. The inhabitants are to elect a suitable number of alcaldes and commandants.

Art. 4th The inhabitants are to elect militia officers.

Art. 5th. Alcaldes and commandants are to hold their offices for one year.

Art. 6th. The inhabitants to report the number of improvements occupied by them, and their names to be signed to the reports, and delivered to the commissioners, and the government will appoint a commissioner to make titles to their lands; and the Empresario has nothing to do with the improvements of old settlers.

Art. 7th. The commissioners are to receive reports from the inhabitants and alcaldes, relative to the elections and all affairs of the provisional government, and to make reports yearly to the governor of the state.

Art. 8th. The old settlers are to pay the surveyors' fees and office fees for their lands. One league of land will be allowed to each family; to a single man, one quarter of a league of land.

Art. 9th. The alcaldes to give notice to the officers of adjoining counties in the U. S., as soon as they are elected; all persons refusing to serve in the aforesaid offices, when elected, shall forfeit and pay to the government five hundred dollars; the commissioners will report them to the government.

The above orders and directions were given to the commissioners elect in behalf of the citizens of Pecan Point by Samuel Williams, translator for his excellency the governor, at Austin's Colony, in the province of Texas, the 19th of April, 1827.

The receipt of Saucedo's letter and the dissemination of its contents threw the frontier into a fever of rumors and restlessness. The uncertainty of the inhabitants of the area south of Red River concerning the exact location of the boundry line made many fearful that their land claims rested upon precarious foundations. Other adventurous persons were willing to cast off the allegiance to the United States which entailed their conformance to law and the payment of taxes without, at the same time, assuming the obligation of citizens to the Republic of Mexico. The heartless manner in which a majority of these men had been dispossessed from their improvements north of the river in favor of the Choctaws now bore fruit. They were

quite ready to listen to the promises of the distant political chief (who it must be said acted with discretion and diplomacy) rather than to the emissaries of a government that had once removed them from their holdings with too scant compunction. Not all of the citizens of Pecan Point were disaffected, of course; as a matter of fact, apparently the first intimation of the incipient *emeute* to be conveyed to the Arkansas territorial authorities was contained in a letter written by "a respectable gentleman in Miller County" to Editor Woodruff of *The Arkansas Gazette,* June 21, 1827. The gentleman (in all probability Aaron Hanscom of Pecan Point) wrote that Nathaniel Robbins had recently received documents from Mexican authorities preparatory to granting lands to the settlers south of Red River.[40]

In turn Major Alexander Cummings, commandant at Fort Towson, took steps to ascertain the credibility of the rumors current along the river, sending Lieut. William S. Colquhoun to Pecan Point to talk to the settlers concerning their intentions. The young officer completed his survey about the first of July and upon his return to Fort Towson incorporated his findings in the following letter to Cummings:

Sir—In obedience to your order, on my arrival at Pecan Point, I demanded of Mr. Nathaniel Robbins (one of the Commissioners named in the communications of Mr. Saucedo, the Chief of the Department of Texas), by what authority he and others had acted in opposition to the government of the United States, by holding meetings and making projects of civil and military associations, in violation of the established law. After having repeatedly assured me that nothing farther would be attempted, until the boundary line is run; and that their principal object is to acquire titles to their lands, from the Mexican Government, under whose jurisdiction they feel assured of coming, as soon as the division line between the two countries is known, Mr. Robbins exhibited to me a letter addressed to the inhabitants of Pecan Point, from Jose Antonio Saucedo, Chief of the Department of Texas, and also a project of rules and regulations intermediately to be adopted, between the period of running the line and the arrival of proper instructions from the Mexican Government, (copies of which papers are herewith inclosed).

Learning that a Mr. Burkham, who lives twenty miles below Pecan Point, had been commissioned a Captain in the Mexican service, and intended raising under the flag of that nation, a body of men, to make war on the Comanche Indians, I felt authorized, for his government as well as others who might join him, to warn him that the band would be treated as public enemies, and promptly put down by the authorities. I also stated, in a notice I left with A. Hanscom, Esq., at Pecan Point, that the authority said to have been given to establish a provisional government, could not exist, from the very tenor of the letter of Mr. Saucedo, the Chief of Texas.

In conclusion, I have to report, that, in riding through the country, I discovered no disposition on the part of the inhabitants to join any party; but all seemed anxious for the boundary line to be run, so that they may obtain titles to their lands.

[40] "Respectable Gentleman in Miller County to the Editor", June 21, 1827, in *The Arkansas Gazette,* July 24, 1827.

The result of Colquhoun's warning was not immediately apparent. A "respectable citizen of Miller County" (internal evidence shows it to have been Aaron Hanscom, mentioned in Colquhoun's letter to Major Cummings) wrote to Cummings from Pecan Point, July 6, describing the officer's visit and its effect. He said:

> Dear Sir—I am truly sorry to inform you, that I believe Messrs. Burkham and Robbins are really making efforts to get up a military expedition, for the purpose of going against the Comanches. It is reported, that they are to rendezvous at Mill Creek, on the 20th inst., and that written notices to that effect have been circulated, but I have not seen any of them. I saw and conversed yesterday, with young Mr. Burkham, a son of the Commander in Chief, who says that he himself[41] is one of the party that is going. He informed me, that his father and Col. Robbins were determined to start by the 20th of August, if they should collect but twenty men, though they hoped to be able to collect a hundred. Some efforts have doubtless been made, on this side of the river for the purpose of getting them to join the expedition. This intelligence I have had from the Shawnees and Delawares.
>
> P. S. I sent the paper which Lt. Colquhoun left here to Mr. Burkham, by his son; though he informed me, that his father and Col. Robbins were apprised of its contents, and also your endeavors to prevent their proceedings.[42]

Subsequent developments proved that the citizens of the Pecan Point area were not as hostile toward the government of the United States as it had been thought. Burkham's proclamation met with a rather cold reception. Not enough volunteers presented themselves to form a sufficiently strong band to make the foray into the Comanche country. Moreover the inhabitants manifested a willingness to conform to the law of the United States until the demarcation of the boundary line should definitely determine the exact jurisdiction to which they should give allegiance. The mountain of discontent had labored and brought forth a mouse of grumbling but no defined resistance.

Of the three persons most intimately connected with the abortive attempt to set up a new government, two, Nathaniel Robbins and Charles Burkham, had been connected with the Miller County's history for a number of years. Doctor Lewis B. Dayton remains an enigmatical figure. He had been a citizen of Miller County earlier but in the winter of 1825-26 he had emigrated to south Texas[43] where

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[41] James Burkham was about 21 years of age in 1827. He was the eldest son of Charles Burkham. Milam's *Registro.*

[42] Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of the Arkansas Territory, in *The Arkansas Gazette,* November 6, 1827. All of the documents and letters quoted were inclosed in a letter from Major Alexander Cummings to Governor George Izard, July 24, 1827, *The Arkansas Gazette,* July 31, 1827, and November 6, 1827. See also George Izard to Secretary of War of the United States, July 31, 1827, in "Correspondence of Governor Izard," *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association,* I, 451.

[43] "Recollections of Captain Gibson Kuykendall" in the *Texas Historical Association Quarterly,* VII, 49.

he made his home with William Robbins, a kinsman of Nathaniel Robbins (son?). In 1827, he was boarding at the home of Mrs. J. C. Peyton at San Felipe; early in September he was seized by a mob and tarred and feathered for his opposition to Stephen F. Austin.[44] On the whole he seems to have been a constant agitator whose presence was less to be desired than his absence.

So far as we are able to determine, Robbins, Burkham and their associates made no effort to organize a political subdivision of Mexican Texas at Pecan Point. In fact, within a year, the men who had been leaders in the negotiations with Saucedo were among the first to be elected as officials in the "Second" Miller County, which lay, as will be seen, entirely within the boundaries of Texas. From their protestations of loyalty to Mexico they turned with amazing facility to the actuality of allegiance to the United States, and this in spite of the fact that by so doing they were obliged to set up a county of Arkansas on the soil of a foreign country.

Appendix A
A LIST OF DELINQUENTS

For County Taxes, in the County of Miller, Territory of Arkansas, for the year 1825

Atkinson, Joseph	removed	.50
Anderson, Walter	"	1.73
Grafton, John	"	.68
Grayham, Wm.	"	.50
Herrel, Joel	"	1.50
Hudgen(s), (Ambrose)	"	8.75
Herrell, Timothy	"	1.82
Herrell, Lydah	"	4.16
Hudson, John (probably John Hanks)	"	.66
Hanks, Orator (Horatio)	"	.50
Little, Silas	"	.25
Langford, Thomas	"	.50
Lane, Alfred	"	.25
Mooss, Nereah	"	.85
Madglen, Wm.	"	.50
Megarry, Thomas	"	.31
Pendergrass, Merry (Mary Pendergast)	insolvent	1.10
Chandler, Jacob	removed	2.07
Curethers, John (Caruthers)	"	.50
Clark, Samuel	"	.25
Crownover, John	"	1.56
Crownover, Jacob	"	1.18
Dooley, George	"	3.68
Martin, Neal (Cornelius)	"	3.26
McKelvey, Hugh	"	1.00
Murphy, Enos	"	1.00
Nall, John W.	"	1.18
Nadever, Jacob (Nidever)	"	2.31
Nadever, George (Nidever)	"	.70
Polk, Benjamin	"	1.05

[44] *Papers of Mirabeau B. Lamar*, IV (Part 1), 254; H. H. League to Austin, August 28, September 10, 1827, *Austin Papers*, II, 1677, 1680.

Pelham, William	"	.68
Polk, Taylor, senior	"	1.50
Ross, William	"	.25
Sharp, James A.	"	.50
Suelgrave, Jackemeah	"	.50
Suelgrave, Benjamin	"	.56
Smith, Gabriel	"	.68
Scretchfield, Flemon (Fleming)	"	1.00
Strickland, Amos	"	.95
Stiles, John	"	1.38
Strickland, David	"	.87
Strickland, James	"	1.23
Strickland, Samuel	"	.50
Slover, John	removed	.75
Slover, Robert	"	.56
Thomson, Rachel (Thompson)	"	.56
Welch, Daniel	insolvent	.75
Wyat, Joseph (Wyatt)	removed	1.00
Warrington, John P.	"	.50
Willis, Authur	"	.50

I, Clayborn Wright, Sheriff of Miller County, do certify the foregoing to be a true list of delinquents of said county, for year 1825

CLAYBORN WRIGHT, *Sheriff*
Miller County, Apr. 29, 1826

The Arkansas Gazette, May 30, 1826

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

1862

By Dean Trickett

I.

The policy of the Federal Government toward the enlistment of Indians in the Union Army was vacillating during the first year of the war. Hole-in-the-Day, a northern chief, tendered the services of himself and a hundred or more of his Chippewa warriors on May 1, 1861,[1] but the offer was flatly rejected by Secretary of War Cameron a week later. Prefacing his rejection with admiration of the sentiments which prompted the offer, Cameron declared "the nature of our present national troubles forbids the use of savages and makes it imperative upon this department to decline the offer of the Chippewa chief."[2] Not until the last day in the year did the Federal Government officially sanction the muster of Indian warriors.

Superintendent H. B. Branch, of the Central Superintendency, in charge of the Indians of Kansas and Nebraska, also opposed their use in active warfare. In his annual report for 1861 he said:

> "The question of the organization of the Indians into military bands for the defense of Kansas and Nebraska has been agitated considerably, but I beg leave to report adversely to the measure. The Indians, as at present situated, must follow the chase, and they cannot engage in war and also pursue the hunt, while civilization and humanity demand that they confine themselves to peaceful avocations, and that the hatchet, now buried, be never brought to light by those whose mission it is to advance them in the arts and pursuits of peace."[3]

Branch still adhered to that opinion a year later, although many of his wards were then in the Union Army. "It is unwise to employ Indians in the military service of the country," he declared in his report for 1862.[4]

William P. Dole, commissioner of Indian affairs, was less scrupulous, however, than Branch. Although in September, 1861, Dole wrote: "I am disinclined to encourage the Indians to engage in this war except in extreme cases, as guides";[5] later in the year, under the stimulus of news of Opothleyoholo's valiant resistance in the Indian Territory, he instigated a plan to enlist 4,000 volunteers among the loyal Indians of the Central Superintendency.

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[1] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1904), Series III, I, 140. Hereafter cited as *O. R.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 184

[3] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), 50.

[4] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), 98.

[5] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), 233. Dole to Prince, Sept. 13, 1861.

Commissioner Dole repeatedly urged that something be done to protect the loyal Indians. Endeavoring late in April, 1861, to learn whether the Government intended to maintain in the Indian Territory a force sufficient for that purpose, he addressed a letter of inquiry[6] to Secretary of the Interior Smith, who in turn referred the matter to the War Department. Dole got no satisfaction, however, from Secretary Cameron's reply:

". . . I have the honor to state that on the 17th April instructions were issued by this department to remove the troops stationed at Forts Cobb, Arbuckle, Washita, and Smith to Fort Leavenworth, leaving it to the discretion of the commanding officer to replace them, or not, with Arkansas volunteers. The exigencies of the service will not admit any change in these orders."[7]

At the end of May, Commissioner Dole made a second attempt to arouse the War Department to the plight of the Indians. Addressing Secretary Smith, he wrote:

"I desire again to call your attention, and through you that of the War Department, to what seems to me the necessity of sending a military force into the Indian country west of Arkansas . . . Our duty under treaty stipulations requires that we protect these tribes from the mischievous intermeddling of white persons without their borders. . .[8]

The letter was referred to Secretary Cameron, but to no purpose. Ignored also was Dole's suggestion in August "that where United States soldiers cannot be furnished, arms and ammunition should be given to the Indian agents, to be used in their discretion in supplying the friendly Indians with the means of defense."[9]

Senator Lane, of Kansas, however, consulted no one. Ignorant of or, more likely, contemptuous of the policy of the Government, he addressed a circular letter August 22 to the Indian agents of six of the Kansas tribes. Writing to them from Fort Lincoln, twelve miles north of Fort Scott, where he was engaged in organizing a brigade of volunteers, he said:

"For the defense of Kansas I have determined to use the loyal Indians . . . To this end I have appointed Augustus Wattles, Esq., to confer with you and adopt such measures as will secure the early assembling of the Indians at this point."[10]

Wattles, a special agent of the Indian Office, informed H. W. Farnsworth, agent of the Kaw (Kansas) Indians, three days later

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[6] *Ibid.*, 74. Dole to Smith, Apr. 30, 1861.

[7] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1919), 60. Cameron to Smith, May 10, 1861.

[8] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861*, 35-36.

[9] *Ibid.*, 39.

[10] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 229. Lane to Indian Agents, Sac and Foxes, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, and Kaws, Tribes of Indians, Aug. 22, 1861.

that "General Lane intends to establish a strong Indian camp near the neutral lands as a guard to prevent forage into Kansas."[11]

But on the following day, the 26th, the organization of the Indians was suspended:

"The necessity seemed imperative," wrote Wattles to Farnsworth. "But on hearing that the commissioner of Indian affairs was in Kansas and will probably see you, I think it best to say nothing to the Indians till he is consulted in the matter."[12]

On arrival in Kansas late in August, Commissioner Dole learned that General Fremont, commander of the Department of the West, had written to F. Johnson, agent of the Delawares, requesting Fall Leaf, a Delaware, to "organize a party of 50 men" for special service in the department. Johnson had "found the chiefs unwilling that their young men should enter the service." Dole interceded, assuring the chiefs that "the Government was not asking them to enter the war as a tribe," but failed to shake their opposition.[13] Fall Leaf and a number of other Delawares enlisted, however, with the consent of Dole, and served as scouts and guides for the Union armies. Writing to Capt. W. E. Prince, commandant at Fort Leavenworth, Commissioner Dole said:

"I am disinclined to encourage the Indians to engage in this war except in extreme cases, as guides. I have in this case used my influence in favor of the formation of this company, without any knowledge of the views of the Government, supposing General Fremont was in special need of them or he would not have made the request."[14]

A change in the military situation prevented a renewal of Lane's efforts to employ Indians in active warfare. The last week in August, General Sterling Price moved north from Springfield, Missouri, and during the next two months Lane's brigade hovered on the flank of Price's army and marched up and down through the western border counties of Missouri.

Although Lane was forced to abandon his plan for the time being, he continued to advocate the use of Indians as soldiers. Early in October he endorsed a proposal made by Agent Johnson to raise an auxiliary regiment of Indians.[15]

At odds with Captain Prince and Governor Robinson, of Kansas, Senator Lane wrote to President Lincoln October 9 requesting and recommending "the establishment of a new military department, to be composed of Kansas, the Indian country, and so much of Arkansas

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[11] *Ibid.*, 229. Wattles to Farnsworth, Aug. 25, 1861.

[12] *Ibid.*, 231. Wattles to Farnsworth, Aug. 26, 1861.

[13] *Ibid.*, 231-32. Dole to Fremont, Sept. 13, 1861.

[14] *Ibid.*, 233. Dole to Prince, Sept. 13, 1861.

[15] *Ibid.*, 248-49. Johnson to Dole, Oct. 10, 1861.

and the territories as may be thought advisable to include therein." He offered to resign his seat in the Senate if given the command.[16]

Exactly a month later, November 9, the new department was created, but General David Hunter was placed in command:

"2. The Department of Kansas, to include the State of Kansas, the Indian Territory west of Arkansas, and the territories of Nebraska, Colorado, and Dakota, to be commanded by Major General Hunter, headquarters at Fort Leavenworth."[17]

At the same time, General Henry W. Halleck was made commander of the Department of the Missouri, which included Missouri and Arkansas.[18]

General Hunter assumed command November 20[19] and arrived at Fort Leavenworth about the 27th.[20] He immediately "telegraphed for permission to muster a brigade of Kansas Indians into the service of the United States, to assist the friendly Creek Indians in maintaining their loyalty."[21] His request, ignored by the War Department, was prompted no doubt by his conference with the delegation of Indians escorted to Fort Leavenworth by Agent Cutler late in November.[22]

In the meantime, General McClellan had conceived an expedition against northern Texas by way of the Indian Territory. General Hunter was informed of the plan by Adjutant General Thomas in a letter dated November 26, which was delayed in transit:

"The general-in-chief thinks an expedition might be made to advantage from your department west of Arkansas against northeastern Texas. He accordingly desires you to report at an early date what troops and means at your disposal you could bring to bear on that point."[23]

Hunter replied by telegraph December 11, taking a pessimistic view of the military situation:

"In reply I have the honor to report that I think the expedition proposed by the general-in-chief altogether impracticable. We have a hostile Indian force, estimated at 10,000, on the south, and Price's command, some 20,000, on our east and north. To cope with this force we have only about 3,000 effective men, scattered over an extended frontier."[24]

With the enemy having "ten to our one," Hunter was doubtful even of the safety of Kansas and Fort Leavenworth.

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[16] *O. R.*, Series I, III, 529-30.
[17] *Ibid.*, 567.
[18] *Ibid.*, 567.
[19] *Ibid.*, VIII, 370.
[20] Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 74. Dole to Dole, Nov. 23, 1861.
[21] *Ibid.*, 74-75. Hunter to Thomas, Jan. 15, 1862.
[22] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, 138. See also *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861*, 49.
[23] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 379.
[24] *Ibid.*, 428.

His reply irked General McClellan, who answered sharply in an "unofficial" communication of the same date. Repeating his proposal for an expedition to "make a descent upon northern Texas," he requested Hunter to "indicate the necessary force and means for the undertaking."

"Three regiments of Wisconsin infantry have been ordered to report to you," continued McClellan; "also a battery and two companies of cavalry from Minnesota. This is intended only as a commencement, and will be followed up by other troops as rapidly as your wants are known and circumstances will permit."[25]

Replying December 19, General Hunter called attention to the wording of the two orders. In the first he was asked "what troops and means at your disposal you could bring to bear on that point"; in the second to "indicate the necessary force and means for the undertaking."

"Being now for the first time made aware of what is expected of this department," Hunter continued, "I shall lose no time in preparing and forwarding exact estimates of the force that will be necessary for the proposed expedition; and at present may say in rough that at least 20,000 men will be necessary, in addition to those already in and ordered to the department. . .[26]

The first official intimation that Indians were to be used in the expedition was given in a letter December 31 from the Adjutant General's Department to Surg. Gen. C. A. Finley:

"I have respectfully to inform you that four regiments of infantry, seven regiments of cavalry, three batteries of artillery, besides Kansas troops, from 8,000 to 10,000, and about 4,000 Indians, forming an aggregate of about 27,000 troops, are ordered to be concentrated near Fort Leavenworth. . ."[27]

That Senator Lane was to have a prominent part in the expedition was revealed by Lane himself in a letter to General Hunter January 3, 1862:

"It is the intention of the Government to order me to report to you for an active winter's campaign. They have ordered General Denver to another department.[28] . . . They have also ordered you, in conjunction with the Indian Department, to organize 4,000 Indians. Mr. Dole, commissioner, will come out with me."[29]

Lane had returned to Washington late in November for the opening of Congress, and was appointed brigadier general by President Lincoln December 18.[30]

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[25] *Ibid.*, 428-29.
[26] *Ibid.*, 450-51.
[27] *Ibid.*, 576.
[28] Denver was assigned Dec. 2 to command all troops in Kansas. *Ibid.*, 456.
[29] *Ibid.*, 482.
[30] *Kansas Historical Collections* (Topeka: 1881-1928), XI, 225. Ainsworth to Martin, Mar. 26, 1910.

General McClellan was taken sick with typhoid fever shortly before Christmas and confined to his bed for several weeks.[31] During McClellan's illness, President Lincoln seems to have taken over the direction of the expedition. Secretary Cameron was absent from Washington and knew nothing of the plans until they were well under way. Writing to General Hunter January 3, he said:

"I have just had a conversation with General Lane, who, I understand, was authorized during my absence to make preparations to act in conjunction with yourself and with whom I have had no consultation until yesterday. He informs me that he is to go to Kansas to act entirely under your direction, and the department has made preparations for sending him 30,000 troops. Authority was given yesterday (in pursuance of your wishes, as I understood) for the employment by you of 4,000 Indians."[32]

In spite of Lane's protestation, there is no doubt that he was intriguing for sole command of the expedition, which soon began to be spoken of openly as "Lane's expedition," although the preparations were "veiled in mystery." Even Secretary of War Stanton, who succeeded Cameron January 15, was in complete ignorance of the plans of the Government as late as February 1. Writing to Charles A. Dana, of the New York *Tribune*, he said:

"What Lane's expedition has in view, how it came to be set on foot, and what is expected to be accomplished by it, I do not know and have tried in vain to find out. It seems to be a haphazard affair that no one will admit himself to be responsible for."[33]

General Hunter, at Fort Leavenworth, was also left in the dark. In a letter to General Halleck, he later recorded his interpretation of Lane's machinations:

"It seems, from all the evidence before me, that Senator J. H. Lane has been trading at Washington on a capital partly made up of his own senatorial position and partly of such scraps of influence as I may have possessed in the confidence or esteem of the President, said scraps having been 'jayhawked' by the Kansas senator without due consent of the proper owner.

"In other words, I find that 'Lane's great southern expedition' was entertained and sanctioned by the President under misrepresentations made by somebody to the effect that said 'expedition' was the joint design and wish of Senator Lane and myself. Mr. Lincoln doubtless thought he was obliging me and aimed to oblige me in the matter, but so little was I personally consulted, that to this hour I am in ignorance what were the terms of striking points of Senator Lane's programme. Never to this hour has Senator Lane consulted me on the subject directly or indirectly, while the authorities at Washington have preserved a similar indiscreet reticence . . ."[34]

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[31] *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), I, 423-24.

[32] *O. R.*, Series I, LIII, 512.

[33] Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898), 6. Stanton to Dana, Feb. 1, 1862.

[34] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 830.

The inclusion of Indians in the proposed expedition was due to the persistence of Commissioner Dole. When he learned in December of "the noble struggle then being made by Opothleyoholo and the Creeks, Seminoles, and other Indians under him," he renewed his application to the War Department for troops for their relief.[35] As a result, the Interior Department was notified January 2 by Secretary Cameron that 4,000 Indians "from the borders of Kansas and Missouri" would be mustered into the Union Army, and the following day Secretary Smith ordered Dole to assist General Hunter in the organization of the Indians.[36]

Three days later, January 6, Commissioner Dole instructed Superintendent Branch and the agents of the Central Superintendency to begin enrollment of the Indians,[37] but he was unable to leave Washington for Kansas until the 19th.[38]

When General McClellan recovered from his illness, he began once more to supervise the expedition. In a letter to General Hunter January 24, Adjutant General Thomas wrote:

". . . I have respectfully to inform you that Brig. Gen. J. H. Lane, U. S. Volunteers, has urged upon the President and Secretary of War an expedition to be conducted by him from Fort Leavenworth against the region west of Missouri and Arkansas. The outlines of this plan were stated by him to be in accordance with your own views. . .

"The general-in-chief, in conveying to you this information, desires it to be understood that a command independent of you is not given to General Lane, but he is to operate to all proper extent under your supervision and control, and if you deem proper you may yourself command the expedition which may be undertaken."[39]

The discretion given Hunter as to the command of the expedition thwarted Lane's intrigue and blasted the "cherished hope" of his life.[40] Lane arrived at Leavenworth, Kansas, Sunday night, January 26. The following day, before Lane had time to consult with him, General Hunter issued a general order, taking command of the expedition:

"1. In the expedition about to go south from this department, called in the newspapers General Lane's Expedition, it is the intention of the major general commanding the department to command in person, unless otherwise expressly ordered by the Government."[41]

Hunter's action apparently bewildered Lane. He immediately telegraphed a copy of the order to his friend, John Covode, member

[35] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, 147.

[36] *Ibid.*, 150.

[37] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 271. Dole to Branch, Jan. 6, 1862.

[38] *Ibid.*, 272. Mix to Johnson, Jan. 21, 1862.

[39] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 525.

[40] *Kansas Historical Collections*, XI, 226. Lane to Kansas Legislature, Feb. 28, 1862.

[41] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 529.

in Congress of the powerful Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, and urged him to "See the President, Secretary of War, and General McClellan, and answer what shall I do."[42] Covode replied:

"I have been with the man [men] you name. Hunter will not get the money or men he requires. His command cannot go forward. Hold on. Don't resign your seat."[43]

Although Lane might not have the power to rule, it was clear that he had the power to ruin. He made strenuous efforts, however, to gain command of the expedition. The following day, January 28, he had a conference with Opothleyoholo and Halleck Tustenuggee, who were at Leavenworth awaiting the arrival of Commissioner Dole, and enlisted their aid. They wrote to President Lincoln, pleading that Lane command the expedition to their territory:

"General Lane is our friend," said the Creek and Seminole chiefs. "His heart is big for the Indian. He will do more for us than anyone else. The hearts of our people will be sad if he does not come. They will follow him wherever he directs. They will sweep the rebels before them like a terrible fire on the dry prairie."[44]

Resolutions passed by the Kansas Legislature recommended that Lane be appointed major general and assigned to command the southern expedition. They were said by General Hunter to have been "jayhawked" from a reluctant legislature by Lane's promise to resign his seat in the Senate.

"This," explained Hunter, "made all Lane's legislative enemies his most active friends, on the principle of 'anything to get rid of him,' and all the aspirants for his seat at once impressed their friends into voting anything that would create a vacancy."[45]

President Lincoln seems to have resented General McClellan's resumption of control of the expedition. Addressing Secretary of War Stanton January 31, he wrote:

"It is my wish that the expedition commonly called the 'Lane Expedition' shall be as much as has been promised at the Adjutant General's Office under the supervision of General McClellan *and not any more.* I have not intended and do not now intend that it shall be *a great, exhausting affair,* but a snug, sober column of 10,000 or 15,000."

As to Lane's status in the affair, he went on to say:

"General Lane has been told by me many times that he is under the command of General Hunter, and assented to it as often as told. It was the distinct agreement between him and me when I appointed him that he was to be under Hunter."[46]

The following day Stanton wrote to Editor Dana:

"There will be serious trouble between Hunter and Lane . . . But believing that Lane has pluck, and is an earnest man, he *shall have fair play.*"[47]

[42] *Ibid.,* 529-30.
[43] *Ibid.,* 831.
[44] *Ibid.,* 534.
[45] *Ibid.,* 831.
[46] *Ibid.,* 538.
[47] Dana, *op. cit.,* 6.

President Lincoln also wished to "oblige General Lane," but the rules of seniority stood in the way. February 10 he addressed a joint letter to Hunter and Lane:

"My wish has been and is to avail the Government of the services of both General Hunter and General Lane, and, so far as possible, to personally oblige both. General Hunter is the senior officer and must command when they serve together; though in so far as he can, consistently with the public service and his own honor, oblige General Lane, he will also oblige me. If they cannot come to an amicable understanding, General Lane must report to General Hunter for duty, according to the rules, or decline the service."[48]

No agreement could be reached, and Lane closed the chapter February 16 with a telegram to President Lincoln:

"All efforts to harmonize with Major General Hunter have failed. I am compelled to decline the brigadiership."[49]

II.

Commissioner Dole arrived at Leavenworth, Kansas, late in January and learned for the first time that Opothleyoholo had been defeated,[50] that five or six thousand of the loyal Indians—men, women, and children—were refugees in southern Kansas, and that General Hunter was subsisting them, Superintendent William G. Coffin "being without adequate means to meet the emergency."[51]

The news of the coming of the refugee Indians had reached Coffin about the middle of January, and he hurried to Leavenworth to seek assistance from the department commander.[52] He was joined there by George W. Cutler, agent for the Creeks, and the two decided to await the arrival of Commissioner Dole, then daily expected.[53] Notice was sent to the various Indian agents to report at Fort Row, on the Verdigris, in southern Kansas,[54] Cutler and P. P. Elder, of the Neosho Agency, being the only agents of the Southern Superintendency then on duty.

Although the original plan contemplated the enlistment of Indians from the Central Superintendency only, Dole authorized Coffin and his agents to enroll the warriors among the refugee Indians into companies for muster into service by General Hunter.[55]

On Saturday, February 1, Commissioner Dole held a conference with Opothleyoholo and Tustenuggee and a number of other Indians at the Planters' House in Leavenworth. Coffin, Cutler, and the

[48] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 551.
[49] *Kansas Historical Collections*, XI, 226. Lane to Lincoln, Feb. 16, 1862.
[50] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, 147-48.
[51] *Ibid.*, 136.
[52] *Ibid.*, 136.
[53] *Ibid.*, 138.
[54] *Ibid.*, 136. The name of this fort is erroneously spelled "Fort Roe" in nearly all the Government reports.
[55] Abel., *op. cit.*, 279. Dole to Coffin, Feb. 11, 1862.

newly appointed agent of the Seminoles, George C. Snow, were present. Dole and Opothleyoholo engaged in a spirited colloquy:

"*Mr. Dole.*—[The] Government did not expect the Indians to enter this contest at all. Now that the rebel portion of them have entered the field, the Great Father will march his troops into your country. Col. Coffin and the agents will go with you on Monday, and will assist you in enlisting your loyal men. Your enlistment is not done for our advantage only; it will inure to your own benefit. The country appreciates your services. We honor you. You are in our hearts.

"One party tells us that John Ross is for the Union, and one that he is not.

"*Opothleyoholo.*—Both are probably right. Ross made a sham treaty with Albert Pike, to save trouble. Ross is like a man lying on his belly, watching the opportunity to turn over. When the northern troops come within the ring, he will turn over.

"*Dole.*—You did not, and our people remember you. But we hope you will manifest no revenge.

"*Opothleyoholo.*—The rebel Indians are like a cross, bad slut. The best way to end the breed is to kill the slut.

"*Dole.*—The leaders and plotters of treason only should suffer.

"*Opothleyoholo.*—That's just what I think. Burn over a bad field of grass and it will spring up again. It must be torn up by the roots, even if some good blades suffer. The educated part of our tribes is the worst. ."[56]

Opothleyoholo hoped the Creek annuities would be paid to the loyal members of the tribe; but Dole, bound by the restrictions of law, could only assure him that the delay would be as brief as possible. The Creeks had 1,500 warriors who wanted to fight for the Union; the Seminoles 260.

The following week, Capt. J. F. Turner, chief commissary of subsistence for the Department of Kansas, and Brigade Surgeon A. W. Campbell returned from the refugee camps in southern Kansas, where Captain Turner had supplied the Indians with food sufficient to last until the 15th of February.[57] Surgeon Campbell reported the Indians in a most wretched condition. "Why the officers of the Indian Department are not doing something for them I cannot understand," he wrote to Surgeon Barnes, medical director; "common humanity demands that more should be done, and done at once, to save them from total destruction."[58]

General Hunter, on February 6, shifted the burden of relief to the shoulders of Commissioner Dole, informing him that after the exhaustion of the supplies furnished by the Army he would be expected to make provisions for the future.[59]

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[56] Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* (New York: G. P. Putnam, D. Van Nostrand, 1861-68), IV, 59-60 (Doc.).

[57] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, 150-51.

[58] *Ibid.*, 152.

[59] *Ibid.*, 150.

To add to his perplexity, Dole received word from Secretary Smith that Stanton had balked at the enlistment of Indians:

> Secretary of War is unwilling to put Indians in the Army. Is to consult with President and settle it today."[60]

The problem confronting Commissioner Dole was grave and urgent. The Indians—their numbers increasing daily—had to be clothed as well as fed. Without funds applicable to the purpose, and with Superintendent Coffin on his way to southern Kansas and not available for consultation or instruction, Dole nevertheless "must act, and that at once."[61]

He determined to purchase—on the faith of Congress making an appropriation to meet the indebtedness—supplies sufficient for pressing necessities. Dr. William Kile, of Illinois, serving as brigade quartermaster on General Lane's staff, was appointed special agent by Dole February 10 to make the purchases and forward them to Superintendent Coffin.[62] Dole also telegraphed Secretary Smith, asking for instructions:

> "Six thousand Indians driven out of Indian Territory, naked and starving. General Hunter will only feed them until 15th. Shall I take care of them on the faith of an appropriation?"[63]

Sanction was given the following day:

> "President can't attend to business now. Sickness in the family.[64] No arrangements can be made now. Make necessary arrangements for relief of Indians. I will send communication to Congress today."[65]

The question of Indian enlistment being still unsettled, Dole ordered Coffin February 11 to suspend enrollment of the Indians:

> "I have a dispatch from Secretary Smith saying that the Secretary of War is opposed to mustering the Indians into the service, and that he would see the President and settle the matter that day (Feb. 6).
>
> "This as you will see disarranges all my previous arrangements, and devolves upon me the necessity of revoking my orders to you to proceed with the agents to organize the loyal Indians in your superintendency into companies preparatory to their being mustered into the service by General Hunter. I have now to advise that you explain fully to the chiefs that no authority has yet been received from Washington authorizing their admission into the Army of the United States; but I would at the same time advise that you proceed to ascertain what number are able and willing to join our Army, and that you so far prepare them for the service as you can consistently do, without committing the Government to accept them, as I still hope for the power to get these refugees, if no others, into

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[60] Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 76. Smith to Dole, Feb. 6, 1862,

[61] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, 148, 27.

[62] *Ibid.*, 154-55.

[63] *Ibid.*, 148.

[64] President Lincoln's son Willie, who died Feb. 20, 1862. See John G. Nicolay, *A Short Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Century Co., 1902), 293.

[65] Abel, *op. cit.*, 76. Smith to Dole, Feb. 11, 1862.

the service, it being one, and as I think, the best means of providing for their necessities. . ."[66]

Three days later, Secretary Smith notified Dole that Stanton had refused to enlist the Indians:

"Go on and supply the destitute Indians. Congress will supply the means. War Department will not organize them."[67]

Commissioner Dole's cherished plan for an Indian expedition, to further which he had come to Kansas, was wrecked by Lane's duplicity and Stanton's obstinacy; but there yet remained the pressing problem of Indian relief. Congress justified Dole's faith and authorized the use for subsistence of annuities due several of the Indian Territory tribes. From those funds the refugees were afterward fed and clothed.[68]

Superintendent Coffin and Agent Snow arrived at Fort Row about the 10th of February. A census of the tribes taken late in January had shown about 4,500 refugees in all.[69] Coffin was appalled at the "destitution, misery, and suffering" among the Indians.

"It must be seen to be realized," he reported to Commissioner Dole. "There are now here over two thousand men, women, and children, entirely barefooted, and more than that number who have not rags enough to hide their nakedness. Many have died and others are constantly dying."[70]

They were still arriving at the rate of twenty to sixty a day, "sending runners for provisions to be sent to the destitute on the way and for transportation for the sick and feeble and helpless" scattered over the bleak plains between the Verdigris and Fall Rivers, Walnut Creek, and the Arkansas.

"I doubt much if history records an instance of sufferings equal to these," declared Agent Cutler, who soon joined Coffin and Snow at Fort Row. Describing the retreat of the loyal Indians after their defeat at the battle of Chustenahlah, December 26, 1861, he said:

"Numbers of families had become separated during the fight with the rebels, of whom many were captured and taken back, and in consequence of which the wildest confusion prevailed, but the main body succeeded in keeping together and made good their escape.

"The weather was intensely cold, and with a bitter northwest wind in their faces, and over the snow-covered roads, they traveled all night and the next day, without halting to rest. Many of them were on foot, without shoes, and very thinly clad, and, having lost nearly all their bedding on the battlefield, their suffering was immense and beyond description.

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[66] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 279. Dole to Coffin, Feb. 11, 1862.

[67] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, 148.

[68] *Ibid.*, 27.

[69] *Ibid.*, 151.

[70] *Ibid.*, 145.

"In this condition they had accomplished a journey of about three hundred miles; but quite a number of them froze to death on the route, and their bodies, with a shroud of snow, were left where they fell to feed the hungry wolves."[71]

Fort Row was on Osage Indian land in the northwestern corner of Wilson County, near Coyville, a settlement of whites begun several years before the war. During a Confederate raid in October, 1861, the town of Humboldt, in Allen County to the northeast, was burned, Superintendent Coffin's office, together with his books and papers, being destroyed.[72] That alarmed the Wilson County settlers, and they organized a company of eighty men, under Capt. John R. Row, for defense. Fortifications were built on the Verdigris River about three miles south of Coyville and named Fort Row in honor of the captain. They consisted of three blockhouses, 16 by 24 feet, made of heavy logs, surrounded with pickets six feet high and embankments. The company went into winter quarters there, but in the spring of 1862 the fort was abandoned and most of the militia enlisted in the Ninth Kansas Volunteers.[73]

Acting under the advice of General Hunter, Superintendent Coffin had sent down to Fort Row, just before he left Leavenworth, five wagon loads of blankets, clothing, shoes, boots, and socks for distribution to the refugees, but the supply was pitifully inadequate. Coffin also brought with him $3,200 of his own money and that of his son, O. W. Coffin, who was his clerk, but that fund was soon exhausted. He purchased what he could on credit and appealed to Dole.[74]

The different tribes of Indians were put in separate camps and placed in charge of their respective agents as soon as they reported. Cutler and Snow took charge of the Creeks and Seminoles, Isaac Coleman of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, Charles W. Chatterton of the Cherokees, and E. H. Carruth of the Wichita Agency Indians.[75] P. P. Elder, of the Neosho Agency at Fort Scott, did not report, although some of his Quapaws were among the refugees.[76] The camps were along the Verdigris and Fall rivers on Osage and New York Indian lands.

Superintendent Coffin also began enrollment of the warriors for military service. They were willing and anxious to enter the service and were much disappointed when Dole's order halting the enlistment was received.

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[71] *Ibid.*, 139.

[72] Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 54. Coffin to Dole, Dec. 17, 1861.

[73] William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 900.

[74] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, 146, 148.

[75] *Ibid.*, 149. Chatterton died Aug. 31, 1862 (Abel, *op. cit.*, 214).

[76] *Ibid.*, 136, 143.

"When the enrollment was nearly completed, orders were received to stop the proceeding," reported Coffin. "This was very discouraging to the Indians—the cause of much dissatisfaction and loss of confidence on their part. A grand council of all the chiefs, braves, and headmen was immediately held, and an expedition upon their own responsibility to their homes, in time to put in a crop in the spring, decided upon. They were deterred from carrying out this purpose by the reported presence of a large rebel force in the Indian Territory. . ."[77]

With the coming of warm weather, "the stench arising from dead ponies, about two hundred of which were in the stream and throughout the camp," compelled the removal of the Indians from the Verdigris to the Neosho River, a distance of about thirty miles.[78] Writing to Commissioner Dole Monday, March 3, from Le Roy, Coffey County, Superintendent Coffin said:

"Since writing you from Humboldt, Dr. Kile and myself have visited Fort Row to make arrangements for moving the Indians to the Neosho. On getting there we found that about 1,500 of them had left for this place. They left Saturday noon. It turned cold Saturday night and commenced snowing and snowed hard most of the day Sunday and last night was the coldest of the season. The Indians all got to timber Saturday night to camp and remained in camp Sunday, but most of them were on the road today, though it was too cold to travel in the fix they are in. I saw many of them barefooted and many more that the feet was a small part of them that was bare."[79]

J. P. Hamilton, Sr., a citizen of Le Roy, was one of the teamsters engaged in the removal of the Indians, and many years later wrote his recollections of the event.

"As they relied upon the teams of the citizens for transportation," he said, "it was a very easy matter for a person with a team to get a job and receive his pay in Government vouchers at the rate of $2.50 per day for single team and wagon. The writer was one of many who engaged in the transfer. . . .

"We found that the majority of them had encamped in a heavily timbered bend of the Verdigris River, but now it was denuded and looked as bare as the prairie, with the exception of the stumps which alone remained. . . .

"Camping over night, the ensuing morning we would load from one to two families and their effects (the latter being very meager) into a wagon and start—children and 'graybacks' being the dominant feature. The men and women, at least the principal portion of them, walked. It was quite an influx upon Le Roy and vicinity. Scarcely a suitable camping place could be found upon the river, extending from two miles above Le Roy to Neosho Falls, but what had its complement of Indians. . ."[80]

Late in March, when George W. Collamore, adjutant general of Kansas, visited the encampments in company with the Cherokee

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[77] *Ibid.*, 136.

[78] *Ibid.*, 136, 139.

[79] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 277-78. Coffin to Dole, Mar. 3, 1862.

[80] J. P. Hamilton, Sr., "Indian Refugees in Coffey County," Le Roy (Kans.) *Reporter*, Aug. 14, 1931. Reprint of a story originally printed some time in the 1880's.

missionary, Evan Jones, the number of the refugees had increased to 7,600.[81] They were still in distress.

"I found them encamped upon the Neosho River bottom, in the timber, extending a distance of some seven miles," said Collamore. "Not a comfortable tent was to be seen. Such coverings as I saw were made in the rudest manner, being composed of pieces of cloth, old quilts, handkerchiefs, aprons, etc., stretched upon sticks, and so limited were many of them in size that they were scarcely sufficient to cover the emaciated and dying forms beneath them. Under such shelter I found, in the last stages of consumption, the daughter of Opothleyoholo, one of the oldest, most influential, and wealthy chiefs of the Creek Nation."

The food supply was insufficient in quantity and deficient in quality.

"Great complaint was made," he continued, "by the chiefs and others as to the quality of the bacon furnished, it being, as they expressed it, 'not fit for a dog to eat.' Many of them were made sick by eating of it. . ."[82]

When Agent Snow left Fort Row with the Seminoles, it was his intention to take them as far north as the Sac and Fox Agency, in Osage County, but on arrival at Le Roy they became obstinate and refused to go any farther, and were finally settled at Neosho Falls, a few miles south.[83] They, as well as the other refugees, were homesick and never ceased to clamor for their return to the Indian Territory.

(To be continued)

[81] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, 157.
[82] *Ibid.*, 156-57.
[83] *Ibid.*, 142.

HISTORY OF THE OSAGE BLANKET LEASE

By Gerald Forbes

While the South Burbank pool is being cited as an example of the economic advantages of unitization,[1] it is an interesting fact that the first two decades of oil development in the Osage Reservation contained similar features of community interest and concerted control. Between the years 1896 and 1916 the petroleum of the Osage Reservation was developed under a single contract, known as the Foster Lease, the only enduring and successful "blanket" lease in Mid-Continent's history. The Foster Lease undoubtedly was a monopoly,[2] but just as certainly it was an instrument of conservation.

The former Osage Reservation, the present Oklahoma county by that name, contains about one and a half million acres that were bought from the Cherokees, preparatory to moving the Osages from Kansas in 1872. This territory is bounded by the ninety-sixth meridian on the east, the Arkansas River and the former Creek Nation on the south and west, and Kansas on the north.[3]

It was nearly twenty years after the Osages had bought the land that the possibility of producing petroleum began to be investigated. The American Civil War had interrupted the beginning of the oil industry in Kansas, but in the final decade of the century the production of petroleum became an established industry in that state. In 1895 the oil production of Kansas was 44,430 barrels.[4] Among those persons interested in the oil industry was Henry Foster, who had moved to Independence, Kansas, from Rhode Island. Foster suspected the presence of petroleum beneath the land of the Osages. In 1895 he applied to the Secretary of the De-

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[1] John J. Arthur, "Unitization vs. Competition," *The Oil Weekly*, V. 83, No. 2, September 21, 1936, pp. 22-26; *The Oil Weekly*, V. 82, No. 13, September 7, 1936, p. 51.

[2] Kate P. Burwell, "Richest People in the World," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, II, No. 4, pp. 89-93; United States Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1905, p. 885.

[3] *Oklahoma Statutes*, 1931, II, compiled and annotated by Frank O. Eagin and C. W. Van Eaton, p. 1514.

[4] United States Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1889-90, 355; University Geological Survey of Kansas, IX, *Special Report on Oil and Gas*, 1908, pp. 21-23.

partment of the Interior for a lease of the Osage Reservation. Henry Foster died before the contract was consummated, but his brother, Edwin B. Foster, assumed his interests and obligations. The lease finally was signed, March 16, 1896, by Edwin B. Foster and the Osage National Council, with James Bigheart, principal chief of the Osages, Saucy Chief, president of the Council, and several other Indians writing their names or making their "X's."[5]

The terms of the contract, which soon became known as a "blanket lease," conferred on Foster the exclusive right of producing oil in the entire Osage Reservation. The term was for ten years. Foster, in turn, agreed to pay a royalty of ten per cent of all crude petroleum removed from the ground and fifty dollars a year for each gas well, as long as it was used. The royalty was to be based on the market value at the place of production, and was to be paid to the National Treasurer of the Osage Nation. Foster further agreed to settle the royalty accounts between the fifth and tenth days of January, April, July, and October.[6] Even at this early period there was dissention, and in less than a month a protest was filed with the Secretary of the Interior. The leading protestant was Saucy Chief, who had placed his "X" on the original Foster Lease. The protest was not attested and not clearly genuine. It declared that a full council had not been present when the leasing had been discussed and that the contract did not represent the wishes of a majority of the Osage Tribe. An investigation followed, and the Osage Agent reported that two white men had taken about fifty Indians across the Arkansas River to Cleveland, Oklahoma Territory, where the Osages had been induced with whiskey to sign a protest to the Foster Lease.[7]

Edwin B. Foster and the heirs of Henry Foster, having organized the Phoenix Oil Company, arranged with McBride and

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[5] Osage Indian Archives, Pawhuska, Oklahoma, D. M. Browning to Henry Foster, January 24, 1896; Hines, E. P., Osage County, in Snider, L. C., *Oil and Gas in the Mid-Continent Field*, p. 208; Kappler, Charles J., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, III, 1913, p. 137.

[6] Exact copy of the original lease—*Mining Lease*, Osage Agency, Oklahoma Territory, 1896, for Prospecting and Mining for Oil and Gas upon the Osage Reservation, Oklahoma Territory.

[7] Osage Indian Archives, D. M. Browning to U. S. Indian Inspector Duncan, April 6, 1896; D. M. Browning to Acting Agent Freeman, June 13, 1896.

Bloom, drillers of Independence, Kansas, to put down a well three or four miles south of Chautauqua Springs, Kansas, likely near the present town of Boulanger, Oklahoma.[8] This well was shallow but it produced about fifty barrels of oil daily, not enough at that time to be commercially valuable, so it was capped. The rumor that the well was an excellent one became current. It was rumored that this first Osage well had been closed to permit the owners to acquire leases cheaply in the Oklahoma Territory. The first Osage well was drilled in 1897. It was in 1899 that the Osage Oil Company, another Foster concern, drilled on the eastern side of the Osage Reservation near Bartlesville, a town in the Cherokee Nation. The first well of the Osage Oil Company showed prospects of petroleum and the second well was a good producer. Several dry or nearly dry holes were drilled, but the seventh well of the group was the best producer in the entire Kansas-Indian Territory oil field.[9]

By 1900 Foster had done little to develop the petroleum industry in the Osage Reservation, but in that year arrangements were completed for subleasing the land in large blocks. The entire reservation was divided into tracts half a mile wide and three miles east to west. These rectangles were numbered consecutively and those in the eastern part of the Reservation were offered to sublessees on a bonus and royalty basis. The sublessees were required to pay the Foster interests a one-eighth (later one-sixth) royalty and a bonus of one to five dollars an acre.[10] The next year the Foster interests were consolidated in the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company (usually called the I. T. I. O.) which was incorporated at Trenton, New Jersey, with a capitalization of three million dollars. This new company was authorized to own and control all the rights and properties of the Osage and Phoenix Oil Companies.[11] It was the I. T. I. O. that handled the subleasing

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[8] Hines, *loc. cit.* p. 208; Hutchison, L. L., *Preliminary Report on Rock Asphalt, Asphalite, Petroleum and Natural Gas in Oklahoma*, Oklahoma Geological Survey, *Bulletin No.* 2, 1911, p. 167; *Tidal Topics*, III, Tidal Oil Company, 1919, p. 15.

[9] *The Osage Journal*, Pawhuska, Oklahoma Territory, April 10, 1902.

[10] Dewey K. Chamberlain, "The Osage Nation," *The Pure Oil News*, XI No. 7, p. 5.

[11] *The Tulsa Democrat*, Tulsa, Indian Territory, December 27, 1901, *The Osage Journal*, January 2, 1902.

of the Osage Reservation, and buyers of drilling rights were sought in New York. The first well drilled by a sublessee was financed by the Almeda Oil Company on Lot 40. The Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company announced that it planned to drill wells itself at the rate of one every twenty days, that the Standard Oil Company would buy the crude oil production at its refinery at Neodesha, Kansas, for eighty-eight cents a barrel, and that leases had been sold to New York and St. Louis companies covering rights on about six thousand acres of land. The I. T. I. O. further called attention to the quality of the crude oil which caused it to yield a high percentage of kerosene. (The name of the company itself calls attention to the fact that gasoline then was not of first importance.) The average depth of the wells was thirteen hundred feet, which made them relatively inexpensive to drill.[12]

Drilling in the Osage Reservation was comparatively rapid after the system of subleasing had been perfected. During 1902 the rail shipments of crude oil to the Neodesha refinery amounted to 37,000 barrels, which was the production of thirteen wells, six of which had been drilled in 1902. By January, 1903, thirty wells had been completed by the I. T. I. O. and its sublessees. Seventeen of the thirty wells produced oil, two gas, and eleven were dry holes. A year later 361 wells had been completed, and 243 were producing oil, twenty-one gas, and ninety-seven were dry. By the beginning of 1906 there had been 783 wells drilled—544 producing oil, forty-one gas, and 198 were dry. The oil production was: 1903—56,905 barrels; 1904—652,479 barrels; 1905—3,421,478 barrels; 1906—5,219,106 barrels. The average daily production of the Osage wells in 1905 was about 15,000 barrels. In 1905 there were 687,000 acres of the Osage Reservation under the control of the sublessees.[13] That year the I. T. I. O. announced that it had disbursed $2,686,627 in connection with the "blanket lease."

By the terms of the contract with Foster, the Osages were to receive one-tenth royalty (later changed to one-eighth) while the I. T. I. O. Company required one-eighth (later changed to one-

[12] *Ibid.*, June 5 and 12, 1902.

[13] United States Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1905, p. 855; 1906, p. 858; 1914, pp. 1009-1010; *Tidal Topics*, III, p. 15.

sixth) royalty of its sublessees, making a profit of one-fortieth (later one-twenty-fourth) in addition to rentals and bonuses. There were less than twenty-five hundred members of the Osage tribe on the official rolls. The rolls contained Indians on the list January 1, 1906, and all children born to them by July, 1907, and those children of white fathers who had not been enrolled previously. There was no distinction between males and females, age, or degree of Indian blood. The equal share which each member of the tribe received from the communal mineral receipts was known as a headright. Headrights, it was provided by law, could be inherited, subdivided or consolidated, and as time passed different members of the tribe did not receive equal shares, as was the case at the time of the Osage allotment. This allotment differed from that of the other Oklahoma tribes, for it provided that only the surface of the land be held in severalty while the minerals of the subsurface remained communal property. As the sublessees of the I. T. I. O. developed the oil industry, the royalties of the Osage tribe mounted and were divided into headright payments.[14]

The days of the quarterly payments at Pawhuska, seat of the Osage agency, were colorful. On the first and second days of the payments, the full bloods received their monies; then the mixed-bloods were paid on the following two or three days. By 1906 the quarterly payment period kept force of eight men busy for four or five days. The merchants and professional men of Pawhuska who had extended credit to the Indians were on hand to collect their bills before the Osages had spent their money elsewhere. The amount of the payment depended on the number of barrels of oil taken from the ground, the number of gas wells being used, and the market price of petroleum. Accurate figures on the receipts from oil and gas are difficult to acquire, for the Osages also received payments for grazing permits, pipe line damages, and other revenues. Between July 1, 1904, and May 13, 1905, a total of $108,567 was paid to the Osages as oil and gas royalties.[15]

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[14] United States Statutes At Large, XXXIV, p. 540; Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 256; United States Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1906, p. 855; Daniel, L. H. "The Osage Nation," *The Texaco Star*, V. Nos. 7-8, pp. 10-14.

[15] The United States Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1904, p. 705.

Congress began considering the renewal of the Foster Lease in 1905, although it did not expire until March, 1906. Several of the tribal leaders went to Washington to watch the action of Congress, and there were some who wished to prevent renewal of the contract.[16] There were oil operators who called attention to the profits they believed the I. T. I. O. company was making and objected that one firm should have such a monopoly. After an investigation, Congress compromised by renewing the Foster Lease and all the subleases made by the I. T. I. O. on a total area of six hundred and eighty thousand acres on the eastern side of the Reservation. All the original conditions of the Foster Lease were to apply for another decade, with the exception that gas well royalty was increased from fifty to one hundred dollars for each well. The status of the western half of the Reservation was left undetermined until 1912. The renewal with reduced acreage left the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company with only 2,060 acres that had not been subleased, and caused that firm to lease from its own sublessees.[17]

Before 1904 the Osage oil was transported by railroad, but in that year the Department of the Interior approved two applications for pipelines to move the crude petroleum. The amount of damages to be paid the Osages puzzled the Federal officials, for there was no precedent for laying pipelines across Indian lands. The Prairie Oil and Gas Company wanted to lay a line to the refinery at Neodesha, while Guffey and Galey sought to pipe gas to Tulsa.[18] Damages were fixed at ten cents a rod. In 1905 the Prairie constructed the "Cleveland discharge" line, which connected the Osage wells near Cleveland, Oklahoma Territory, with the trunk line to Kansas. Another outlet for the Osage petroleum appeared with the construction of a refinery by the Uncle Sam Oil Company at Cherryvale, Kansas. The disagreements of the Uncle Sam and the

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[16] *The Osage Journal*, February 18, 1905.

[17] "History of twenty-three Years of Oil and Gas Development in the Osage," "*National Petroleum News*," V. No. 11, pp. 66-68; Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Osage Indian Archives, Memorandum, p. 1; Osage Indian Archives, C. F. Larrabee to Frank Frantz, June 7, 1905; Hines, E. P., *loc. cit.*, p. 208; Department of the Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, I, p. 307.

[18] *The Osage Journal*, March 18, 1905; *The Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, Indian Territory, April 4, 1903.

Standard companies were dragged through the courts for years.[19] In 1910 the Gulf Pipe Line Company became a buyer of Osage oil, since inadequate transportation facilities had resulted in 1909 in a decrease of production.[20] Drilling and production received no more setbacks until 1915, when little drilling was done because of the uncertainty resulting from the struggle over the second renewal of the Foster Lease.

The disposition of the mineral rights in the western half of the Osage county (Oklahoma became a state in 1907) became a pressing question in 1911. A committee of Osages urged the National Council to lease the western land on terms that would be more profitable to the Indians. Royalties of one-third and one-sixth were suggested. Since the Osages were interested in farming and ranching, as well as oil, it was argued that no company should be permitted to drill for oil without the "written consent" of the allottee on whose land the well was desired. After revising some of the suggestions of the committee, the Osage National Council went on record as favoring sealed bids for leases. Sealed bids would prevent leasing except at specific times, and then the lease would go to the highest bidder.[21]

While this discussion was current among the Indians, some oil operators met at Tulsa and decided on a plan for leasing the western side of Osage County. They proposed the organization of a large company of independent operators, each of whom would be on an equal cooperative footing. Such a company, the oil men believed, would be financially able to contract for the entire unleased acreage of Osage lands. They believed this company could deal pleasantly with the Department of the Interior. The financing of this huge company was expected to be comparatively simple, and it was argued that such a concern would be able to dictate favorable terms to crude oil buyers and thereby gain a profitable

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[19] Osage Indian Archives, C. F. Larrabee to Frank Frantz, January 12, and January 14, 1905; *The Muskogee Times Democrat*, Muskogee, Indian Territory, January 8, 1907.

[20] United States Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1910, p. 395.

[21] *The Osage Journal*, January 5, May 25, August 17, September 14, and October 19, 1911; Senate Document 487, 62 Congress, 2 Sess.

price for the petroleum. Among the leaders of this plan were P. J. White, Harry Sinclair, E. R. Kemp, and David Gunsberg.[22]

Samuel Adams, Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior asked those who were interested in leasing Osage land to communicate with him.[23] The Osage National Council went to Washington to confer with Adams. The proponents of the giant organization of independent producers sent representatives. Many oil men favored neither the plan of the independents nor that of the Osage Council, so a mass meeting was called at Tulsa to protest the organization of the giant cooperative firm. Some believed that the Osage oil long had been a menace to the price of petroleum, and they did not look kindly on any plan to further the production. They suggested that a plan be adopted to discover whether any oil existed in the western side of the Osage County. Several operators believed that all the oil of the Osages had been discovered. Another group, led by E. W. Marland and F. A. Gillespie, opposed any plan involving one big lease. They favored leasing the western side of the county in blocks as small as 160 acres.[24]

In May, 1912, the Osage National Council directed the principal chief to sign four leases that would cover virtually the entire western part of the county. In these leases were several ideas which the Osages desired, including the "written consent clause," the maintenance by the leasing companies of offices at Pawhuska, and the retention in the county of all the gas. (It was believed that the retention of the gas in the county would induce industries to come.) The leases were issued to four men, one of whom was H. H. Tucker of the Uncle Sam Oil Company, who was reported to be an adopted member of the Osage tribe. The Secretary of the Department of the Interior refused to accept these leases because no provision was made for the supervision of the Federal government. He also frowned on the "written consent clause."[25]

Despite the fact that Assistant Secretary Adams had said that he would not recognize their election, Bacon Rind, as Principal

[22] *The Tulsa World*, Tulsa, Oklahoma, March 10 and 21, 1912.
[23] *Ibid.*, March 14, 1912.
[24] *Ibid.*, March 14, 16, 17, and 24, 1912.
[25] *The Osage Journal*, March 14 and May 23, 1912; *The Tulsa World*, March 16, May 25 and June 19, 1912.

Chief, and Red Eagle, as Assistant Chief, celebrated their election in July of that year (1912).[26] Under the guidance of Bacon Rind and Red Eagle, the Osage National Council joined the Uncle Sam Oil Company in publicly presenting a petition to President Taft asking that the entire unleased portion of the Osage lands be leased to Tucker's company. The Department of the Interior concluded the opposition among the Indians by promptly removing from office both Bacon Rind and Red Eagle, as well as the entire National Council. Tucker responded with a final threat to President Taft that the twelve thousand stockholders of the Uncle Sam Oil Company would remember the refusal of the president to override the decision of the Department of the Interior. He vowed that the stockholders would use their influence to prevent Taft's reelection in November.[27]

The final decision of the Department of the Interior, issued July 13, 1912, involved elements of several of the plans suggested for the disposal of the west side mineral rights. The land was to be leased in tracts varying from three hundred to 5,120 acres, but no person was to have more than 25,000 acres. The United States Agent at Pawhuska was required periodically to advertise specific tracts for leasing on sealed bids. A person wishing to lease a tract was required to request in writing that the land be offered for bidding. Each bid was to be accompanied by a certified check for ten per cent of the bonus and the first year's rental. All leases were to endure for ten years from the date of approval by the Department of the Interior, providing no lease extended beyond April 8, 1931. The royalty on gas was fixed at one-sixth of the market value at the well, while on petroleum it was set at one-sixth of the gross production at the actual market value. Heretofore the royalty on oil had been one-eighth. Oil men who had been paying one-eighth royalty on oil produced on the land of the Five Tribes objected to giving one-sixth to the Osages, but that was the share which the I. T. I. O. had been receiving from its sublessees. A compromise was reached on the "written consent clause" whereby cultivated lands and homesteads were protected from oil prospec-

[26] *The Osage Journal*, July 4, 1912.
[27] *Ibid.*, August 15, 1912; *The Tulsa World*, July 4, August 4, 6 and 10, 1912.

tors. Producers strongly condemned the new regulations and the Osage National Council.[28]

The conflict over leasing the west side of the county hardly had ended before it was time for the renewal of the Foster Lease on the east side of the Osage Reservation. The I. T. I. O. minimized the profit it received from the Foster Lease, but in June, 1914, a renewal of the lease was asked. The request of the I. T. I. O. was supported by the company's sublessees. The next month the Osage National Council requested that no blanket lease be approved for the land then held by the I. T. I. O. The leasing company issued a financial statement to show the benefits that it had brought the Osages. The statement said that the I. T. I. O. had received over two million dollars in seventeen years, but that more than a million dollars had been paid to the Indians. The company cited the fact that it had furnished more than one hundred thousand dollars worth of gas free to operating companies. The statement of the I. T. I. O. indicated that the company had spent more in developing the Osage petroleum than it had received from the sublessees.[29]

When 1915 opened it was clear that some decision must be made regarding the Foster Lease. Secretary Lane of the Department of the Interior called a public hearing at Washington to discuss the lease. Members of the Osage National Council, officials of the Indian administration, and oil operators attended.[30] Charles N. Haskell, first governor of Oklahoma, appeared for P. J. White and Harry Sinclair, and declared that the decision would affect the entire Mid-Continent. He asserted that the I. T. I. O. would develop the oil industry in an orderly manner, but that if the district were thrown open to competitive drilling there would be a

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[28] Oklahoma Geological Survey, *Bulletin No.* 19, Part 1, Petroleum and Natural Gas in Oklahoma, 1915, p. 32; Department of the Interior, *Regulations to Govern the Leasing of Lands in the Osage Reservation, Oklahoma, for Oil Gas, and Mining Purposes,* 1912, pp. 1-4.

[29] *Estimate of Profit and Loss under the Leases and Subleases of the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company in the Osage Reservation,* compiled by Charles F. Leech, (nd) Osage Indian Archives.

[30] *The Oil and Gas Journal,* February 11, 1915, p. 2; Osage Indian Archives, Cato Sells to J. George Wright, February 10, 1915, *The Osage Journal,* February 11, 1915.

flood of oil that would swamp the marketing facilities. Charles Owen, in a letter that was made a part of the record, took the stand that if the I. T. I. O. were to be protected for the pioneer development, its lease should be renewed where it actually had put down wells, not subleased the land to other companies. Some sublessees objected to the policy of the I. T. I. O. in separating the oil and gas rights, for they argued that they had found the gas, but now that a market was available the I. T. I. O. held it. (By the Foster Lease, the I. T. I. O. owned all gas discovered.) The Osage National Council demanded that leases be made directly with the operating companies without the I. T. I. O. as an intermediary.[31] The hearing was concluded in June and the Department of the Interior refused to renew the Foster Lease, deciding to eliminate the I. T. I. O. except as a producing company.

The new regulations provided that the east side of the county be broken up into quarter-section units combined in such a way that none would exceed an aggregate of 4,800 acres, except in such units where producing wells were capable of averaging twenty-five barrels a day on July 1, 1915. These units were to be offered at public auction for lease by the Osages under the supervision of the Department of the Interior. Oil and gas rights still were to be kept separately. The royalty on oil was fixed at one-sixth, except on quarter-sections where the average daily production equalled or exceeded one hundred barrels daily. There the royalty was one-fifth. Former sublessees of the I. T. I. O. were allowed to keep those quarter-sections they then were developing provided there would not be a total exceeding 4,800 acres.[32] In general these rules were much the same as those governing the oil leases in the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes.

March 16, 1916, the Foster Lease expired, ending the only successful blanket lease of the lands of an Indian tribe. The lease

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[31] Osage Indian Archives, J. George Wright to Cato Sells, March 2, 1915, Stenographer's Minutes of Hearing Before Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in the Matter of the so-called Foster Lease on Oil and Gas Property Owned by the Osage Indians of Oklahoma, Washington, March, 1915, pp. 675-680, 682-683, 686-687, 692-694-703, 710-711, 715, 730; *The Osage Journal*, May 15, 1915.

[32] Department of the Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; *Annual Report*, 1915, II, p. 28.

was a monopoly, but it had good features for all concerned. The Osage lands continued to produce an increasing volume of oil until 1923, whereas the immense deposits in the Creek Nation (Glenn Pool, Cushing Pool, Okmulgee County) were dissipated very rapidly. In the Osage area there was a tendency to avoid competitive drilling because of the large leases. The Osage gas was conserved, thereby retaining much of the natural pressure. Gross overproduction never was one of the evils found in the district. The Osages themselves certainly benefited under the Foster Lease, although their individual wealth generally was over-estimated.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

NOTES FROM *THE NORTHERN STANDARD,* 1842-1849

EDITED BY JAMES D. MORRISON

In December of 1835 a band of one hundred and seventy-four young men, led by Edwin Morehouse, sailed from New York harbor bound for Texas to aid the Anglo-Americans of that region in their struggle for independence from Mexico.[1] One member of the expedition was a young law student of Massachusetts birth, a cousin several times removed of the inventor of the telegraph; his name was Charles Denny Morse and he would reach the age of twenty-one on January 31, 1836.[2] The Morehouse command was delayed at Nassau when a British brig-of-war, the *Serpent,* took them into port for investigation on the charge of piracy.[3] At this place young Morse, having given his name as Charles D. Morse, observed that the British clerk had written it with a French form as *Charles De Morse;* so pleased was the young man that he used the same spelling until the end of his days.[4] The British admiralty court soon acquitted the defendants of the freebooting charge and they proceeded to Texas by way of New Orleans, arriving too late to take part in the battle of San Jacinto.[5]

Young De Morse definitely cast his lot with the young Texas republic and was a Texan for the remainder of his days. He served in the Texas army and the Texas navy; he practiced law in Matagorda and Austin; he was stock commissioner under President Mirabeau B. Lamar, having the task of attempting to fund and bond the public debt; and in 1841 and 1842 he was reporter for the Texas House of Representatives, publishing a small daily paper in connection with his other duties.[6] It was this journalistic effort which led De Morse into the field in which he occupied himself for the rest of his life and earned for himself the posthumous title, "The Father of Texas Journalism."[7] De Morse, being at variance with many policies of President Sam Houston, desired to change his occupation by 1842. He therefore accepted the invitation of members of the Texas Congress from the Red River district to establish himself in northeast Texas and begin publication of a newspaper.[8] The result of this decision was the appearance at Clarksville, county

[1] *Encyclopedia of the New West* (Marshall, Texas, 1881), I, 259n; Harvey Lewis Graham, *The Northern Standard, 1842-1848: A Texas Frontier Newspaper* (unpublished master's thesis, The University of Texas, 1928), 1 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Encyclopedia of the New West,* I, 260.

[5] Graham, *op. cit.,* 1 ff.

[6] *Ibid.,* 4 ff; *The Northern Standard* (Clarksville, Texas), March 9 and May 8, 1844.

[7] The current visitor to Clarksville, Texas, may see the cenotaph erected to "Colonel Charles De Morse, the Father of Texas Journalism." His old home is now occupied by his granddaughter, Isabel De Morse Latimer.

[8] Graham, *op. cit.,* 12.

seat of Red River County, Texas, on August 20, 1842, of the first issue of *The Northern Standard,* a weekly of most exceptional standards for a frontier community.[9]

From the very first Editor De Morse seems to have courted subscriptions, advertisements, and news from the Indian nations to the north of Red River. He and his readers were chiefly interested in events at the United States government posts of Fort Towson and Fort Washita and the settlements nearby those establishments, for the citizens of northeast Texas were closely connected economically and socially, although not politically, with the partblood Indians and the whites who inhabited the Indian country. The citizenship of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, or rather the citizens of those Nations who resided along the Red River, depended upon the same arteries of traffic, the River and the military roads, as did the citizenship of north Texas for communication with the East. Both profited by the influx of settlers to Texas when it became apparent that the Lone Star Republic was to become a state in the Union. Both benefited from the increased traffic through the region when gold was discovered in California. Both used slave labor on big plantations and had the same general attitudes toward the problems of the peculiar institution. The result was that at least until 1849, when *The Choctaw Telegraph* was established at Doaksville, *The Northern Standard* was the organ which best articulated enlightened public sentiment for the upper Red River valley, for dwellers in the Indian country as well as in northeast Texas.[10] There are no subscription lists of *The Northern Standard* available which would demonstrate just how widespread was its coverage of the Indian country, but inferences may be drawn from items and advertisements appearing in the columns of the paper itself.[11]

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[9] Complete files of this perodical are in the library of the University of Texas, from the first issue in 1842 to the last in 1887. They were donated to the University by Mrs. Isabella Gordon De Morse Latimer, daughter of Charles De Morse. Graham, *op. cit., preface.* Dr. Rex W. Strickland, in speaking of *The Northern Standard,* says: "Indeed one may well reckon [it] as one of the most potent educational influences on the frontier." Rex W. Strickland, *Anglo-American Activities in Northeastern Texas, 1803-1845* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of Texas, 1936), 393.

[10] *The Choctaw Telegraph* was published at Doaksville near Fort Towson from May 3 to December 20, 1849; the publisher was D. G. Ball, the editor Daniel Folsom. *American Newspapers,* 1821-1936 (New York, 1937); Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), 70; *Personal Letter,* Librarian of Congress, June 12, 1940. *The Choctaw Intelligencer* succeeded the *Telegraph,* appearing from June 6, 1850, until January 7, 1852; the *Intelligencer* was published by L. D. Alsobrook with J. P. Kingsbury and J. E. Dwight as editors. *Ibid.,* and *The Choctaw Intelligencer,* October 15, 1851 (Photostat in the possession of R. M. Firebaugh, Hugo, Oklahoma).

[11] Dr. Charles W. Ramsdell, professor of history at The University of Texas, who was largely instrumental in obtaining the files of *The Northern Standard* for the University library, has never discovered any subscription lists of the paper. *Personal Letter,* July 26, 1939. A visit and interview with Isabel De Morse Latimer at Clarksville, Texas, August 31, 1939, failed to reveal any such lists at the old home of Charles De Morse.

The first issue of the weekly, that of August 20, 1842, carried the name of "Lorenzo Delano, P. M. Park Hill, Cherokee Nation" in the list of "Agents for the Standard."[12] Little news or advertising was ever published from the Cherokee Nation, however, as it was too far away, being geographically a part of the Arkansas River valley and thus more naturally joined by socio-economic ties to the state of Arkansas. Abundant evidence is furnished, on the other hand, by the columns of the *Standard* that the Texas paper was a news medium for the areas around Fort Towson and Fort Washita in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. The fourth issue named for the first time among the "Agents" that of "G. C. Gooding, P. M. Fort Towson."[13] Other mention of Gooding did not occur until almost a year and a half later when an advertisement for "A. P. Gray & Campbell Commission Merchants, No. 41 New Levee st., New Orleans" gave the postmaster as a reference in a list of three: "Refer to Gov. James S. Conway, La Fayette, Ark. G. C. Gooding, Fort Towson, Arkansas, Bryarly & Campbell, Shreveport Louisiana."[14] From June, 1845, until well into 1846 the Fort Towson postmaster ran a large advertisement for his "Cheap Cash Store;"[15]

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[12] *The Northern Standard* (Clarksville, Texas), August 20, 1842. Hereafter any date cited alone will be understood to refer to this publication.

[13] September 10, 1842.

[14] January 13, 1844. Gooding was also the post sutler. Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1933), 85 and 104.

[15] June 7, 1845, *et seq.* The full advertisement may be of interest, since it must almost be an inventory of goods carried in a typical frontier store:

"CHEAP CASH STORE.

JUST RECEIVED, direct from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans, by steamers Col. Harney, Frontier, Revenue, Hempstead and Agnes, Two Thousand packages of Goods, which are now opening and for sale low for CASH, by GEORGE C. GOODING, at his old stand in FORT TOWSON, consistng of the following articles, viz.

500 pieces *Prints*, of various colors,
40 pieces *De Lains*, Do
10 pieces *Cashmere*, Do
10 pieces black, blue, and blue-black *Silks*, Silk, Woolen, Cotton and knit *Shawls*,
BLEACHED AND BROWN COTTONS: "
1000 pieces 3-4 Brown Cottons,
100 pieces 4-4 Brown Cottons,
100 pieces 5-4 Brown Cottons,
100 pieces 6-4 Brown Cottons,
800 pieces 3-4 4-4 5-4 & 6-4 Bleached Cottons,
Alpacas, Lawns, Muslins, Edgings, &c.

Bonnets and Caps, Ribbons of various kinds, and colors, Tapes, Thread, Needles, Pins, Cotton Cord, Stay Lacings, together with a large supply of such articles as are usually wanted by *Ladies*.

50 Boxes Boots and shoes, a few cases fine French Boots, 4 cases Ladies Shoes.

Linen, Cotton, Calico and Hickory *Shirts*.

GROCERIES.

50 Bags Coffee, 50 bbls Brown Sugar, 4 bbls. Loaf Sugar, 4 bbls. Crushed Sugar, Pepper, Allspice, Almonds, Sweet Crackers, Water Crackers, Nutmegs,

in 1847 he was running another notice in conjunction with his cousin, Henry Gooding, proprietor of the Star Hotel in Clarksville, in an attempt to sell a closed carriage and a surveyor's compass.[16]

A stronger factor, however, than the purchase of advertising space in the paper worked for a close relationship between the Clarksville editor and the Fort Towson postmaster. This factor developed from the circumstance that the mail service of the Texas republic, at least that which served the northern settlements along Red River, left much to be desired; the result of this circumstance was the establishment of a private mail service to connect Clarksville with Fort Towson, thus giving the former community the advantage of the latter's superior communications with points north and east. The postal facilities of the north Texas town remained poor for a year or two after the admission of Texas into the Union, the dependence of Clarksville on Fort Towson for news from the United States and the outside world continuing until 1846 or 1847. Evidence of the situation was manifested in the second issue of the *Standard* when De Morse announced that he had arranged for a private mail service between Pine Creek and Fort Towson, thus connecting the Texas mail system with that of the United States.[17] The editor stated the details of the project thus:

Arrangements will be made, so that those who contribute to the support of the project, will have their letters and papers from the United

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Cloves, Cinnamon, Mace, Catsup, Jellies, Pickles of all kinds, Lemon and other Syrup, Olive Oil, Olives, Capers, Prunes, Raisins, Mustard, &c. &c., manufactured by and direct from Wm. Underwood, Boston, Segars, Tobacco of *various kinds.*

Crockery and Glass ware, of ALL KINDS Tin Ware, Hardware and Cutlery, Nails, Iron &c. &c., Horse Shoes and Nails.

Together with every other article generally wanted in this country.

My business having increased, I am prepared to sell low, for *Cash* or *Country Produce.* Friends, Please give us a call at the Old Stand.

Fort Towson, May 20th 1845"

[16] March 6, 1847, *et seq.* The advertisement was:

"FOR SALE

A close [*sic*] carriage of large size, and in good order—original cost, in Petersburg, Va. $500. Will be sold low for Cash or on good terms for produce.

Also a Surveyor's Compass, first quality, and in good order.

Apply to Henry Gooding
Star Hotel, Clarksville or
Geo. C. Gooding P. M.
Fort Towson"

The degree of relationship between George and Henry Gooding was determined by an interview with Mrs. Roxie Gooding of Goodland, Oklahoma, August 9, 1940. Mrs. Gooding is the widow of Henry Leavenworth Gooding, son of George C. Gooding.

[17] August 27, 1842. Pine Creek refers to the mouth of that creek on the Texas side of Red River and opposite the mouth of the Kiamichi River in the Choctaw Nation.

States, sent here, and can pay their postage here, instead of sending to Towson. None except subscribers to the route will be accommodated.[18]

The route went into effect immediately, some trouble being encountered in collecting from subscribers to the service, for notices to the delinquents appeared in the winter of 1842-1843.[19] In the issue for January 7, 1843, Editor De Morse urged subscribers:

> . . . . to come forward and pay up. The names of those who do not comply within two weeks, will be stricken from the list.

In February, 1843, the government of Texas discontinued the mail service from Clarksville to Pine Creek, whereupon De Morse announced that the mail to Pine Creek would be continued as a private affair in order that "the channel of communication with the United States . . . . [would] still be open."[20] Complete arrangements for the private mail were announced two weeks later, De Morse undertaking to act as representative for the Clarksville end of the service.[21] The mail rider left Clarksville each Monday morning and returned each Tuesday evening; the postage on letters over the route was thirty-seven and one-half cents each, on newspapers, three cents each.[22]

The first issue of the *Standard* in March carried this notice in the editorial column:

> Persons in the United States who wish to write to others resident in this District, will do well to recollect that the route by the way of Fulton [Arkansas] has been discontinued by our government, but that by directing their letters to Fort Towson, they will reach this place, without detention.[23]

One more quotation will emphasize the dependence of the Clarksville area on the Fort Towson mail service during this period:

> No United States mail by way of Fort Towson for two weeks, so that we are without any news isolated from the world. The Cypresses cutting off our communication with the interior, and some swollen stream on the other side of Red river, obstructing the passage of the mail.[24]

Even after the Texas government established a public mail route in the spring of 1844 to connect Fort Towson and Clarksville, mak-

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[18] *Ibid.*

[19] December 3, 1842, and January 7, 1843.

[20] February 4, 1843.

[21] February 16, 1843.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] March 2, 1843. The issue for March 9, 1843, stated that the editor was in error when he announced the abandonment of the route from Fulton; this made no difference, however, for the route through Fort Towson was more reliable and continued to be the one chiefly used. De Morse made this request, April 13, 1843: "We received by the last mail from the interior [of Texas], the November number of Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, and a Copy of the Albany Agriculturist, which were sent to us by way of Fulton. Exchange papers will please direct to us by way of Fort Towson, Choctaw Nation."

[24] May 11, 1843. Other statements concerning the Fort Towson mail during the period may be found in the issues for November 4, 18, 1843; February 10, 24, March 20, 27, April 17, 24, and May 22, 29, 1844.

ing the private mail unnecessary, the Texas town continued to receive its most reliable service through the Fort Towson channel.[25] As previously mentioned, the situation continued for a year or two after Texas statehood.

The man on the other end of these arrangements for the mail was George C. Gooding, Fort Towson postmaster, although his name was rarely mentioned by Editor De Morse. Evidence of Gooding's part in the north Texas mail service are to be found in frequent lists of "Letters In the Post Office at Fort Towson, for citizens of Texas," many of them carrying the name of "Geo. C. Gooding, P. M. Fort Towson, C. N." as proof of his interest.[26] The earlier lists included some rather indefinite addresses: for example, "Isaac J. Baily—Texas," or "Clerk County Court, Jonesborough."[27] An editorial notice in the summer of 1845 would suggest that Gooding also encountered trouble in making postal collections:

> The Post Master at Fort Towson wishes sundry persons on this side, who are indebted to him for postage, to attend to the payment, *instanter*. Those who do not take this hint, will be likely to find their papers stopping in future at that place, instead of coming over to them.[28]

Lists of letters published in 1846 and 1847 were complete, being no longer designed simply to inform "citizens of Texas" but also citizens of the Indian country. One published in the summer of 1846 contained the names of two Colberts, two Folsoms, a "Pytchlyn, Miss M.," and Robert Jones, the famous Choctaw planter and business man.[29] Mute evidence that in time of war a soldier's mail often fails to keep pace with his changes of address is found in a list of Fort Towson letters published in the fall of 1846; among one hundred and fifty-one names there appeared that of "Z. Taylor."[30] The end of the dependence of the Clarksville area on Fort Towson for postal service may be surmised from the fact that the last of the Fort Towson lists appeared in the summer of 1847.[31]

There is some evidence that a personal friendship developed between De Morse and Gooding during these years; in fact, De Morse appears to have been on friendly terms with several citizens of the

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[25] March 20, 1844.

[26] April 3, May 29, 1844; July 15, October 24, 1846; January 23, April 22, July 17, 1847.

[27] April 3 and May 29, 1844.

[28] August 2, 1845.

[29] July 15, 1846, *et seq.*

[30] October 24, 1846, *et seq.*

[31] July 31, 1847, *et seq.* Ordinarily each list of names was run in three successive issues. In the fall of 1847, November 11, the name of the post office was changed to Doaksville, Joseph R. Berthelet becoming postmaster; no lists of names from the Doaksville postoffice appeared in the *Standard.* George C. Gooding served as postmaster at Fort Towson from September 7, 1832, until Berthelet took over. Foreman, *op. cit.*, footnote 15, p. 85.

Doaksville-Fort Towson area. One of several similar items published in 1846 will illustrate this fact:

> We are indebted to Mr. Jos. Compton of Doaksville, and to Geo. C. Gooding Esq, P. M. Fort Towson, for copies of late papers from various quarters.[32]

Because of the state of the mail service first news of the annexation of Texas and of events in the Mexican War reached Clarksville by way of Fort Towson. In the editorial columns of the *Standard* for January 21, 1846, the following paragraph appeared:

> ANNEXATION CONSUMMATED.—
>
> We are indebted to a friend at Fort Towson, for a copy of the Washington Union, of Dec. 22nd, by which it appears, that, on that day; the Joint resolution for the admission of Texas into the Union, passed the Senate. . . .[33]

News of the advance of General Scott's army on Mexico City came to the *Standard* direct from George C. Gooding, as the following item would indicate:

> Latest from
> MEXICO
>
> For several days, we have been in possession of the Mexican accounts of the late battles before their Capital; but giving little credence to them, we have waited for further intelligence. By last night's mail, we received from our friend Geo. C. Gooding, the Postmaster at Fort Towson, a paper [the New Orleans *Picayune*] containing later news than any other brought by mail. . . . .[34]

The two Doaksville friends of De Morse whose names appeared most frequently in his columns were J. G. Read and D. G. Ball. The former in particular sent frequent communications to the *Standard* from 1845 through 1847, many of which were signed with the single initial "R."[35] The first letter from "R." to De Morse, dated at Fort Towson on November 28, 1845, warned Texans that a party of Cherokees were on their way from Fort Gibson "for the purpose of

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[32] October 31, 1846.

[33] January 21, 1846. In the preceding week's issue, an item appeared which emphasizes the close relationship between the Choctaw community and the north Texas community, as well as the dependence of the latter upon the former for news:

"ANNEXATION.—We perceive that during our absence, a meeting upon the supposed consummation of the annexation, has been held; in the proceedings of which, our name appears. Had we been here, we should have participated zealously, provided we had had evidence of the passage of the act through the two houses. That evidence, however, we have not yet seen, and there is nothing of it at Towson where we have been." January 14, 1846.

[34] October 23, 1847.

[35] The assumption that J. G. Read and "R." were the same person is one that seems likely to the writer but for which no definite proof can be advanced.

attacking the exploring party" of the same tribe which was south of Red River at the time.[36] An item in the summer of 1846 gave Read's initials for the first time:

Our thanks are due to Gen. Rusk, Hon. D. S. Kaufman, and Mr. J. G. Read of Fort Towson, for public documents, and late papers.[37]

The same number contained a letter signed "R." which gave an account of the Choctaw election of July 8, 1846:

Fort Towson, July 10th, 1846.
Major De Morse:

The elections of Chiefs for the three Choctaw Districts, came off on the 8th inst., and resulted in the election of Col. Thos. L'Flore, as Chief of this the Puck-she-nubbie District, by a majority of 58 votes, over Geo. Hudson; and 171 over Col. Joel Nail, the two opposing candidates. The whole number of votes cast was 671, of which L'Flore received 300. Hudson 242. And Nail 129. L'Flore, the successful candidate, and present Chief of this district, is a half breed of French extraction, (as the name implies,) popular with his people, who look up to him as a Father. He is favorable to the efforts that are being made for their civilization, and is in every respect well qualified for the office. In the adjoining, the Push-met-ta-ha District, Silas Fisher, was elected over his competitor Jeremiah Folsom, by a majority of 210. The whole number of votes cast being 456. Mr. Fisher is also a half-breed, and possesses much of the go-ahead spirit of the Anglo Saxon. He was educated at Col. Johnson's school in Kentucky, and will do much for the amelioration of the condition of his red bretheren [*sic*].

The returns from the remaining Choctaw and Chickasaw Districts have not yet come in. But the presumption is, that the parties favorable to education and reform, have been victorious throughout.

The examination of the four Missionary schools in this District will take place next week.

R. [38]

The last communication from or mention of Read was featured in an issue for the summer of 1847, the letter being published under a headline on page one. It reminds the reader that Oklahoma weather is just like it was one hundred years ago, for hail stones of similar size to those reported by Read occurred in the state during the spring of 1940. The Oklahoma weather report of 1847 read thus:

GREAT HAIL
Fort Towson Choctaw Nation,
May 21st 1847

Major De Morse:

On Saturday the 8th inst., the Missionary institution known as 'Armstrong Academy' about 50 miles west from 'Towson,' was visited with a *storm of hail, or chunks of ice*, of such magnitude as literally to 'astonish the Natives.' During its continuance, it might well have been compared to a general breaking up of an *ice pond* over head, so shapeless and *huge*, were a vast quantity of the stones that fell, varying in size from ordinary hail to masses of ice, as large as a *quart cup*. One of them measured by the Rev. R. D. Potts, principal of the institution, was found to be *six*

[36] December 3, 1845. The first mention of Read by name occurred in the issue for March 6, 1845: "We are indebted to the politeness of Mr. Reed [*sic*], of Fort Towson, for a copy of the Madisonian of the 7th ult. . . . ."

[37] July 15, 1846.

[38] *Ibid.*

inches in length, and about *four* inches in *diameter*. Some sixty panes of glass were broken in the building, and the roof considerably injured. That the residents were considerably alarmed, may be readily inferred; and that no injury was sustained, by any members of the large school and family stationed there; was perhaps owing to their having been warned to the houses, by a smart shower of rain, immediately preceding the storm.—The weather at the time was quite warm; thermometer probably at about 85 deg.

Yours &,
R.[39]

Unfortunately, for his letters are the most interesting to the current reader of Oklahoma history, this was the last piece of Mr. Read's correspondence printed by the editor of the *Standard*.

D. G. Ball, publisher of the first Choctaw newspaper, received first mention in the columns of this frontier periodical during the summer of 1846, when De Morse remarked:

By Mr. Ball of Doaksville, who left New Orleans on the 30th ult., and arrived in Town on Monday last, we learn that Troops were pouring into the City, from the upper Country.[40]

A typical mention of Ball in 1847 would leave the impression that he had become quite a crony of the Texas editor; at least he had joined the ranks of those Doaksville citizens to whom the Texan was constantly acknowledging his indebtedness for "late papers." This De Morse sentence was:

We are indebted to Mr. Ball of Doaksville for a late Washington Union.[41]

The plans for establishment and publication of a newspaper at Doaksville were briefly mentioned by De Morse in a news item that appeared in the spring of 1848:

NEWS FOR THE CHOCTAWS.

We understand that a newspaper press is about to be established at Doaksville; Mr. Ball, heretofore a Merchant in that place, having passed through here, yesterday morning, on his way to New Orleans for materials.[42]

Presumably Mr. Ball was very busy with his new project and encountered the editor of the *Standard* little during the next year, for his name did not appear again in the issues of the Texas paper which were examined.[43]

It is likely that Charles De Morse must have visited Fort Towson in person during this period; but if he did, he failed to give an

[39] June 2, 1847.

[40] June 10, 1846. Reference is here made, of course, to troop movements soon after the outbreak of the Mexican War. Since Ball's route to Doaksville was through Clarksville, he had doubtless come by water to Shreveport, Louisiana, or Jefferson, Texas, and thence overland, the usual route of travel from New Orleans when water in the upper Red River was too low to allow steamboat travel.

[41] December 11, 1847.

[42] May 20, 1848.

[43] The first issue of *The Choctaw Telegraph*, of which D. G. Ball was publisher, did not appear until May 3, 1849. *Personal Letter*, Librarian of Congress, June 12, 1940.

account of any visit in his publication. In January of 1846 he remarked casually while discussing another subject that he had been at Fort Towson, evidently not considering it worth the time of his readers to enter into any discussion of events of the Post.[44] Another item will illustrate the tone of many which would justify the conviction that De Morse was often a visitor to the army post across the Red River; in his editorial column in the summer of 1844 this paragraph appeared:

> Ball Play among the Choctaws.—We have received a communication from Doaksville, signed Noshoba Lakna, informing us, that on the 17th of this month, there is to be a 'Big Ball play, to be played over Kiamisha, 8 miles West of Doaksville, Kosha district against half of Red River district. They will gather on the ground, on Sunday the 16th, at night; and the next day about 9 o'clock, the Ball will go up in the air. Dancing will commence the night of the 16th.' Such of our citizens as have not seen this exciting sport, will have an opportunity now.[45]

The inference to be drawn here—although it may be too far-fetched—is that De Morse had already witnessed games of Indian ball in the Choctaw Nation and was advising Texas readers who had not that here was their chance.

The editor did mention a visit to Fort Washita in 1845, his most likely route to that post being by way of Fort Towson. The Washita visit was to attend a meeting, in an unofficial capacity, of a council of the Chickasaws, De Morse promising before his departure from Clarksville to "endeavor while there to glean some matter which [might] interest his readers."[46] He dutifully reported on his return that he had been "at the Chickasaw Council at the Boiling Springs, near Fort Washita on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of last week," promising to give an account of the proceedings in the next issue.[47] The promise was never carried out. One result of the journey, however, was an increase in news from Fort Washita, especially concerning the movement of troops to and from that post.[48] An item quoted from an Eastern paper in 1846 announced the death by execution at Hopkinsville, Kentucky, of a notorious outlaw, Alonzo Pennington, who had been "arrested about three months since, in the Choctaw Nation near Fort Washita."[49]

The violent death of a noted Red River pioneer trader, Holland Coffee, at the hands of a resident near Fort Washita was mentioned in two issues for the fall of 1846. The first item was:

> We learn that on the first inst., a rencounter took place in Grayson county, between Col. Holland Coffee, well known as one of the earliest

[44] January 14, 1846.
[45] June 12, 1844.
[46] July 12, 1845.
[47] July 26, 1845.
[48] August 9, September 13, November 19, 1845, and January 7, 14, 1846.
[49] June 17, 1846.

traders with the Indians, on the waters of Red River, and Mr. Chas. A. Gallaway [*sic*], a merchant, resident of Washita Post. Col. Coffee, is said to have received some stabs which proved mortal.[50]

The second, which appeared more than a month later, furnishes a nice commentary on the workings of frontier justice along Red River in the 1840's:

Grayson District Court.—

Mr. Charles A. Galloway, who was charged with the murder of Col. Coffee, has, we are informed been acquitted by public sentiment. It seems there were several witnesses of the act, and it was so clearly a case of self defense in the last extremity, that the Grand Jury could not find a bill.

We are told that Mr. Galloway is universally considered blameless for his conduct throughout the difficulty, and in the final act which terminated so fatally and unfortunately. We are gratified to find that the case bears this character.[51]

The modern reader cannot help but wonder whether this last paragraph were not dictated to the editor by Mr. Galloway or some of the latter's friends, for country editors were even more subject to threats of violence then than now.

The Coffee incident is one example of another point which can be illustrated by quotations from the *Standard*: that is, the part played by the Red River boundary in relationships between citizens of Texas and dwellers in the Indian nations. The River was a goal toward which culprits headed in order to escape justice on either side. Mr. Galloway, "resident of Washita Post," was probably relieved when the Grayson jury refused to prefer charges against him; but had he been indicted, it would have been difficult for Texas authorities to get him to that state for trial had the defendant cared to evade such action. The situation was reflected constantly in the columns of the Clarksville paper by legal notices advertising civil suits by residents of Texas against persons not resident in the state for the collection of debts.[52] These civil actions, although more numerous, did not receive the publicity of editorial discussion nor were they headlined as news items, so that the state of affairs must be emphasized by the occasional reports of criminal actions.

The columns of the *Standard* portrayed this situation through their advertisements and news articles, which tell of murderers, horse thieves, escaped slaves, and other culprits crossing Red River, their direction determined by the locality from which they were

[50] October 10, 1846. For an account of Coffee's connection with Oklahoma history, see Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), 157 ff.

[51] November 28, 1846.

[52] Many such notices appeared in *The Northern Standard* all during the period. An example was a legal notice that one Henry Stoneham was suing Pitman Colbert, "not a resident of this state," for ninety dollars. March 10, 1849, *et seq.*

fleeing. One example of murderers escaping to Texas in 1844 was that of the killers of Seaborn Hill, a trader in the Creek Nation.[53] A half-column advertisement during the summer and fall of that year offered a large reward for James L. Dawson, "late Creek agent," and John R. Baylor, his accomplice.[54] These two gentlemen were accused of the murder of Hill on July 8 and were thought to have escaped to Texas; John Hill, evidently a relative of the murdered man, offered a thousand dollars for Dawson and five hundred for Baylor, with James Logan, Creek Agent, adding an additional five hundred and two hundred respectively.

(To be continued)

[53] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1933), footnote 1, p. 217.

[54] August 28, 1844, *et seq.*

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE TULSA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

BY LOUISE WHITHAM

Appraisal of the various activities undertaken by the Oklahoma Historical Society reveals many striking and successful projects. Outstanding, of course, is the state museum in its well planned new building and the Society's quarterly publication, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* These issues have been made possible largely by the gratuitous efforts of many who have progressed from being merely interested members of the Society to having become capable research writers. The Oklahoma Historical Society may now claim sponsorship of, or cooperation with, a project in another area,—stimulation of interest in local historical research by High School pupils, who, it is to be hoped, will also develop in ability.

The purpose of this paper is to review some of the experiences of a student-group in Central High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma, which is benefiting from its association with the Oklahoma Historical Society. The intent of the writer is not so much to recount the story of the project as to discuss some of the pedagogical problems and advantages of the research-approach in the study of local or regional history. As such it may have most interest for the teacher-readers of *The Chronicles* but, by indicating an expanding field of service for the state Historical Society, it may be of interest to others as well.

The story of the Tulsa Historical Society of Tulsa Central High School is brief. It is in its fourth year of formal organization. Unity and standing and permanence come through organization, while the mechanics of working under an organization develops student personality. Class enrollment automatically means membership in the Historical Society for most of the work is done in the classroom. A charter has been adopted and the essentials of parliamentary procedure are followed when needed. Working under the name of the Tulsa Historical Society has been useful both in getting public recognition, and in securing aid for the projects undertaken.

The Daughters of the American Colonists and the Sons of the American Revolution have been especially helpful.

The movement started in Tulsa Central about five years ago in senior classes studying social and economic problems. So far as practicable local situations were checked against the more general ones of state and nation. Without guidance young people do not think objectively about their home town, so the investigations of

these students helped them see their community in a new way. Soon they began asking "Why is this so"; "How long have we had such conditions?"; "Who were the people who started these movements?"

These questions could only be solved by knowing something about local history. Although for twenty years a teacher in Tulsa, the instructor knew much more about the ancient Greeks and Romans than about modern Tulsa history. J. M. Hall's book, *The Beginning of Tulsa,* told the story to 1900, and Col. C. B. Douglas's three volumns carried it down to 1922. Couldn't these be rewritten in simple classroom style? And couldn't the rest of the story be told by their parents? It might be a real civic service to put out a brief survey. Such were the arguments back of the now four year old local research project with which the Tulsa classes are still working.

Appeals to the State Historical Society for aid has extended the scope of the original project by revealing the considerable amount of authentic research publications available, particularly in the pre-state-hood period. A fine sense of comradeship between the two societies developed. Thanks are due Judge John B. Meserve of Tulsa, a member of the editorial staff of *The Chronicles,* for his sympathetic kindness and advice, and to Mr. James W. Moffitt, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He early recognized the larger possibilities of the project,—its bearing on the understanding and future interest of these young people in Oklahoma History. He aided them by visiting their class-room, by inviting a group of students to visit the Historical building and by allowing their use of the reference library there. He introduced the delegation to Dr. J. B. Thoburn who talked delightfully about the problems involved in writing Oklahoma history.

The bond of fellowship was deepened when representatives from the High School Society were invited to attend the programs and to go on the field trip of the 1940 annual meeting. Judge Robert L. Williams and Judge Harry Campbell approved the publication of the group effort titled, "Educational History in and about Tulsa, Oklahoma, (1839-1939)," which appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* March, 1940.

Naturally, this contribution betrayed the immaturity of its authors, yet its effect on the members of the High School Society was out of all proportion to that of the more scholarly researches of that issue. This recognition of a High School assembly program and research effort was both generous and intelligent. Certainly *The Chronicles* is not a Junior publication, and no precedent has been established, but in letting down its bars that once it furthered one of the state society's major purposes. In fact the collection of data, and the preservation of articles are but means to this end,—that succeeding generations shall know how to evaluate and to use the information made available by their predecessors.

The project begun by Tulsa senior classes of 1937 was at first designed to be a brief summary of local events from the coming of the first railroad, 1882. What went before that seemed lost in the mists of ignorance. For instance the following statements were found in accounts about Tulsa:

"From an Indian-cow-town—"

"No one lived where Tulsa now stands"—

"There is no history earlier than 1882"—

"If anything happened before the railroad came there was no one to make note of it."

At last one boy said, "My people have lived in Oklahoma since 1828. Surely there is history in that. How can one get at Indian records and documents? This lost history must be there."

And another—"The state of Oklahoma has about ninety thousand citizens of Indian blood. Is it fair to them to tell only the white story?"

A survey of several classes indicated that about one-fourth of the students had some degree of Indian blood or family connection. Moreover the town-site of Tulsa is spread over old Creek Nation lands onto the corners of Osage and Cherokee lands. Considering all of this, the scope of class research was widened to include the histories of those three very different Indian stocks—"Our Neighboring Nations."

Facts relating to these tribes or to this area were noted by student researchers, each of whom read one or more books dealing with the pre-statehood period. From these notes, an introductory summary, called the "Historical Background" was written. Although a few rare or expensive books were borrowed, many were purchased for class reference use. From them students now give oral reports on points of interest which could not be developed in the summary. This plan provides for continuous research by each new group, familiarizes them with foot-note and reference-technique and makes comparison and criticism possible.

That part of the text book dealing with the modern period attempts to understand the development of the city from an industrial and economic viewpoint. The welfare and cultural situations are considered as challenges to community intelligence and cooperation.

The task of a High School group setting out to organize the leading events in its neighborhood history may involve primary research, but will more probably become a synthesis of accounts found in the patient research work of others. It was Dr. Grant Foreman's studies in detailed Indian History which made the first half of our task possible, and gave authenticity to the brief accounts which were finally prepared as historical backgrounds for the exercises. Simple stories of the Osage, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and their western

establishment were worked out. Wherever possible the account was localized. Judge Meserve has published the story of the Perrymans in *The Chronicles* of June, 1937. This family once owned most of present Tulsa and they have furnished much intelligent and capable leadership. The part played by members of that family gave reality to the story of settlement, the Civil War, and the period following the war.

Some of the thrill of the primary researchers was felt by the class-member who, interviewing Mrs. Perryman, was allowed to copy the yellowed letter of a home-sick lad in the Civil War, Legus Perryman, who later became a Principal Chief. This family also founded the society's historical collection when members gave the old post-boxes used when Tulsa post office was first established in 1879. Perhaps some day our town may have proper housing for this growing collection.

The hand-book is still incomplete but is now being used in mimeographed units or chapters as guide-sheets for student-reading and activities. Directed and free research is made from such authors as: Foreman, Thoburn, Abel, Dale, Gittinger, Wardell, and Trickett. Probably no other High School in the state has made more complete use of *The Chronicles.*

Professors of Oklahoma history may object because High School students are reading works designed for the college level, but the oral reports of these students show that they have both understood what they found and enjoyed reading it. Very few of these students can go to the state institutions of higher learning so the danger of repetition probably does not out-weigh the increased interest in accurate Oklahoma history. At least in the case of Vernon Luckenbill the information and skills acquired in the research class laid a foundation for further study in the State College at Stillwater. He has marked literary ability and is now working on an Oklahoma story set in the conflict-period of the early Osages and Cherokees.

Besides the regular work sheets, the Society is accumulating firsthand accounts of experiences by pioneers and prominent people of Tulsa. It sponsors programs and presents important people in the school assembly. On the observance of this year's Oklahoma Historical Day it was able to present Mrs. Ida Stephens Haworth who opened the first missionary school here in 1883.

Then there is what is known as "The Appendix." This is a collection of individual studies or particular phases,—material too detailed to be included in the work-sheets. Some of the subjects are: "Tulsa's Railroads," "The Race Riot of 1921," "The Evolution of the Place-name, Tulsa," "Law and Order in Tulsa," etc. These might be called term-themes for they are documented. Some are very creditably presented; others not so well. Of course their highest value was to the person who did them. In fact that is probably the

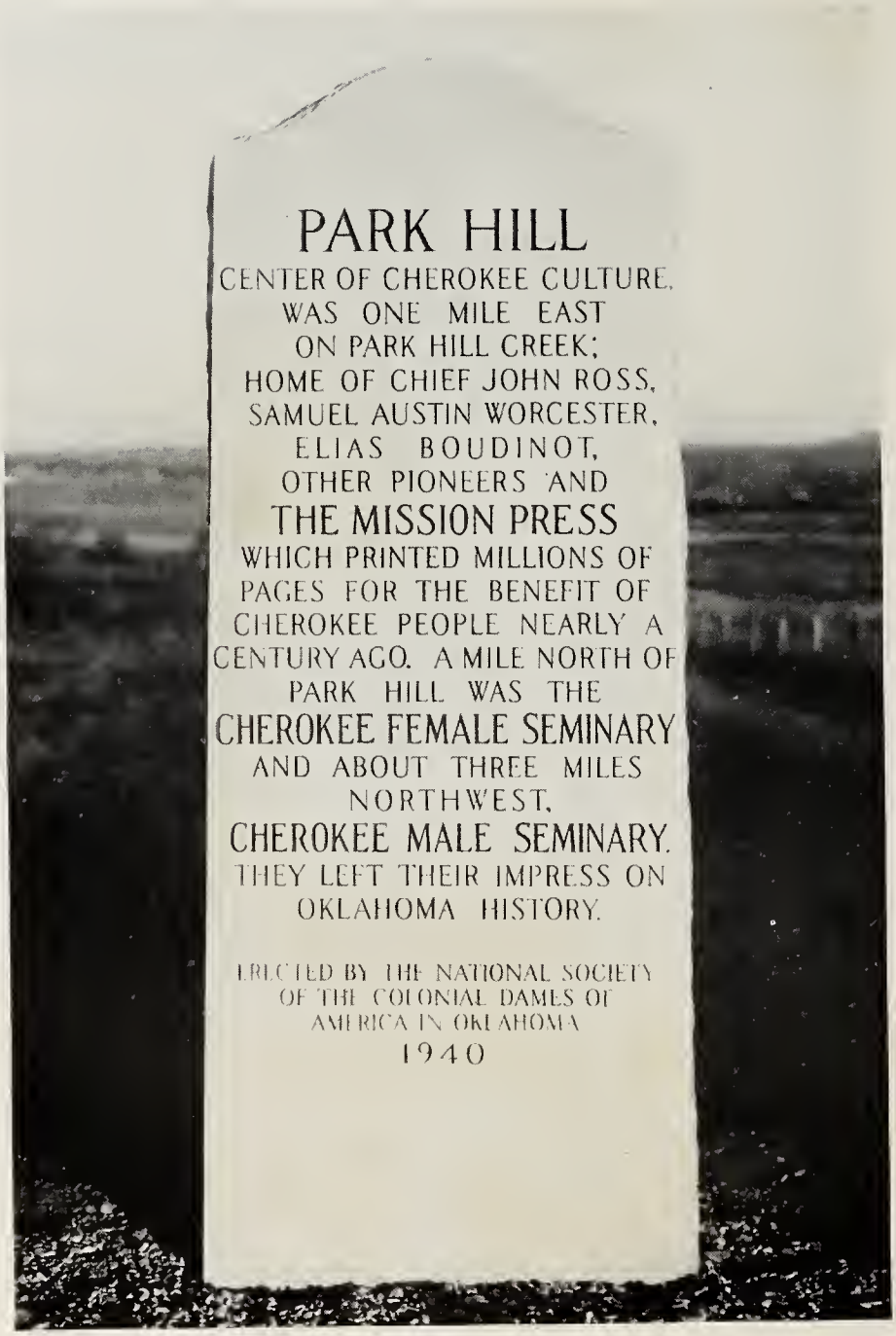
great point of recommendation for this method of getting history. *The student must make an effort to get it.* The conventional history text book has a definite place, probably in the grades even more than in the High School, but memory work is less educative than knowledge gained through individual effort based on interest.

One of the difficulties in this project has been through having to carry it from one year to another with new students each year. It takes about half a year for the students to accumulate enough information and grasp of subject and method to make them effective helpers. At least, the spring semester has always produced the most satisfactory results. Research for class recitation, and research for writing are such different problems that a special group during the school year 1939-40 volunteered for assistance in preparing the text book or work units. Students of the present group are checking and correcting the errors which naturally have crept into a project on which so many people have worked. An editorial board with the instructor as editor-in-chief is absolutely necessary to secure continuity and uniformity of style in writing the general account. Yet whatever significance this work has derives entirely from its being a group effort, and being done to satisfy a desire to know.

Definitely this type of teaching requires more effort than under the conventional text book method, yet it has its compensations. There are the delights of exploring a new fact-area, the teacher's satisfaction as student interest and ability develops, the surprise of public appreciation and now and then the emotional reaction of a coincidence like the following.

Talking to a group in another High School the story of Robert Loughridge was told. As a young man in 1843, he came by horseback 600 miles to ask the Creeks if he might establish a mission-school. They wanted the school but no preaching. Ultimately he founded both the Coweta and the Tullahasse schools and several Presbyterian congregations. There was much hardship, sorrow, bravery and success in that story. As an old man in 1883 he preached the very first sermon heard in the infant town of Tulsa. At the close of the class session a girl said, "You were talking about my grandfather; I had never thought of him as a historical personage."

Any class attempting in some such way to study local history will find it a real challenge of ability. Probably they will enjoy it and be better citizens because of it. When they need help they can find it, as the Tulsa classes often have, in the kindly interest of their townspeople and from the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society.



MONUMENT AT PARK HILL

HISTORICAL NOTES

The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Oklahoma has planned for a number of years to erect an appropriate monument to mark outstanding historical events and locations in the eastern part of the state. After much study of the history of this region they reached the conclusion that the neighborhood of ancient Park Hill was the most interesting historically and was more intimately associated with the early progress and culture of the state than any other. They therefore concluded that their monument should be erected in that vicinity. It was decided to locate it on the highway in view of passing travelers and a location was therefore selected on the brow of a little hill three miles south of Tahlequah, that gave an extended view of the ancient settlement of Park Hill and the surrounding country.

The inscription on this monument stands out so clearly in the subjoined photograph that it is unnecessary to repeat it here. On this monument one will learn that Park Hill was regarded as the center of Cherokee culture for several reasons; it was here that Rev. Samuel Austin Worcester located in 1837 and established his mission press. Here also was the home of Cherokee Chief John Ross, which was the center of much interest, and the objective over many years of numerous visitors come to see the chief of the Cherokee Nation and to observe the printing press in its useful occupation of turning out a great mass of printed material for the benefit of the Indians.

Directly east of the monument in the little woods that crowns the ridge are graceful brick columns, now surrounded by brambles and brush, all that remains of the Cherokee Female Seminary, where many Cherokee women received their formal education. About two miles northwest of this mission was the male seminary.

This monument was dedicated by the sponsors on November 16, 1940. The exercises were presided over by Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, president, of Oklahoma City, who was introduced by Mrs. Jason C. Clark, chairman of historic activities of the Society. After an introductory address explaining the aims of the society, Mrs. Hickam introduced Grant Foreman, who made an address explaining the historic significance of the grounds commemorated by the monument. Mrs. James B. Diggs of Tulsa, chairman on the historical committee for Eastern Oklahoma, devoted much time and thought to the planning of the monument and its erection, and the dedicatory exercises.

The greatest battle of the Civil War in the Indian Territory in which the largest number of men participated, involving the greatest loss of life, was fought July 17, 1863, between the Confederate and Federal forces about seventeen miles south of where Muskogee now is. This was called the Battle of Honey Springs from the fact that nearby Honey Springs, two or three miles south of Oktaha, was the headquarters of the Confederate forces under command of Douglas H. Cooper.

The battle began on the prairie north of the site of Oktaha and from there the Federal troops forced the Confederates south over the site of that town and finally across Elk Creek. Soon after this stage of the battle the Confederates retreated, leaving on the battle field 150 dead, who were buried by the Union troops. In this battle there were about 10,000 troops engaged on both sides. The official reports showed that the Confederate troops, who were mostly Indians, were greatly handicapped by lack of arms, and damp powder that often would not discharge in the guns. While they slightly outnumbered the Federal troops, the latter had the advantage of better training and equipment, and especially in artillery.

Since the battle the burial place of the dead was unmarked for these many years; but the General Forrest Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy of Muskogee determined to make amends for this long neglect and caused a handsome Vermont granite marker to be erected northeast of Oktaha within the probable limits of the battle field. This monument bears the following inscription: "To honor the Confederate soldiers of the Honey Springs battle, July 17, 1863. Erected by the General Forrest Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1940."

This monument was dedicated on the afternoon of September 15, 1940, in the presence of visitors from points over the eastern part of the state. The exercises were presided over by Mrs. Hugh Lewis, president of the Chapter. They included a bugle call at the opening; a salute to the flags; ritual reading by the chapter president; a prayer by Rev. Virgil Alexander, pastor of the St. Paul's Methodist Church, Muskogee; a tribute to the members of the Sam Checote Camp who took part in the Battle of Honey Springs, by Roland Bailey; a solo, "The Soldier Sleeps," by Mrs. William A. Green; and an address by Grant Foreman, who traced the history of the battle commemorated by the monument. The exercises were closed by taps.

HONEY SPRINGS BATTLE MONUMENT

Recalling the days when huge herds of cattle roamed the ranges and the arrival of the stage from Quanah, Texas, was the big event in the life of Mangum, hundreds of Greer County pioneers gathered Wednesday at Harmon Field for their eighth annual reunion.

Since organization of the pioneers' group, all settlers who came to Old Greer County before March 16, 1896, have been eligible for membership. Wednesday, the pioneers advanced the date to March 16, 1900. The new date will admit hundreds of persons formerly excluded from the association.

Officers elected Wednesday were G. B. Townsend, Mangum, president; Louis M. Tittle, Mangum, vice president from Greer County; Jeff Price, Delhi, vice president from Beckham County; Carl Putman, Gould, vice president from Harmon County; F. B. Baker of Altus, vice president from Jackson County.

Approximately 850 pioneers registered Wednesday for the reunion, Zearl Lowe, registrar, reported. A large number of pioneers, their children and guests enjoyed a barbecue Wednesday noon at Harmon Field.

Opening the program Wednesday afternoon, Wade Shumate, Mangum chamber of commerce secretary, introduced Townsend, who gave the welcome address. L. F. Martin of Hollis, retiring president, gave a talk.

Other talks were made by Mrs. Sam Holmes, Eldorado; Rev. J. H. McCuistion, Hollis; F. B. Baker, Altus; H. J. Banks, Willow; Wheeler Paxton, Jester. Elmore Dodson of Dodson, Texas, presented early day recollections mentioning many families he had known in the pioneer period.[1]

Among those who contributed to the success of the Cherokee Strip celebration at Ponca City, Oklahoma, on September 16, 1940, were Senator Charles B. Duffy; Joe McFadden, chairman of the Cherokee Strip celebration committee; President Harper Baughman and Secretary H. L. Schall of the Ponca City Chamber of Commerce. Among those attending the impressive exercises and luncheon on that day were Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. James E. Berry; Budget Officer R. R. Owens and Mrs. Owens; Hon. George Meacham of the State Highway Commission; Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Postmaster at Ponca City; President and Mrs. Loren Brown, University Preparatory School and Junior College, Tonkawa; President H. G. Bennett, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater.

Reliance on the living philosophy of the Cherokee Strip pioneers will strengthen Americans in the trying times which now confront us, Dr. Henry G. Bennett told the audience at the statue of the

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[1] Mangum *Daily Star*, July 18, 1940.

Pioneer Woman. At the conclusion of his address the Ponca City Kiwanis Glee club sang "Old Faithful" and "God Bless America." Senator Charles B. Duffy, master of ceremonies for the program, introduced the Reverend V. A. Hargis, pastor of the First Methodist church, who delivered the invocation. Wreaths of flowers were placed at the foot of the statue by former Governor E. W. Marland (the donor) and by James W. Moffitt, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society and representative of the State of Oklahoma.

An impressive parade was one of the highlights of the day's celebration. An elaborate float entered by the National Youth Administration project at the 101 Ranch symbolizing the famous ranch from its beginning in 1889 to the present day was judged first in the historical float division of the parade. A small replica of a covered wagon drawn by oxen was mounted on a white crepe paper float.[2]

Interested audiences watched the impressive and solemn story of the life of an Indian Warrior, Eagle Nest, unfold at the American Indian Exposition pavilion in the presentation of "Tepee Tales," the pageant written and directed by Mrs. Margaret Pearson Speelman, August 14, 15, 16, 1940.

Mingling the lively and "un-modern" dances of the Plains Indians with the rites and ordeals of an Indian's lifetime from birth until death, the pageant moved without hesitation from one sequence to another in the "tales" of tepee life.

The cast of the pageant—250 Comanches, Kiowas, Caddoes, Delawares, Wichitas, Apaches and representatives from Cheyenne, Arapaho and other plains tribes—performed in a round dance around the council fire and the audience moved into the proper mood to appreciate the solemn yet colorful program to follow.

Matthew Botone, Kiowa orator, offered the invocation at the start of the pageant in his native tongue. Father Al of St. Patrick's Mission delivered the opening prayer in English.

The chiefs of many tribes danced following the opening narration by Frank Jones, Kiowa. Maggie Tahone bathed in a golden light and standing to the left of the pageant's council fire told the story as Jones read in signs.

Drawing the greatest ovation was the "rabbit dance" presented by the stripling children of tribesmen in native dress.

The "war dance" performed following the "reaching of manhood by Eagle Nest" was the wildest ritual during the ceremonial. The band of 125 feathered and painted warriors—young and old—hurled themselves into the fury of the dance and to the fast rhythmic

[2] Ponca City *News*, September 16, 1940.

beating of the tom-toms and the screeching of war cries practically exhausted themselves in the traditional ceremony.

And as life of "Eagle Nest" progressed through the years portrayed in the story, the dances became more reserved as he reached a venerable age. And in the closing moments, Albert Attocknie, venerable Comanche tribal member, sang the "Death Song" in a quavering voice denoting the last preparation of the Indian for his death.

At the close of the pageant, all Indians in the cast, children, women and men joined in the Buffalo dance.

The Princess of the Exposition, Miss Madeline Frank, was presented with William J. Karty, president of the exposition. The band played and the audience sang "God Bless America." The national anthem was the closing ceremony.[3]

At the annual meeting of the Old Settlers Association held October 4, 1940, at the Oklahoma Free State Fair at Muskogee, the following officers were elected: Mrs. R. L. Fite, Tahlequah, President; Hon. John Gulager, Vice-President; Mrs. Troy Arrington, Secretary. They succeeded Nate Gibson, Jr., retiring President; Mrs. John Dills, retiring Secretary; and Mrs. F. B. Fite, retiring Vice-President.[4]

The Latimer County Historical Society was constituted at Wilburton, Oklahoma, on October 18, 1940. The following officers were elected: Professor James D. Morrison, President; Mr. Hobart Boggs, Secretary; County Superintendent of Schools; E. T. Dunlap, Membership Vice-President; City Superintendent of Schools, E. G. Stevens, Program Vice-President. Among those participating in the discussion upon the organization of this Society were President C. C. Dunlap, Eastern Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College; Professor James D. Morrison, Dean R. B. Mitchell, Professor M. E. Derrick, Mr. and Mrs. T. P. Tripp, Dr. J. M. Harris, Superintendent E. T. Dunlap, Superintendent E. G. Stevens, Ray P. Boyce, and the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, James W. Moffitt. An interesting program of activities for the ensuing year has been outlined by this strong new organization.

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[3] Anadarko *Tribune*, August 15, 1940.
[4] Muskogee *Daily Phoenix*, October 5, 1940.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

January 23, 1941.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 23, 1941, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll, which showed the following members present: Judge Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Hon. George L. Bowman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Col. A. N. Leecraft, Mr. J. B. Milam, Hon. W. J. Peterson, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams, and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

On motion duly seconded, the absent members were excused from attendance on account of the inclement weather and sickness.

The Secretary reported that no petition was filed by January 1, 1941 for election of successors to the five Board members whose terms expired at this time.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that the five members, whose terms had expired, i.e., Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Cordell; Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Edmond; Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Oklahoma City; Dr. James H. Gardner, Tulsa; and Mr. J. B. Milam, Chelsea; be declared as re-elected for the ensuing term of five years. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The President reported the death of Mrs. Roberta C. Lawson, one of the members of the Board of Directors, and all members present arose and stood in reverence to her memory.

The repairs made on the roof of the home of the caretaker at the Sequoyah Shrine was reported, and also that the payment of $60.00 had been taken care of by a private fund specifically collected for such purpose.

Gen. Charles F. Barrett moved that a budget committee of three members be appointed to confer with the Legislature regarding the budget for the Oklahoma Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Chair appointed Hon. George L. Bowman, Mr. J. B. Milam and Judge Robert A. Hefner to act in this capacity.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for annual membership in the Historical Society:

Mrs. Lillian D. Adkins, Oklahoma City; Charles Andrew Anderson, Pipestone, Minn.; J. W. Batchelor, Durant; Mrs. Corwin Boake, Gotebo; L. W. Brophy, Muskogee; Russell Clark, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Mary E. Frost, Healdton; Wallace Goodman, Durant; Hon. Wm. Gulager, Muskogee; Mrs. Oscar C. Hadley, Miami; Dr. Hyman Joseph Harkavy, Bartlesville; A. Max Holcomb, Eufaula; Dr. Forney Hutchinson, Shawnee; Matthew John Kane, Pawhuska; Mrs. Hazel Lloyd, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Sam Maddux, Lawton; Anna Messick, Atoka; Clyde Green Pitman, Tecumseh; Mrs. Donnelley Reid, Oklahoma City; Mrs. P. B. Rice, Antlers; Mrs. R. P. Shelton, Atlanta, Ga.; Robert T. Stinson, Durant; Colon Valentine, Oklahoma City; Luther Elgin Warren, Tulsa; Leslie C. Williams, Oklahoma City; George Duncan Wilson, Enid and Albert Daniel Wright, Chandler.

Hon. W. J. Peterson moved that these persons be elected to annual membership in the Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Robert A. Hefner and Hon. George L. Bowman asked to be excused from attendance further at this meeting on account of other engagements, which was granted.

Mrs. John R. Williams transmitted for Alfaretta Jennings a copy of an address delivered by Quanah Parker, Chief of the Comanches, regarding taxing the Indians and other matters, which was accepted and the Secretary was instructed to file it in the archives, and thank Miss Jennings for this donation.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Board meeting held October 24, 1940 and the minutes of the called meeting held November 15, 1940, and upon motion duly seconded the reading of these minutes was passed subject to be called for consideration upon request.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that the President be authorized to fix the date of the annual meeting scheduled to be held at Lawton, or on account of an emergency, to designate some other place for holding the annual meeting. Motion was seconded and Judge Doyle put the motion, which carried.

Hon. W. J. Peterson moved that the President be authorized and given full power to change the place of holding the annual meeting, and fix the date of the meeting. Upon receiving a second, Mr. Peterson put the motion which was carried.

The request of the Association of Oklahoma Artists for permission to hang their pictures in the art gallery of the Historical building was discussed and a decision was passed for the time being.

A letter from Dr. Grant Foreman was read, requesting that filing cases be purchased to take care of the cards made in indexing the Indian-Pioneer biographies, which have been assembled under the Indian-Pioneer history project.

Mr. J. B. Milam moved that one case be purchased out of the present funds available. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. J. B. Milam discussed the advisability of securing for the State the Cherokee Female Seminary grounds, the Union Mission grounds and the grounds of the Dwight Mission, and moved that the President be authorized to act fully for the Board and to take such action in the matter as may be advisable. Motion was seconded and carried.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that the meeting of the Board of Directors, which would regularly be held in April of this year, on account of the annual meeting, be dispensed with. Motion was seconded and carried.

Hon. W. J. Peterson moved that the meeting stand adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

Robert L. Williams, President,
presiding.

James W. Moffitt,
Secretary.

NECROLOGY

JOEL MASON SANDLIN
1878-1940

Joel Mason Sandlin, son of Samuel Winfred and Margaret M. (Crow) Sandlin, was born September 6, 1878, on a farm near Hartselle, Morgan County, Alabama. Having received a good education in the common and private schools, he taught school for four years and came to Lincoln County, Oklahoma Territory, in the early part of 1901, where he worked on a farm and taught school, and clerked in a store and bank. Having pursued the study of law he was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory at Guthrie on January 6, 1904, and immediately entered upon the practice of the law at Prague.

On September 18, 1906 he was nominated on the Democratic ticket for delegate to the Constitutional Convention from District 22, which embraced a part of Lincoln County, and elected at the election held on November 6, 1906 under provision of the Enabling Act of June 16, 1906, and after the organization of the convention which convened on November 20, 1906, he served on the following committees: (1) Judicial Apportionment (chairman); (2) Rules[1] and Procedure; (3) Municipal Corporations; (4) Public Institutions; (5) Impeachment and removal from Office; (6) Special Committee as to Legislative Apportionment.[2]

After the erection of the state government on November 16, 1907, he then became private secretary to the late Governor Chas. N. Haskell, serving in that capacity until appointed in the spring of 1909 by Governor Haskell as Judge of the Superior Court of Logan County, and discharged the duties of said office with honor and credit until the expiration of the term in January, 1911. He then removed to Duncan, Oklahoma and there engaged in the practice of the law. In 1915 he was appointed by the then Governor as a member of the State Board of Education and continued in such capacity by reappointments until the spring of 1929. On November 27, 1902 he was married to Miss Loula Smith of Hartselle, Alabama, who survives him. To them came the following children: Grace, who died in infancy; Fay, surviving, the wife of Joe B. House, of Mannford, Oklahoma, and Joseph, who died on August 14, 1932, and Josephine, who resides with her mother at Duncan, Oklahoma.

Judge Sandlin died on April 7, 1940, and was buried at Duncan.

As a devoted and faithful husband and father and son, his memory will be treasured. Loyal to friends, clients and pupils, ethical and able as a lawyer, and faithful as a public servant, he was the embodiment of fine citizenship.

R. L. Williams.

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT
1866-1940

John Henry Wright—son of William Thomas Wright and his wife, Octavia Marcella (the former born July 24, 1840, and died March 13, 1928, and married December 23, 1862,[1] the later born September 9, 1842, and died June 20, 1924, being daughter of Henry Hannabass, born February 20,

[1] Journal of Constitutional Convention of Okla. pp. 373-5.

[2] *Id.* pp. 347-8.

[1] Register of Marriages, Rocky Mt. Court House, Va., p. 38, and tombstones in Evergreen Cemetery, Roanoke, Va.

JOEL MASON SANDLIN

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT

1811, and died March 6, 1891, and of Martha E. Lumpkin, born November 8, 1822, died March 19, 1863, married January 6, 1840)—was born in Franklin County, Virginia on September 12, 1866.

His paternal grandfather and grandmother, respectively Robert Pasley Wright, born in 1822 and died May 30, 1891 and Rhoda (Rhode) McGeorge, born in 1818, and died May 29, 1893, were married October 21, 1839.[2]

Paternal great-grandfather and great-grandmother were respectively Thomas Wright and Susannah Pasley, married March 10, 1820.[3]

Paternal great^2-grandfather and great^2-grandmother were John Wright and his wife, Elizabeth.[4]

Paternal great^3-grandfather and great^3-grandmother were Thomas Wright and his wife, Mary.[5]

When Bedford County was formed in 1753, Thomas Wright, Sr., was a resident thereof, having removed from Augusta County about 1748,[6] and settled near what is now Stewartsville.[7]

Thomas Wright, Sr., had two sons, John and Joseph, each of whom had a son named Thomas, all of whom rendered service on the side of the Colonies. John and Joseph, too old for active service, distributed beef and subsistence to the patriots. The two grandsons, each named Thomas, were active for the colonies in military service.

The said Martha E.[8] was the daughter of Robert W. Lumpkin by his first wife (son of Moore Lumpkin). Robert W. Lumpkin died in 1871. His second wife was Catherine Richardson. His first wife, Nancy Cunningham, died in 1854, having married him on November 8, 1820.[9]

Moore Lumpkin enlisted in the Colonial army in 1778 as a private in Capt. Selden's Company, being honorably discharged at the close of the war.[10]

John Henry Wright's father, William Thomas Wright, was a private in Company A, 37th Battalion Virginia Cavalry, Confederate States Army, enlisted January 31, 1863 at Salem. Muster roll for September and October, 1864 shows him present, paroled on June 5, 1865 at Franklin Court House, Virginia.

He attended local schools in Franklin and Bedford counties until reaching age of 17 years, then becoming a teacher. Later migrating to Texas, he engaged in teaching in Delta, Lamar and Hopkins counties, covering a period of about seven years. He attended Central College at Sulphur Springs, Texas and pursued the study of law in the offices of Hale & Hale, attorneys, Paris, Texas, at which place he was admitted to the bar in 1893.

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[2] Marriage Bond records, Bedford Court House, Va., and memorial records in possession of Mrs. Nannie Wright Hopkins, Roanoke, Va.

[3] Marriage Bond Records, Rocky Mt. Court House, Va.

[4] Ackerly & Parker: Our Kin, pp. 625-26; Will Book "C", p. 13, Bedford Court House, Va.

[5] Will Book "A", p. 9, Bedford Court House, Va.

[6] Chalkley's Abstracts of Augusta Records.

[7] Records of Bedford Court House and Rocky Mt. Court House.

[8] Marriage Bond Records, Bedford Court House, Va., and tombstones on homeplace in Franklin County, Va.

[9] Marriage Records of 1820; Will Book "W", p. 277, Bedford Court House, Va. and Pittsylvania Court House Minister's Marriage Returns.

[10] Pension Records, U. S. War Dept., Washington, D. C., W8264.

In March, 1894 he located at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory, joining ranks of pioneers to build a new state, where until his death he engaged in the practice of law, and was elected to office of City Attorney, and served three consecutive terms from April, 1897 to April, 1903, and in April, 1908 became a member of a Board of Freeholders to frame charter for said city, and at general election in 1910 elected as a member of the third legislature from Oklahoma County for a term beginning on the 15th day after the date of the general state election.[11]

He served in special session of legislature in November and December, 1910, at which capital of the state was by legislative act removed from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, and was re-elected to fourth and fifth legislatures, serving for a period comprising six years, last term expiring 15 days after date of general election in 1916.

An able and progressive member of the legislature, in a quiet but firm way he strove at all times to promote honest, efficient, economical, stable and just government.

A member of City Board of Education (1925-27), for years member and chairman of the Carnegie Library Board, Mason (32°), Shriner, Knight of Pythias (Past Chancellor), member of Oklahoma Club, Democrat, Methodist (member of St. Luke's church), he endeavored to meet every duty.

On June 20, 1907 he and Miss Willie Stone, formerly of Montgomery, Alabama, were married, home 1530 Classen Boulevard.

During the World War he was accepted by Red Cross for field agent, foreign service, but Armistice was signed before he could reach his post in France.

He died on March 10, 1940, buried in Memorial Park Cemetery, being survived by his widow and three brothers, R. J. Wright, Columbus, Ohio, J. C. Wright and Penn Wright, of Rapidan, Virginia, and a sister, Mrs. Florence Coppedge, Bedford, Virginia.

Honest both in public and private relations, he was regarded by associates in the legislature as "a man of excellent ability and noble character, with integrity above reproach."[12]

A devoted husband, exemplary citizen, successful in life's undertakings, a cultured son of the Old Dominion has passed away.

—R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma

WILLIAM DUNCAN FORD

1852-1940

William Duncan Ford, a son of Colonel Caswell P. Ford and Mary Duncan, his wife, was born at Jacksonville, Illinois on August 20, 1852. His father was a Union soldier in the Civil War having served as Colonel

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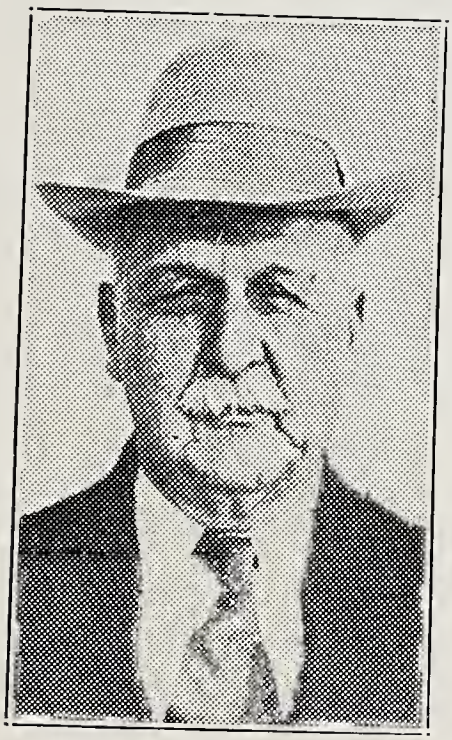
[11] Section 10, Art. 5, Okla. Consti.; Sections 40 and 41 of the Schedule to the Constitution; Section 10, Art. 23, Okla. Consti.; Coyle v. Smith, et al., 28 Okla. 121, 113 Pac. 944.

[12] *Daily Oklahoman*, August 16, 1900; Guthrie *State Capital*, November 29, 1910; *Daily Oklahoman*, August 4, 1918; *Daily Oklahoman*, March 13, 1940; *Makers of Oklahoma* (1905), p. 91, column 2; *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma*, September 12, 1912, p. 123; *State of Oklahoma, Its Men and Institutions*, (1908), p. 41, columns 2-3; *Makers of Government in Oklahoma* (1930), p. 598, column 2.



WILLIAM DUNCAN FORD

of the 25th Illinois Infantry. He was educated in the public schools and attended the Chicago Academy in 1868 at which time Ted Lincoln was also a student there.

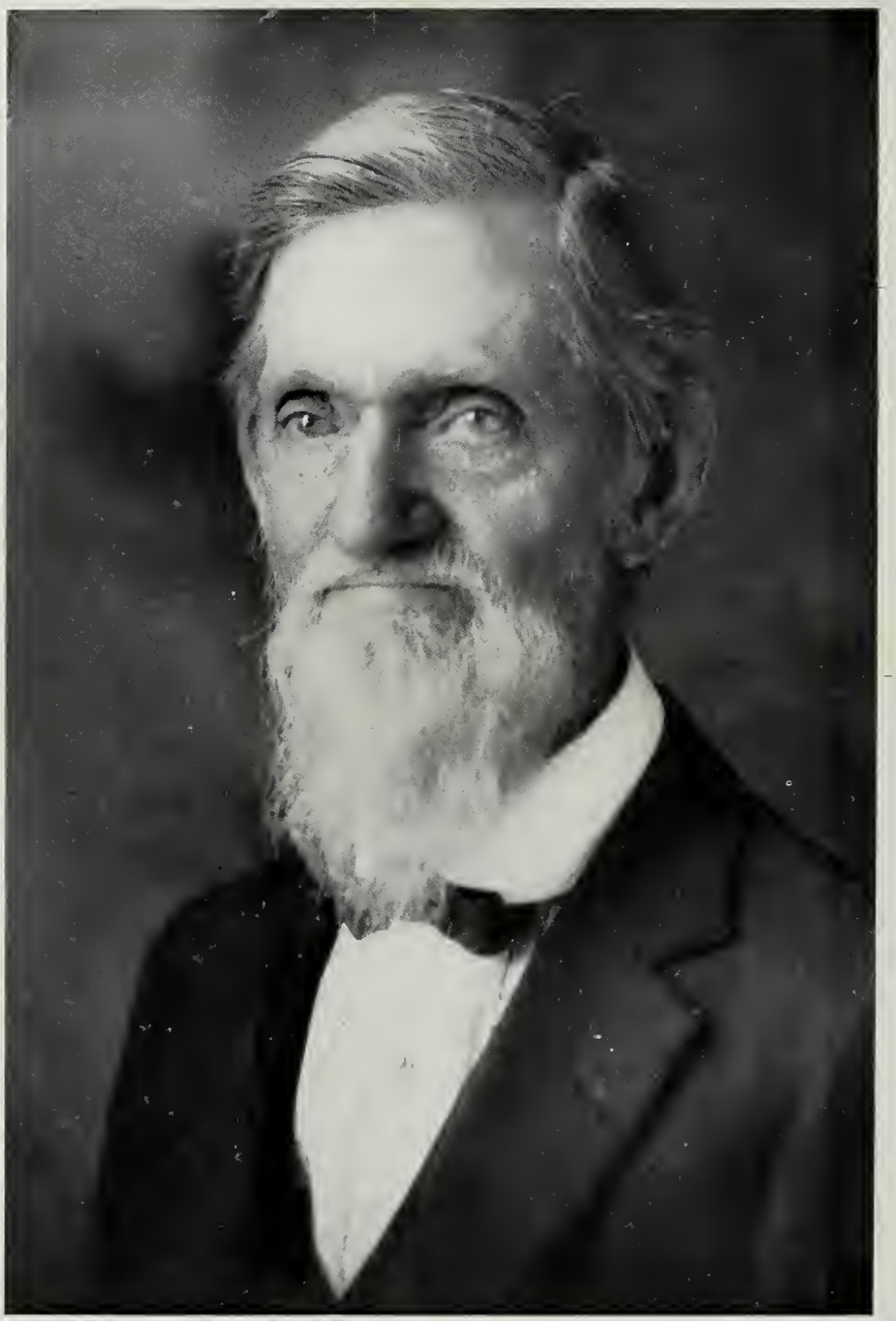
Mr. Ford served as a deputy clerk of the circuit court at Clinton, Illinois from 1877 to 1884 when he removed to Pittsburg, Crawford County, Kansas. He married Harriet L. Bush at Pittsburg and in November, 1888 was elected to the Kansas legislature from Crawford County. Thereafter he served as private secretary to Governor Stanley of Kansas. Mr. Ford was engaged in the real estate and insurance business in Kansas and also in Muskogee after his removal there in 1905. He was appointed to and served as chief of the lease division of the United States Indian Agency for two years and removed to Tulsa in 1924 where he again engaged in the real estate business and where he passed away on November 10, 1940.

The childhood environs of Mr. Ford were amid scenes in which the formative years of Abraham Lincoln were engaging features. His father was a personal friend of Lincoln and most vividly did Mr. Ford recount the occasion in the late fall of 1858 when the Springfield lawyer spent the evening at the home of Mr. Ford's parents in Clinton, Illinois. "He mussed up my hair and said 'How do you do, my son'" was often related by Mr. Ford in speaking of this visit by the Great Emancipator. In later years, inspired by his personal contact with Lincoln, he became a profound student of the life and character of Lincoln. Throughout the years he had assembled a Lincolnian collection which he so proudly displayed and which includes many legal documents which bear the signature of Lincoln. He made numerous high school lectures touching the absorbing activities of Lincoln and contributed many sketches covering those years, for eastern magazines. It had been his privilege during those interesting years to meet Andrew Johnson, Seward, Grant, Sherman, Meade and Custer, concerning whom he held an abiding recollection and of whom he talked in fascinating details. The observations and experiences of his childhood days became more concrete as the years ebbed.

Mr. Ford was a lovable character and highly esteemed by a vast array of friends and admirers in Eastern Oklahoma. His passing has closed another door on the yesterdays of American life.

—John Bartlett Meserve.

Tulsa, Oklahoma.



JOHN JASPER METHVIN

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XIX June, 1941 Number 2

JOHN JASPER METHVIN

1846-1941

By Sidney H. Babcock

In September of the year 1885 a man came to the Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma. His one increasing purpose was to preach and teach the Good News of Jesus Christ to the Indians. That man was John Jasper Methvin.

He was the son of John and Mourning Glover Methvin. He was born December 17, 1846, near Jeffersonville, Georgia. The days of his youth were spent on the farm. He attended the rural schools and later Auburn and Talmadge Institutes.

In his sixteenth year he joined the Confederate army and served two years. These years were the most horrible years of the war and he engaged in some of the hottest battles. However, he seldom referred to the war. When he did he characterized it as "that senseless war."

After the war he finished his studies in college and studied law. He was admitted to the bar at Milledgeville, then the capitol, of Georgia. He spent only a short while as an attorney at law. Being called to preach he turned his attention to preaching and teaching. For about twelve years he was alternately principal of the Nachoochee and Cleveland High Schools and at the same time was Superintendent of Public Instruction of White County, Georgia.

He was licensed to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1870 and ordained a local deacon in 1874.

During the college terms of 1880-1883 he was President of Gainesville College in Georgia, and of Butler Female College, Georgia, in 1883-1885. He was reelected President of Butler College in 1885, but resigned to answer an appeal from Bishop Robert K. Hargrove, a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to go to the Indian Territory as Superintendent of New Hope Seminary, a Mission School for girls under the joint supervision of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the Council of the Choctaw Indian Nation.

In the late summer of 1885 he turned his footsteps westward. On May 6, 1873 he married Miss Emma Louise Beall. To them were born before they left Georgia three sons—Thomas Mabry, John Jasper, and W. G.—and one daughter, now Mrs. J. P. Blackmon. These came with him to the Indian Territory. Another son, H. A. was born shortly after they arrived at New Hope.

The Fall term of New Hope Seminary opened September 7, 1885. A good faculty had been employed. A dormitory large enough to accommodate one hundred students had been erected. One hundred students were present. They made commendable progress in their studies. Eighty-two of the students were converted and joined the church. However, during the previous year serious differences had arisen between the Church and the Council about the management of the school. The Choctaw Council voted to rescind the contract they had with the church effective at the close of the School year in 1886. Therefore Methvin had to "shape his course toward the closing of the school rather than the development of it." After so successful a year many of the leading members of the Choctaw Council regretted their action in rescinding the contract with the Church. Nevertheless after forty years of service to the Nation the school closed. The last year was the best year.

The year 1885 also marked the beginning of Methvin's career as an itinerant Methodist Preacher. He was admitted on trial into the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South at the Annual Conference which met at old Skullyville, September 17-20, 1885. Bishop John C. Granberry presided. He was also elected and ordained an elder at that Conference.

Bishop Charles B. Galloway presided over the Indian Mission Conference which met at Eufaula, October 20, 1886. He appointed Methvin Superintendent of Seminole Academy. This school was operated by the Church under a contract with the Seminole Nation. There were forty students in the school. All of them came from Baptist families. When Methvin discovered that the gospel was being supplied to the Seminole Indians by the Baptists, he recommended that the contract which the Seminole nation had with the Methodist church be terminated. The Seminole Council readily agreed and the school passed from under the care of the Methodist Church.

During that year, Methvin made a reconnoitering trip among the Western Tribes of Indians in the Oklahoma Territory. Until then the work of the Methodist Church had been confined to the Five Civilized Tribes which inhabited the eastern part of the Indian Territory. Farther to the West were the Arapaho, Comanche, Cheyenne, Caddo, Sac and Fox, Osage, Ponca, Otoe, Kiowa, Apache, Wichita and other Indian Tribes. He found that no permanent Christian work had been established among any of them. Savagery, ignorance, superstitution, hatred for the White man, dislike for schools, weird funeral customs, fear of medicine men and religious fetish prevailed. Peyote, a most degrading form of worship, was the most prevalent religion. He wrote a letter to Bishop Galloway and to the Board of Missions appealing for young men without marital obligations but who could endure hardships to be sent as missionaries to these Indian Tribes.

The forty-second Indian Mission Conference met at Vinita, Indian Territory, October 12, 1887. Methvin rode horseback, from Seminole Academy to Eufaula, the trip requiring two days' riding. From Eufaula to Vinita he enjoyed the luxury of train travel. Bishop Galloway presided over the Conference. Early in the Conference session he told the Conference of the letters of Brother Methvin concerning the western tribes and of his intention to send missionaries to them. Those were the days of secret cabinet sessions in the Methodist Church. The appointments of the preachers were kept secret until the closing of the Conference. No one knew what his appointment would be until the close of the Conference when the appointments were read. On August 5, 1931 Brother Methvin wrote to me of that tense moment in that Conference of the long ago as follows:

"I did not anticipate that I was one of the missionaries to be sent. Inasmuch as I had a wife and five young children I did not judge myself eligible for so difficult but glorious task. So I was startled into quickened heart beats when I heard Bishop Galloway in his clear, musical voice read,

'Missionary to the Western Tribes,
J. J. Methvin.'

After adjournment, I went to him and thanked him for the appointment. He put his arm around me, gave me his blessing and promised to follow me with his prayers and re-inforcements as the work developed. He advised me to put my family in some border town in Kansas or Texas, while I pioneered the field and established the work. But my wife declined to go to Kansas or Texas, but determined to go with me and endure whatever might come to us. As it seems now that was a daring thing to do, but we did not think much of it at the time. The mission we were to undertake, the romance of the movement, and the thrill of new things opening constantly before us, broke the force of the trials endured."

Methvin lost no time in getting home after Conference. He broke the news of his appointment to his wife and children. Immediately they began preparations for the long and perilous journey. It was a clear, cool October morning when they left Seminole Academy. A hack for the family and a wagon for the baggage and household effects formed the caravan. Methvin's stout heart and heroic missionary spirit inspired confidence. Mrs. Methvin was calm, pensive, but no less determined to "see all nor be afraid." The children, unmindful of the dangers and hardships, were full of glee. They went neither knowing the way nor the end of the way. The road was rough, at times a very uncertain trail. It led through swamps, across bridgeless creeks with difficult approaches, over hills and across the South Canadian and other streams with their ever treacherous quicksands. When nearly across the South Canadian horses and hack began sinking in the sand, so deep the horses could go no further. Two Negroes came to the rescue. Knowing the stream, they rode out on their Indian ponies and carried Mrs. Methvin and the children to safety. Then the horses rid of part of their burden and, with the aid of a lariat and the pulling

of the other horses and the men, the hack and Methvin were brought out of the river. They went on to White Bead Hill. There they camped for a few days to rest, to repair the hack and to await the arrival of the baggage wagon. After this stop they proceeded to the United States Indian Agency located at Anadarko. The trip took five actual traveling days, but it was well into November before they finally reached their destination. They had suffered many reverses, privations and hardships.

It was a wild scene that greeted them at Anadarko, with no place to lay their weary heads. A trader, having compassion upon them, moved out of a little shack he had used as a kitchen in order to accommodate them. For two years they occupied that doubtful shelter. In it they spent one of the most severe winters that ever visited Oklahoma. In the spring, after their arrival in November, another daughter, Lillian (Mrs. Lillian Gassaway now of Carnegie, Oklahoma) was born.

During those two years while Mrs. Methvin struggled to make habitable the humble dwelling place, Methvin surveyed his new mission field from the Cherokee Strip on the North to Texas on the south and west. He decided to centralize his work among the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches. They were the three most numerous and perhaps the most warlike of the western tribes. He visited them in their tepees in the winter and under their arbors during the summer. At first the mission seemed hopeless. The Indians were stolid. They appeared listless. Some would leave him in an angry mood. He had difficulty getting an interpreter. Those who could understand English would rarely let it be known to a stranger. He overcame that difficulty by inquiring before hand the name of some one who could interpret. He would then visit a group of Indians, begin talking to them and asked them if any one in the group could speak English. No one would answer. He then would call a person by name, who being surprised that he, a stranger knew him by name, would quickly ask, Who told you my name? With that person he readily made contact. Thus he discovered Virginia Stumbling Bear at Mt. Scott. She proved to be very helpful to him in all of his work.

Slowly but surely, the kindly heart, the quiet demeanor, the simple earnestness, the patient constant toil of this man of God in the interest of the Indians won his way into their hearts. Enough interest began to be shown to justify a building program.

He, first, built a parsonage with an annex which he used as a place of worship. He continued his visits to them in their tepees, but invited them to come and join in the "New Worship." Only a few answered the first call. Gradually the congregation increased. Some responded to the altar call. Among the first of the Kiowas converted was their Chief, To-hau-sin. To-hau-sin was the son of a great warrior and had followed his father on the war path. Soon

after Methvin came to the Agency, Chief To-hou-sin came to him and said, "Why you come set down here." Methvin explained that he had come not to make money, nor engage in business, nor to defraud the Indians, but to bring a message of love from the great Father of us all and his Son Jesus Christ, and to be as helpful as he could to all of the Indian Tribes. To-hou-sin listened with interest and gave his approval. He became a constant attendant at the worship services. In due time he was converted and joined the church. Many Indians who had followed their Chief in war followed him into the Church. Brother Methvin's friends among the Indians multiplied. The Kiowas elected him to citizenship in their nation and granted him an allotment of land. The Christian work progressed among other tribes and churches and Sunday schools were organized.

Methvin's next building program was a school. He needed a school to conserve the work of evangelism. He applied to the government for a plot of land on which to build a school. This was readily granted. He applied to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South for aid. He was granted $2,500.00 to start with. Other donations followed. The Woman's Board of Missions took over the enterprise. It was named Methvin Institute in honor of its founder. The first building was erected in the Spring of 1890. The school opened with fifteen pupils. The number increased as provision was made for their care. More than one hundred pupils were soon enrolled. The life of the school was about twenty years. It proved a great civilizing agency. Many of the students became leaders not only among the Indians but also in the affairs of Oklahoma and the United States.

Many personal sorrows were added to the heavy burdens of Methvin. Two of his sons, Thomas Mabry and John Jasper, died and in 1904 his wife.

Four years after her death, Methvin married Miss Ida May Swanson. In this wedlock four boys were born, Marvin, Clark, Paul and Lee. Marvin, Paul and Lee survive. Ida May Swanson Methvin spent twenty years of her life teaching and superintending in Methvin Institute. She survives him.

Methvin received his last appointment as an active minister at the Annual Conference which met at South McAlester, Indian Territory, October 26-November 1, 1904. He was re-appointed President of Methvin Institute. At the Conference of 1905 he was granted a supernumerary relation. At the Conference which met in Oklahoma City, November 6-11, 1908 he retired from active service.

Although his long, faithful service entitled him to superannuation and retirement, he only officially retired and that with great grace. He was yet strong in body and mind. He continued to work. He was much in demand for sermons and addresses. He always attended the Annual Conferences. No Conference was quite com-

plete without him and his friend, Andres Martinez. He was also an attendant and active participant in the affairs of the Indian Mission Conference after its separation from the White Conference.

Methvin was a ready writer. He was a frequent contributor to the Conference organ of the Indian Mission Conference, *Our Brother In Red,* and to the *Christian Advocate,* the general organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as well as to other periodicals. His published works include: *Andele, a Story of the Kiowa-Mexican Captive; In the Lime Light—a Story of Anadarko; Fig Leaves and Else and The Lone Cedar and Else,* a small volume containing some of his poems.

Brother Methvin's poetic soul was full of humor, sound philosophy and inspiring religion. His mental powers were preserved even down to old age. When the roll of superannuates was called at Conference his name was reserved until the last. The presiding Bishop would call him forward and give him more than the ordinary time to make his report. He was always present and always enlivened the session of the Conference with his sparkling wit. His kindly sarcasm cut clean because it was kindly. His flashes of humor, his stories from his rich experience, his poetry, his philosophy of life, his Biblical lore, his example of pure, godly living was an inspiration to all. He finished his journey on this planet on the seventeenth day of January, 1941.

COLONEL JAMES B. MANY,

Commandant at Fort Gibson, Fort Towson and Fort Smith

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

An early commander on the western frontier was James B. Many who was born in Delaware; he entered the United States Army as a first lieutenant in the Second Artillerists and Engineers June 4, 1798.[1] The regiment of Artillerists and Engineers was organized under the Act of April 27, 1798 and consisted of three battalions of four companies each. On March 2, 1799, when an additional battalion of artillery was authorized it became part of the regiment, thereafter designated as the Second Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers.[2]

The treaty for the cession of Louisiana to the United States was signed April 30, 1803, and the country was delivered December 20 of that year. When France and Spain were ordered to surrender posts of Upper Louisiana on January 16, 1804, Captain Amos Stoddard became the governor; Capt. James B. Many, commanding a body of United States troops, went to San Estevan de Arkansas, or Arkansas Post to assume command under the new regime. In his presence, on March 23, 1804, the Spanish commandant, Ignace el Leno, fired a salute to the Spanish flag as it was run down and another to the Stars and Stripes when it was first floated over the post.[3]

Arkansas Post, on a level tract of land slightly elevated above the adjacent bottom, was located between two bayous on a bend of the Arkansas River.[4] This, the earliest settlement in the territory, was some twenty miles above the mouth of the Arkansas River. The Chevalier Henry de Tonti, by a patent granted him by La Salle in 1683, built a large log house surrounded by a palisade on the site and it was there that Laclede, the founder of St. Louis, died on June 20, 1778.[5]

Zebulon Montgomery Pike reported that when his expedition arrived "at a point equidistant between Fort Massac [Illinois] & the

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[1] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Washington, 1903, vol. I, p. 688; Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, Cleveland, 1926, p. 104, n. 137; George H. Ryden, State Archivist of the State of Delaware, reported September 7, 1940: "A thorough search of our records failed to discover any reference to a Colonel James B. Many."

[2] Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 51.

[3] *American State Papers*, "Foreign Relations," vol. 2, pp. 511-12, 690; Louis Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, vol. 2, p. 341; Josiah H. Shinn, A.M., *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*, 1908, p. 97; *ibid.*, *The History of Arkansas*, Richmond, Va., 1905, pp. 56, 57; Dallas T. Herndon, *High Lights of Arkansas History*, 1922, p. 15.

[4] Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi*, Boston, 1826, p. 264.

[5] *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, vol. I, no. 4-5, p. 243; William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Gay, *A Popular History of the United States*, New York, 1884, vol. 2, p. 521; Anna Lewis, Ph.D., *Along the Arkansas*, Dallas, Texas, 1932, p. 15.

confluence of the Ohio & Mississippi Rivers, about eighteen miles below Fort Massac the Army landed on the 5th January 1801 at a high Bluff on the Right Bank of the River where they encamped cleared the ground which was covered with heavy timber, laid out an encampment after the plan of Greenville built with log huts which was named Wilkinsonville." Lieutenant Many was one of the officers who joined the garrison at that place.[6] In "Pike's Dissertation on Louisiana" he wrote of "Captain Maney's" voyages on White River which Pike believed to be the White River of the Mississippi.[7]

When Pike, on his expedition to the headwaters of the Mississippi, arrived at Rock Island, April 25, 1806, he found Captain Many there searching for some Osage prisoners among the Sacs and Reynards; he related that the Indians at the large Sac village of Stony Point were exceedingly hostile. He was met at the mouth of the river by an old Indian, who informed him that all of the Indians in the town were intoxicated and he advised Many to go up alone. He refused to adopt this plan and when he and his troops reached the place they were "saluted by the appellation of the bloody Americans who had killed such a person's father, such a person's mother, brother, etc." The Indian women, fearing trouble carried off and hid the arms. When Many crossed the river he was followed by some of the Red Men who had concealed pistols under their blankets. They refused to hold a conference to arrange for delivery of prisoners and demanded in an insolent manner Many's reason for wearing a plume in his hat, declaring they considered that a signal of war and they proceeded to decorate themselves with raven feathers which they wore only at periods of hostility.

After breakfast, April 26, Pike and Many embarked under full sail, down the Mississippi River and encamped at Grant's Prairie. The next day they arrived at Nauvoo, Illinois where they found all of the Indians drunk. The boats were rowed (with four oars) all night and on April 30 they reached Portage des Sioux at daylight.[8]

At Chihuahua, Mexico, June 1, 1807, Pike met a Virginian of the assumed name of Martin Johnson who told him he had been captured by the Osages, stripped and robbed. Pike thought him an agent of Aaron Burr, when one of his soldiers told him the man's real name was Trainer and that he had shot and killed Major Bashier (?) between Natchez and Tennessee while in his employ. He left the state and went to the source of White River whence he was driven out by Captain Many and a party of Cherokees. Trainer and an Amazonian companion departed for the West, eventually going to Mexico where he was arrested with property belonging to

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[6] Elliott Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike . . .* 1805-6-7, New York, 1895, vol. I, p. xxvi.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 514-15.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 210, 211, 213.

the murdered Brashier in his possession. The Mexican officer had him sent to the interior to be incarcerated for life.[9]

Many received his majority May 5, 1813, and on May 12 the following year he was transferred to the artillery corps.[10] In 1814, Many was ordered from New Orleans where he had served since 1805 to Sackett's Harbor, New York, and on November 27, 1814 Major Many requested Secretary of War James Monroe to order him to New Orleans or Mobile for duty, saying he had served eight or nine years in the South and being accustomed to the climate, he flattered himself he would be useful there. His plea was evidently granted for he was on leave from the middle of December to the first of March and gave his address as Charleston, South Carolina, in July, 1815. This was his first leave in fourteen years.[11]

From Dover (Delaware?) Many wrote, January 10, 1815, saying he had not had a command assigned him and requested duty in the South. He reported from Charleston, June 1, 1815, that he had been put in command of troops in the harbor, by order of Major General Pinckney. Many wrote the adjutant and inspector general from New Orleans, August 16, 1816, sending an estimate for the amount of clothing and funds necessary to equip the four companies of artillery stationed in the Eighth Military Department. Articles required were: "Coats, Epaulets, Roundabouts, Shirts, Caps, Plates, Plumes, Stocks, Gaithers, F. Shirts, Hose, Shoes, Blankets, Great Coats, Frocks, Jackets, Trowsers, W. Overalls." From this estimate one would judge the artillerymen were well accoutred and no doubt they made a dashing appearance with their plumes, stocks, gaiters and epaulettes, but some of the garments seem rather warm for the Louisiana climate. From the same post on November 10, 1816, Many reported to General Parker the names of officers making up his battalion and saying that many of the officers had not yet joined.

Many was still in New Orleans December 17, 1817 from where he wrote the adjutant and inspector general that he had been ill; he was "greatly in want of officers . . . I want men & have no recruiting funds . . ." In February, March and May 1819, Major Many was in New Orleans but in April of that year he was president of a Court of Inquiry at Fort Charlotte, Alabama. On September 30, 1821, Many asked Colonel Gadsden for leave of absence, saying "I have had but two furloughs in 23 years service, and those but for a short time."

Many was transferred to the Fourth Infantry June 1, 1821, and he joined the Fifth Infantry in October of that year.[12] Many be-

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 694.

[10] Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 688; *American State Papers*, "Military Affairs," vol. I, p. 631.

[11] Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files," James B. Many, Corps Arty. Nov. 27, 1814; *ibid.*, 42 4th July, 1815, Jan. 10, 1815.

[12] Heitman gives the date of transfer as October 24, but Many's papers in the War Department record the day as October 26, 1821.

came lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Infantry, vice Bread who declined, January 1, 1822 to rank from June 1, 1821.[13] He was ordered to Fort Gibson in 1824 and on March 18, 1825, he was sent to Fort Towson to relieve Major A. Cummings. A court of Inquiry was convened at the Cantonment April 20, to investigate the conduct of Major Cummings and other officers of the post who had been charged with resisting civil authorities of the Territory of Arkansas on or about January 19-21, 1825; the committee was made up of Col. T. B. Archer, president; Lieut. Col. J. B. Many and Capt. Nathaniel Young.

In June, 1825, Many was commandant at Fort Smith, Arkansas according to regimental returns of the Seventh Infantry; he held the post of commander at Fort Gibson from August to September 6, 1825 and in October he was at Cantonment Jesup, Louisiana. On September 24, 1827, Colonel Many detailed Capt. Nathaniel Young to cut a road to Cantonment Towson.

Timothy Flint wrote that he was most hospitably received when he arrived at Cantonment Jesup; this post within twenty-five miles of the Sabine River, was farther southwest than any other fort in the United States. "They have very comfortable quarters, two companies of soldiers, and a number of very gentlemanly officers, the whole under the command of Col. Many. It produces singular sensations, to see all of the pomp and circumstance of military parade, and to hear the notes of the drum and the fife, breaking the solitude of the wilderness of the Sabine. . ."[14]

Owing to trouble over the boundary line between the United States and Mexico in 1830, the Indians were greatly disturbed. Col. Peter Ellis Bean, of the Mexican army, went to Pecan Point on the south side of Red River, opposite the present McCurtain County, Oklahoma, with the intention of establishing a garrison. This plan was opposed by Gov. John Pope of Arkansas and also by the Caddo Indians; Texas authorities had involved the Cherokee Indians in their quarrels and Colonel Bean threatened to send a band of them to destroy the Caddoes. Their agent, Jehiel Brooks, from Natchitoches, called on Colonel Many at Fort Jesup for soldiers to protect his Indians. The War Department issued orders for a detachment of troops to go to the mouth of the Kiamichi River to re-establish a garrison on the site of the abandoned Fort Towson in order to quell disorders on Red River.[15]

For ten years faithful service in one grade Many was brevetted colonel June 1, 1831.[16] Late in October of that year, with four com-

[13] *Niles' Register*, Baltimore, August 10, 1822, p. 382, col. 1.

[14] Flint, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72.

[15] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, Norman, 1933, p. 108.

[16] Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 688; Adjutant General's Office, March 18, 1825, Quartermaster's Depot Schulkill Arsenal, Philadelphia, 4-22-25; Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, pp. 104, n. 137, 108; Adjutant General's Office, "Commanding Officers at Fort Gibson."

panies of the Seventh Infantry, Many left Fort Jesup where they had been stationed eight or nine years. The command left Natchitoches, twenty-five miles east of Fort Jesup, aboard the steamboat *Enterprise;* they changed boats at Little Rock because of low water and arrived at Fort Gibson aboard the *Reindeer* and two keel boats in February, 1832.

Col. Matthew Arbuckle who established Cantonment Gibson and commanded there many years, left, with his aide Lieut. Dixon S. Miles, for Washington in February, 1832, leaving Colonel Many in command until his return on July 8, 1832.[17]

From Fort Smith, March 12, 1832, F. W. Armstrong, Cherokee Agent West, wrote Colonel Many: "Before this I presume you have been apprised of the order given me by the Secretary of War, in November last, authorizing me to call on Colonel Arbuckle, then commanding officer, for the necessary aid to open a road from this place, or some point above on the Arkansas, to Red River, (if, in my opinion, the public interest requires it.) I have made the necessary examination, and have had the best woodsmen engaged with me, for the purpose of ascertaining both the utility and practicability of this contemplated road; and upon both points I am satisfied of its importance to the public."

Armstrong, therefore, made the call upon Many to carry out the order of the Secretary of War. He had engaged Col. Robert Bean, of Arkansas Territory, to accompany the command and he was prepared to "point out the *precise* ground over which the road will run." They were prepared to begin cutting the road on the arrival of troops at Fort Smith. The Cherokee agent pointed out the necessity of completing the work before the extreme heat should begin; the route would pass across several small prairies, and some twelve to fifteen miles in length, where the flies would be extremely hard on the horses and oxen employed in building the road.[18]

On March 22, 1832, Colonel Many ordered Capt. John Stuart of the Seventh Infantry to go to Fort Smith to consult with Colonel Bean before beginning construction of the road. "Though embarrassed by conflict between the military and the Indian service which deprived him of adequate means and facilities for doing the work, Stuart, with his force of men, made the road; on his return to Fort Gibson he prepared" a report to the commanding officer.[19]

Colonel Many, July 1, 1832, ordered companies E, T, K, and H with a detachment under Lieut. Richard H. Ross, to proceed on

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[17] Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, pp. 39, 40; *The Arkansas Advocate,* Little Rock, Wednesday, December 28, 1831, p. 3, col. 2.

[18] *Document 512.* Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of Indians . . . Vol. 3, p. 294. Washington, 1835.

[19] *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* "Report of Captain John Stuart on the Construction of the Road from Fort Smith to Horse Prairie on Red River," Introduction and notes by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, vol V, no. 3, pp. 333-347.

the third, under command of Brevet Lieut. Col. Sullivan Burbank, to Clarks Springs about seven miles east of Fort Gibson and there encamp. This was done to relieve the congested quarters at the fort and also for the benefit of the men as the springs were a more healthful location during the summer.[20]

Under the leadership of Judge [William C.?] Carr of St. Louis, a party of twelve traders left Santa Fe in December, 1832, for their homes in Missouri. They had their baggage and about ten thousand dollars in specie packed on mules. In descending the Canadian River they were attacked by a large band of Comanche and Kiowa Indians in the Panhandle of Texas near the site of the present town of Lathrop. Two of the men were killed and the survivors made their escape after a siege of thirty-six hours; all of the property was left with the Indians. Five of the traders went to the Creek settlements on the Arkansas River, enduring incredible hardships on the way, and finally reached Fort Gibson where they were cared for. Colonel Arbuckle, on May 6, ordered two select companies of the Seventh Infantry and three companies of Rangers to Red River.

Col. S. C. Stambaugh in a letter to the editor of the *Little Rock Gazette,* dated Fort Gibson, May 7, 1833, wrote: "One of the finest looking and apparently efficient commands that ever penetrated an Indian country west of the Mississippi, left here today." The expedition was expected to accomplish great results and for weeks men had been busy overhauling equipment, moulding bullets, parching and grinding corn to be used on the march since it furnished nourishment and a refreshing drink when mixed with a little sugar and water.[21]

The expedition, commanded by Colonel Many, made their first camp across the Arkansas River a few miles below the fort. They had orders to ascend the Blue and Washita rivers and to scour the country between Red River and the North Fork of the Canadian, a section of country unknown to the army. Their orders were to drive to the west all Comanche and Wichita Indians encountered and, if possible, to induce some of the chiefs to go to Fort Gibson for a council.

When nearing Red River, between the Washita and Blue rivers, June 2, 1833, George Abbay, a Ranger, was captured by Indians and carried away. Colonel Many ordered the entire force to pursue the Red Men, estimated to be 150 to 200 by Capt. Nathan Boone of the Rangers. The Indians crossed the Washita leaving horses, saddles, buffalo robes, bows and arrows in their flight, but escaping with Abbay. They were pursued in a westerly direction for twelve days but when the troops arrived at the present site of Fort Sill they were forced to abandon the hunt since food had been ex-

[20] Headquarters 7th Infantry, Fort Gibson, 1st July, 1832. Order No. 94.
[21] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

hausted and many of the men were worn out and ill. They returned to Fort Gibson arriving there after an absence of fifty-four days.[22]

At the request of Colonel Arbuckle, Lieut. Col. I. H. Vose, Third Infantry, sent a small command from Fort Towson to meet Colonel Many at the Boggy or Blue River but because of heavy rains the force could not cross Boggy and the soldiers returned to their home post after a week's absence. Colonel Arbuckle feared that Many would be in need of provisions from Fort Towson but Vose thought there would be plenty of buffaloes to supply meat for the party, not knowing that they had passed beyond the range of those animals.[23]

Colonel Arbuckle's orders to Many[24] stated: "A material object of your command is to give security to the Indian tribes (under protection of the U. S.) now settling on this frontier, as well as to prevent difficulties between these Tribes and between them and our citizens." If Many met Pawnee or Comanche east of his line he was directed to drive them west and keep them from harming the Indians on the frontier, but if he met them high up on Red River he was ordered to treat them in a friendly manner, to give them flags and medals and to try to induce five or six of the chiefs to return with him to Fort Gibson. Captain Boone was to make a survey of the expedition which was to return in fifty or sixty days.[25]

Many's report presents a striking account of the adventures and hardships of his command: "In obedience to instructions proceeded to the west Fork of Little river—water too high to cross—changed course to westward—kept up stream until we could cross, after crossing intended to follow dividing ridge between waters of Blue and Washita until we should reach mouth of latter. To get supplies from Fort Towson.

"We had proceeded in this direction about sixty miles nearly opposite the Falls on the Blue when an event occurred that changed our route; One of the rangers, a man by the name of Abbey of Captain Boone's company hunting about a mile and a half from where we were encamped, was taken by a number of Pawnee Indians, this we learned from our interpreter who was hunting near the same place. Immediately dispatching Captain Bean with a command to inquire into the affair; but night coming on, the Captain could make out nothing satisfactory; the next day Captain Boone was sent, when we ascertained that there had been a large party of Indians encamped close by where the man had been taken,—We now determined to pursue the trace of these Indians, the whole of whom were estimated to be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, until we should overtake them. . . .

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[22] Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, pp. 103-05; *Military and Naval Magazine*, September, 1833 to February, 1834, p. 123.

[23] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files" 23 V. 1833. June 5, 1833 Lieutenant-colonel I. H. Vose 3d Inf. to McCombs.

[24] *Ibid.*, Arbuckle to Many, May 6, 1833.

[25] *Ibid.*

"These Indians fled with the utmost precipitation leaving their effects at their camp, and scattering them all along their trace as far as we could follow it; we continued . . . as far as the Ouichitta (a distance of about twenty-six miles) which we found impassible owing to the state of the water, and steepness of its banks. . .

". . . we pursued our western course in hopes of falling in with these Indians or at all events of finding their Towns; in which after a fruitless search of twelve days we failed, and had to abandon the pursuit, as our provisions had given out. . . We had therefore to change our course and go in search of the buffalo and other game which we did not find till after travelling upward of thirty miles. The men had now become very much jaded and a number of sick, we therefore determined to return to Gibson with as little delay as possible. . . "

Many said the expedition succeeded in driving back the Pawnees so there was more security for friendly Indians; he recommended a new post at the mouth of the Washita as it was as easy to take supplies up there as to deliver them at Towson which gave little protection. "To make treaty with these Indians useless unless we set up a post-middle ground between these Indians and ours is in the country of game upon which they principally subsist . . . I have been cheerfully aided throughout my tour by all the officers. . . particularly by Captain Boone who was . . . useful as a woodsman and soldier."[26]

Brevet Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth was ordered to take command of all troops on the southwestern frontier with headquarters at Fort Gibson. He arrived there April 28, 1834, from Fort Towson and assumed command which he did not release until June 12 when he turned over the command to Lieut. Col. Many after the Dragoons left for the West. [27]

When General Arbuckle returned to Fort Gibson, June 7, 1834, the officers of the post tendered him a farewell dinner as he had been granted leave in consequence of ill health; Colonel Many presided at the party which was the largest social affair ever given at the fort. Numerous speeches were made and the General was speeded on his way with good wishes for his recovery.[28]

Colonel Many reported to Adjutant General Jones from Fort Gibson, July 18, 1834, that Capt. Clifton Wharton and his Company "A" of the Dragoons had arrived that day from "detached service escorting the Traders from St. Louis to Santa Fe."[29] On July 21, 1834, Many received his full rank as colonel and was transferred to to the Third Infantry.[30]

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[26] *Ibid.*, Lieut. Col. James B. Many to Arbuckle, Fort Gibson, July 4, 1833. Many had 400 men on this expedition (Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, pp. 41, 125).

[27] Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files," 215. M. 1834.

[28] Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 220.

[29] Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files," 173. M. 1834.

[30] Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol I, p.688; Adjutant General's Office, Regimental Returns, Seventh Infantry.

Early in February, 1836, Colonel Many, commanding the Third was commandant at Fort Jesup.[31] This post had been built directly on the continuation of the Spanish trail in Louisiana; it was less than half way between the Sabine and Red River. A short distance south of Fort Jesup was a settlement whose name appears on various maps as "Many, Manny, Maney, and Mary on Emory's map, 1857-58."[32] On present day maps the name is spelled Many and the town in Sabine County, Louisiana, was most likely named for the army officer who saw much service at the nearby post.

On December 11, 1836, Colonel Many arrived at New Orleans aboard the steamer *Levant,* from Natchitoches, Louisiana, and at the end of November, 1837, by Special Order No. 94, he was granted six months leave of absence.[33]

Gen. Sam Houston called on Colonel Many at Fort Jesup in August, 1838, for troops when a rebellion of the Mexicans and some of the Indians about Nacodoches occurred; it was not necessary to send the detachment as the appearance of the Texas militia caused the rebels and Indians to retreat.[34] On November 30, Colonel Many with companies D, E, F, and K, of his regiment and a piece of artillery marched from Fort Jesup to expel about 160 Texans who had unjustifiably crossed the United States frontier under Gen. T. J. Rusk to disarm the Caddoes at Shreveport but the Texans soon departed after completing their mission.[35]

Colonel Many, with his force, returned to Jesup on January 15, 1839. The *Natchitoches Herald* stated that General Rusk and his Texans disarmed the Caddoes who had recently been in the neighbor republic; afterwards the General threatened the Indian agent, claiming he had furnished the Red Men with arms and ammunition.[36]

In his Letters From the Frontier[37] Major General George A. McCall wrote his father from Fort Waka-sasa, August 26, 1842: "*Jubilate the War is closed!*" He related that the Seminoles were to be sent west; that two regiments were to remain in Florida, the Eighth under Colonel Worth and the Third which was Colonel Many's regiment but that he was superannuated and absent.

Lieut. Col. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, in March 1845, on an excursion to New Orleans, called on Colonel Many who seemed in "pretty good health, but has not been in active command of the regiment for many years." The same officer noted in his diary, New Orleans, July 16, 1845, that the Third Infantry, under his command, left Fort

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[31] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* February 18, 1836, p. 111, col. 2.

[32] Pike, *op. cit.,* vol. 2, p. 712, n. 20.

[33] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* December 1, 1836, p. 344, col. 2; *ibid.,* November 30, 1837, p. 352, col. 2.

[34] *Ibid.,* vol. 7, p. 172; *Niles' Register,* vol. 55, p. 33.

[35] Henry Putney Beers, *The Western Military Frontier* 1815-1846, Philadelphia, 1935, pp 158-59; *Army and Navy Chronicle,* January 17, 1839, p. 41, col. 1.

[36] *Ibid.,* January 24, 1839, p. 56, col. 2; *ibid.,* January 31, 1839, p. 79, col. 2.

[37] Philadelphia, 1842, p. 411.

Jesup on July 7, at reveille, and marched sixteen miles towards Natchitoches. The next day the outfit marched to the river where it embarked aboard two steamboats and arrived at New Orleans on the tenth. The officer called on General Gaines and Colonel Many of their regiment who was still on sick leave from old age and its disabilities.[38]

In expectation of his promotion as colonel of the Third Infantry, and awaiting impatiently dead man's shoes, Hitchcock wrote that Colonel Many was "at death's door and for more than twenty years has never drawn his sword."[39] The old colonel retained his command of the Third Infantry to the day of his death, February 23, 1852, at New Orleans.[40]

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[38] W. A. Croffut, Ph.D. (ed.), *Fifty Years in Camp and Field, Diary of Major-general Ethan Allen Hitchcock, U.S.A.*, New York and London, 1909, pp. 190, 193; *Report* Secretary of War, 1846, p. 73.

[39] Grant Foreman, (ed.), *A Traveler in Indian Territory the Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock. . .* Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930, pp. 180-81.

[40] Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files," New Orleans, La., Feb. 24, 1852. Bvt. Maj. Genl. D. E. Twiggs reports death of Col. J. B. Many. 46 m. Charles K. Gardner, *A Dictionary of All Officers who Have been Commissioned . . . in the Army of the United States*, New York, 1853.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE KIOWA-COMANCHE RESERVATION

By Grant Foreman

The history of Oklahoma is best understood if we keep in mind the fundamental policy of the Federal Government to make Oklahoma the exclusive home of the American Indian, a policy only recently abandoned. This policy was first indicated by President Jefferson immediately after the Louisiana Purchase, when he proposed measures for removing here the Indians from the East. Nothing was done under this proposal; but the idea gained force with the passing of the years, and was strengthened by the pronouncements of President Monroe. Finally, when Andrew Jackson became President, Congress enacted what was known as the Indian Removal Bill in 1830, under which the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes were emigrated to what is now Oklahoma, followed by other Indians from north of the Ohio River.

Of the more than fifty Indian tribes represented in Oklahoma, only a few are indigenous to the soil. Of these few the Kiowas and Comanches are probably better known than any others. These Indians were described by early French and Spanish explorers, and at the time of the Louisiana Purchase were known as Indians of the Plains, who followed the herds of buffalo from south to north and back again, from Kansas to Texas, crossing Oklahoma in their yearly migrations.

The history of what we now know as the Kiowa and Comanche Reservation may be traced in a sequence of related events from the time these Indians were first known until their reservation was thrown open to settlement in 1901. Each of these events was related to those that preceded and followed; a brief account of them will help to an understanding of the history of this reservation.

After the passage of the Indian Removal Bill in 1830, and the actual emigration of the southern Indians was begun, it was realized that some understanding would have to be had with the so-called Plains Indians to induce them to accept the emigrants from the east as their new neighbors, and make it possible to locate them within the Indian Territory.

With this in view, and to provide for a measure of Indian administration in the country, Congress authorized and President Jackson, on July 14, 1832, appointed a commission that came to Fort Gibson to perform the duties assigned to it. The chairman of this commission was Montfort Stokes, governor of North Carolina, who resigned his post to come out here. As soon as the commission was organized at Fort Gibson, it undertook to learn something about the wild Indians of the Plains, and in the early autumn of 1832 dispatched a company of mounted troops called Rangers, under the command of Lieut. Jesse Bean, to visit these Indians and see if he could make friends with them. This company went up the

Arkansas River past the site of Tulsa, and traveled down to the vicinity of Oklahoma City and Norman, before returning to Fort Gibson a month later. This effort, however, accomplished very little of value except that it furnished Washington Irving, a guest member of the party, with material from which he compiled his classic "Tour on the Prairies."

The next summer, still another effort was made, and a larger expedition was sent to the southwest; but it also failed to make the desired contact with the Indians, and returned fruitless to Fort Gibson. In 1834 a still larger expedition of 500 dragoons was sent out from that post. This was a disastrous expedition which resulted in the death of almost a third of the men from typhus fever aggravated by hardships, devastating heat and bad water. The disabled organization, about half of those who left Fort Gibson arrived at the approximate site of Fort Sill, where they had an interview with the Comanche Indians, and then continued to the west end of the Wichita Mountains where they had a council with the Wichita Indians. In spite of their hardships and disasters, they induced a number of these Indians to return with them to Fort Gibson, where an interesting council was held in August, and where promises were made to the Indians to hold another council the next year, which the Indians insisted must be held in the buffalo country, as they refused to take the chance of starving in a region where buffalo were not to be found.

Accordingly, plans were made the next year, and the council was held at a place near the present Lexington, Oklahoma, where six or eight thousand Indians assembled, and where an important treaty was made with the Comanche, Wichita and other Indians,—the first treaty ever made with them. The Kiowas did not remain to participate in the treaty, but two years later a treaty was made with them to the gratification of the representatives of the Federal Government in the west. These treaties guaranteed peaceful passage through the country by the whites and emigrant Indians, and indicated a peaceful continuance of the government's plan to remove the Indians from the east into the Indian Territory.

It was not long, however, before the difficulties between Mexico and Texas threatened to involve these wild Indians on the side of the Mexicans, and the federal government was obliged to exert itself to offset this influence. The Indians were reminded of their treaties of '35 and '37; but they replied that their treaty was binding only with reference to the country north of the Red River, and did not have any application to the Texans, against whom they maintained implacable hostility. The difficulties with the Texans continued during the years, and when, in 1845, Texas became part of the Federal Union, which inaugurated another phase of the history of these Indians, they refused to recognize the Texans as embraced in their treaties of friendship, and continued their raids into Texas.

Finally the treaty with Mexico in 1848, and resulting extension of our national domain to the Pacific Ocean, presented another aspect that colored the history of this region. Discovery of gold in California in 1848, was immediately followed by the Gold Rush. Thousands of adventurers travelled across the country through Kansas, through Oklahoma, Texas and New Mexico. This situation presented a troublesome problem to the Indians, who witnessed the white people killing off the buffalo, and thereby destroying an essential element of their economic and tribal existence. The raids by the Indians on the white settlements continued. There were peaceful Indians in these western tribes who withdrew from the raids of the young bucks, and tried to live a more tranquil life on the Brazos River in Texas; but the wilder members of the tribes continued their raids with every full moon, and returned with scalps and stolen horses to their hiding-places within Oklahoma, in and around the Wichita Mountains. Texas Rangers made two or three futile pursuits within Oklahoma, but the federal government refused their request to campaign in this country in an attempt to wipe out their aggressors. Finally by cooperation between Texas and the United States, an Indian reservation was laid out in 1854 on the Brazos River, Texas, in which nearly 1,000 peaceful Indians were located under an Indian agent.

The wilder faction of Indians, however, continued their raids into Texas, and continued to find shelter in Oklahoma. The Texans became so incensed at these raids that they threatened to vent their feelings on the peaceful Indians on the Texas reservation, and the Federal government was forced to consider another location for them. With this in view, the government in 1855 negotiated with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians for a lease of the west half of their country, which thereby became known as the "Leased District."

The Kiowa and Comanche Indians raided the Chickasaw and white settlements in the western part of the Chickasaw Nation and caused great apprehension and dissatisfaction among these people as well as those in western Texas. The situation in the west generally became so bad that in 1855, the year the so-called "leased district" was acquired, Congress in March authorized the organization of two mounted regiments to police the western country. These were called the First and Second Regiments of Cavalry but later in the Civil War became the Fourth and Fifth Cavalry.

The First was sent out to occupy the country west of Ft. Leavenworth. The Second was organized at Jefferson Barracks and marched down through Indian Territory by way of Fort Gibson to Fort Belknap in Texas which became its permanent station. From here it was expected to police Texas and southwestern Oklahoma and thus control the movements of the Kiowa and Comanche Indians.

The organization of this regiment is a subject of considerable interest because of the officers included in it who distinguished themselves during the subsequent Civil War, the most of them on the side of the Confederacy. Albert Sidney Johnston was a Colonel, and Robert E. Lee a Lieutenant Colonel. George H. Thomas, "The Rock of Chickamauga," in the Union Army, was a Major; Earl Van Dorn and Edmond Kirby Smith and John B. Hood were captains, and other captains included Charles E. Travis, son of Colonel Travis, hero of the Alamo. Another captain was Theodore O'Hara, who served in the Mexican War and lived to write the immortal "bivouac of the dead," which most of us recited in school, and which O'Hara wrote for the dedication of a monument to his companions, "The Kentucky Volunteers," killed at Buena Vista, Mexico. A verse or two of this matchless poetry, inscribed in bronze, is to be seen in every national cemetery in the country.

In the early part of 1858 the Seventh Infantry was removed from Indian Territory to Utah, thus abandoning Fort Arbuckle, Fort Washita and Fort Smith and exposing the country to raids by the Indians. In order to cope with the raiding Kiowas and Comanches Major Earl Van Dorn crossed Red River with a command of the Second Cavalry and established a post at a place on Otter Creek in the northern part of Tillman County. He reported his arrival here on September 26, 1858, and said that he was engaged in erecting a stockade for the protection of supplies and animals during the absence of the cavalry on scouting trips after the Indians. He had named his post Fort Radziminski in honor of the late Lieutenant Charles Radziminski of the Second Cavalry, whose death he had just learned of. The Comanches had run off several hundred horses from Texas and when threatened with punishment undertook to deliver the horses at Fort Arbuckle. While on this mission the Comanches under their chief Buffalo Humps went to the Wichita town near Rush Creek within the present Grady County to hold a council with the Wichitas. When Major Van Dorn heard of their presence there, with four hundred cavalrymen he made a forced march from Camp Radziminski across the Kiowa and Comanche Reservation to the Wichita Village in the night of October 1, and in the morning just before day-light fell upon the Indians, killing four Wichita and sixty Comanches.

In this battle Van Dorn was wounded by two arrows, one of which entered his abdomen and passed through his body. Messengers were sent to Fort Arbuckle for a doctor, who cut the arrow point from the shaft which had passed through Van Dorn's body and pulled out the arrow. It was five days before he could be removed from the battle field, when a litter was swung tandem between two horses in which he was carried back to Camp Radziminski. He was later invalided to his home in Mississippi where his recovery was so rapid that with a vigorous constitution he was able to return to Fort Radziminski after little more than a month at home.

Later when Major Emory was seeking a site for the future Fort Sill he wrote to Van Dorn for his impression of the country between Radziminski and the Wichita Village. In answer Van Dorn wrote from Fort Radziminski on October 25, 1858, that as he traveled across the country at night when setting out for the Comanche encampment he was unable to describe the country, and on his return, as he was carried in a litter, he saw nothing of the country, but he believed from impressions received otherwise that the country at the mouth of Cache Creek was the best location for a military post.

After the troops departed from Fort Arbuckle in April, 1859, only five men were left in charge of a large amount of stores. Several thousand Comanche Indians, incensed by the recent attack on them in May on the Canadian River at the hands of Texas Rangers commanded by Captain John S. Ford, were encamped in June on this stream, where they planned a raid on Fort Arbuckle to secure arms, ammunition and provisions there. They had actually made a sortee on the fort, killing and stealing horses belonging to the settlers, and were pursued to the Wichita mountains by a force of Chickasaw Indians. These depredations continued and as the Federal Government refused to permit the Texas Rangers to cross north of Red River, a detachment of the Second Cavalry, under the command of Major Earl Van Dorn, again crossed the Kiowa and Comanche Reservation and on May 12, 1859, attacked one hundred Comanche and Kiowa Indians about fifteen miles south of old Fort Atkinson, of whom they killed forty-nine, including eight Comanche women. In this fight Major Van Dorn, Captain Edmond Kirby Smith and Lieutenant Fitzhugh Lee were wounded, the latter seriously. These hostilities prompted the Secretary of the Interior to renew his request for the establishment of an Army Post for the protection of the prospective immigrants coming from Texas, to protect their agency about to be established, and to control the raiding Kiowa and Comanche Indians.

Elias Rector was Superintendent of Indian Affairs for what was called The Southern Superintendency with headquarters at Fort Smith. To him, on October 21, 1857, A. H. McKissick made his first report as "agent for the Wichitas and other wild tribes," being thus the first report by an Indian Agent within what is now the Kiowa and Comanche Reservation.

With a view to the location of the Texas Indians and their protection in the new home and with the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, Rector set out in June, 1859, with a cavalry escort of fourteen men from Fort Arbuckle detailed by Major Emory, commandant at that post, to explore the country in the vicinity of the Wichita mountains and to determine on the site for the construction of the fort. "On June twenty-second," says Rector, "we reached the site indicated for a fort by Major Emory, being that of the old Wichita Village, on the

Clear Fork of Cache Creek, south of the *Blue Mountain,* a principal peak of the Wichita range." However, he reported that, "the fertile and beautiful valleys of which I had heard, the clear streams flowing through them, and the gushing springs, have no existence. The streams that flow past this barren and desolate region are prairie streams of impure water, discolored with red earth and impregnated with lime, except Clear Creek, which has no valley of arable or grazing land, and, except as a hunting ground, I consider the whole region to be utterly worthless, and unsuitable for human habitancy. This is not only my deliberate judgment, but that of all who accompanied me; the expectations of all of whom were as grievously disappointed as mine were."

Having decided that the present site of Fort Sill and Lawton was unfit for human occupancy or for the Indian Agency, Rector and his party continued northeast and selected the site of an old Kichai village where is now Anadarko on the south side of the Washita River, at the mouth of Sugar Creek, where he proposed immediately to erect an agency house and out-buildings for the administration of the affairs of the expected Texas Indians as well as the bands of Wichita, Shawnees, Delawares and Caddos already living in the country.

In August, 1859, the Indians of the Brazos Agency in Texas were brought up under military escort to protect them from the people of Texas. These Indians were the Anadarkos, Caddos, Tawakoni, Wacoes and Tonkawas and numbered 1492. Part of this escort was commanded by Major George H. Thomas of later Civil War fame. An important Indian council was held by Rector, where the subject of their location was discussed. The Wichitas said they had the oldest claim to the country, because they had a tradition that their ancestors were born from the rugged rocks of the Wichita Mountains. Appropriate areas were assigned to the Wichitas, and the other bands with them; an Indian agent was appointed, and Indian administration was thus inaugurated in this western country at what was called Wichita Agency, "Leased District." An Army Post for the protection of the Indians was established on October 1, 1859, by two companies of the Cavalry, about four miles southwest of where the agency was established on August 16, and called Fort Cobb. At the same time the Secretary of the Interior was urging the establishment of another Army Post in the Wichita Mountains, which was not realized until after the Civil War when Fort Sill was established.

Before the agency at Anadarko had functioned very well or the influence of Fort Cobb had accomplished much, everything was demoralized by the Civil War, that made it impossible to realize the Government's plans for Indian administration or civilization. By the coming of the Civil War the Indians of this agency were scattered; the Wichitas and some of the Delawares associated

with them were moving up into Kansas, where they stayed during the war.

After the war, the movement of the white emigrants through Kansas to Colorado, and the building of the Union Pacific Railroad through their country aroused the western Indians to fresh raids among the intruders. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were particularly active; the movements of the Kiowas and Comanches also caused great concern. In an effort to put an end to these hostilities, a commission was appointed by President Grant, known as the Peace Commission, that called the Indians into a general council on Little Arkansas River in Kansas, where on October 18, 1865, a treaty was entered into in which the commissioners assigned to the Kiowa and Comanche Indians a vast tract of land including the Leased District, nearly all of what is now Western Oklahoma, south of the Canadian River, and extending west across Texas to New Mexico.

No benefit was derived from this vast assignment of territory, and another Indian council was called to meet in Kansas on Medicine Lodge Creek near Larned, where, on October 21, 1867, another treaty was entered into by which the Kiowa and Comanche Indians surrendered the land set apart for them in the former treaty, and accepted in lieu thereof a tract of country containing 2,968,893 acres, being what we now know as the Kiowa and Comanche Reservation. In the mean time complete title to this area, the Leased District, on April 28, 1866, had been purchased from the Choctaws and Chickasaws for the sum of $300,000. On the same day a separate treaty was made with the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians, by which the latter were incorporated with them, and this reservation became the common property of the three tribes, all of whom were equally bound by the terms of the two treaties. In these treaty councils another large area north of this reservation was assigned to the Wichita, Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, and the government now endeavored to make these Indians move onto the reservations, and submit to the authority of the Government as represented by the agents and the military. In this they were far from successful, for the Indians continued their raids, and scorned the authority of the federal government.

Finally General Philip H. Sheridan was sent to Fort Leavenworth, and vested with authority to suppress the raids of the Indians in Kansas and adjoining country. The first manifestation of punishment by the federal government was a raid performed by General Hancock; but the Indians having scattered, it was impossible to punish them effectively, and General Sheridan planned a punitive expedition into the Indian Territory where many of these Indians had taken refuge. In organizing his campaign he called on the Governor of Kansas for a company of volunteer cavalry, which was duly organized under the name of the Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry, and put under his command. The expedition departed from

Kansas in the autumn of 1868, in the direction of Camp Supply, a post established as a part of this campaign in the present northwestern Oklahoma, where the supplies from Kansas were being concentrated. Information of a trail of Indians having been brought to General Sheridan's attention, he ordered General Custer to follow the trail and attack. This resulted in the famous Battle of the Washita in which more than a hundred Indians were killed. Captain Hazen had been sent to Fort Cobb to re-establish the Indian Agency which had been burned during the war, and where the Kiowa and Comanche Indians had obligated themselves in their recent treaty to come in and settle, and withdraw from their hostile parties and activities. After the Battle of the Washita, General Sheridan started from Camp Supply down the Washita River to Fort Cobb. Near the fort he encountered some of the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, who presented credentials to Sheridan from Hazen, showing that they were under the protection of the Agency, and they thus escaped attack by Sheridan. This expedition was almost unparalleled in Oklahoma History in the extent of the hardships and sufferings endured by the men engaged in it. A blizzard hampered their movements and before the Kansas cavalry had reached Camp Supply, they had lost 700 horses from starvation and cold; and between there and Fort Cobb, 148 more perished. After Sheridan's arrival at Fort Cobb, he spent some time in the country trying to establish the Indians on their reservations and looking about for a location for a permanent army post; and when he found a place that suited him, he held a stake while General Grierson drove it into the ground, to mark the site of the future Fort Sill. While he was here, he sent Custer on another expedition to the west, to visit an encampment of Indians on Sweet Water Creek just across the line in the Texas Panhandle. Due to the difficulty of getting supplies that had come up the Arkansas River to Fort Gibson, and were supposed to be going overland to Fort Arbuckle and Fort Cobb, the soldiers nearly starved. As Custer's command continued west, there were days when they had nothing to eat but the flesh of mules that had died of starvation. The Colonel of the Kansas Cavalry related that: "Every morning the mules and horses that were unable to travel were killed by cutting their throats; and the extra wagons were run together and set on fire." Nothing but extreme fortitude and endurance made it possible for Custer's command to carry out their mission, and return to Fort Sill.

As soon as Sheridan got established, General Hazen removed his Indian agency to the place, and Col. Albert Gallatin Boone, a grandson of Daniel Boone, arrived to act as agent for the Kiowas and Comanches. This establishment was called "Camp Wichita, Wichita Mountains," until July 1869, when it became Fort Sill, named for General Joshua W. Sill, killed at Stone River, December 31, 1862. The Fort Sill military reservation of thirty-six square miles was established by executive order, October 7, 1871.

There was much criticism of the Indian service in the west on account of dishonesty in its administration. Friends of the Indians met at Cooper Union in New York to consider the subject, and General Hazen wrote to Peter Cooper inviting him and his associates to send a representative to Fort Sill in order that they might be fully advised of the Indian situation on the reservation. As a result, Hon. Vincent Collier of New York was sent out, and arrived on March 29, 1869, at Fort Sill, where he met General Hazen and Benjamin H. Grierson of the Tenth Cavalry, who had succeeded Sheridan in command of the post. Collier wrote very interesting accounts of the Indians and the administration under Hazen's superintendency.

General William T. Sherman came to Fort Sill in May 1871, and while here received news of a raid in Texas by Kiowa Indians led by Satanta, Satank and Big Tree, who then returned to Fort Sill. General Sherman had them placed in irons and started with a military escort for Jacksboro, Texas, to stand trial for murder. On the way, in an effort to escape, Satank was killed; Big Tree and Satanta were convicted and sentenced to hang, but on the solicitation of their agent, Laurie Tatum, the governor of Texas commuted their sentence. The Kiowas continued to raid in Texas, and paid little attention to the advice of the white people. Finally, in a general council at Okmulgee, the Five Civilized Tribes delegated a number of their people to go over to the vicinity of Fort Cobb and call the wild Indians into council, where they admonished them on the folly of their conduct. This was followed a few weeks later by another conference with representatives from Washington, who induced a number of the Kiowa, Comanche and other Indians to accompany them to Washington, in charge of Capt. Henry E. Alvord. They left Fort Sill September 20, 1872. A representative of the New York *Herald* described the excitement and commotion as forty-five delegates from these tribes, on horseback and in half-a-dozen sixteen-mule-drawn army wagons from Fort Sill took their departure for Atoka, the nearest railroad point, where they arrived six days later. From here they were carried to St. Louis and then on to Washington. A condition of their consent to go was that they would be permitted to see Satanta again. He was brought up from the Texas penitentiary to Atoka, the temporary terminus of the M. K. & T. Railroad, and carried to St. Louis on another train. The meeting of the Kiowa delegates with their beloved Satanta, in a room at the Everett House in St. Louis, on September 29, was said by Captain Alvord to have been very affecting and impressive. Satanta was not permitted to accompany the delegation to Washington, and until their return was confined in the Four Courts, the city prison at St. Louis. Later he was returned to the Texas penitentiary, where he afterwards committed suicide.

The wanton and wholesale destruction of the buffalo alarmed and incensed the Indians; and the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne

and Arapahoe, in 1874, held a great council on Kiowa Medicine Lodge Creek, west of Camp Supply, to consider what they could do to protect this great natural resource, threatened with early destruction. They left their reservation and sent out marauding parties in all directions. One of the first objects of their wrath was a company of buffalo hunters, who took refuge within the adobe walls of Bill Bent's old trading post on the Canadian River in the Texas Panhandle; and there resulted, June 27 and 28, 1874, what became known as the Battle of Adobe Walls. It being Sunday, and the white hunters resting in their camp, they were able, with the fortifications and superior arms, to make a formidable resistance against the hundreds of Indians, who were repulsed with a loss of thirty lives.

The stealing of their horses by white people also infuriated the Indians during the summer of 1874, and according to their fashion of reprisal, they killed any whites whom they met. So on the Abilene Cattle Trail, near Kingfisher Ranch, July 2, they killed William Watkins; and two days later attacked Pat Hennessey's wagon train loaded with sugar and coffee for agent J. M. Hayworth of the Kiowa-Comanche agency. In this affair, the Indians killed Hennessey, George Fant, Thomas Calloway and Ed Cook.

United States troops were ordered from Fort Sill, Fort Concho and Fort Leavenworth to punish the Indians and drive them back to their reservations. The campaign was headed by General Nelson A. Miles, who left Fort Leavenworth with part of his troops, and completed his organization at Fort Dodge. He had under his immediate command eight troops of cavalry in two battalions, four companies of infantry, a detachment of artillery, and a body of trailers, guides and scouts, the latter composed partly of Delaware Indians. Miles's command proceeded through Western Oklahoma; and after being fought and chased by the soldiers up and down through the country, from July 1874 to April 1875, many of the Indians were captured from time to time, and held as prisoners at Fort Sill and the Cheyenne agency.

Part of the Kiowas and Comanches surrendered in September, 1874, with two thousand head of horses and mules; the animals were so nearly starved that 760 of them either died from starvation or were shot; 856 ponies and 96 mules were sold by the army officers for $15,339.00. Gen. R. S. Mackenzie sent officers into New Mexico with the proceeds of the sale, to purchase sheep for the Indians. In February 1875, another band of Comanches gave up, with 557 ponies and 109 mules, which the officers sold for $6,000. Many of the Cheyennes likewise surrendered to the officers.

The military thus, as they expressed it, "disarmed and dismounted the Indians." By taking their horses and mules, they were incapacitated from engaging in further hostilities, if they were so inclined; and as buffaloes were about exterminated, they had little use for the great numbers of riding animals that had

been their dependence and pride. The change thus facilitated efforts to make the Indians work the land for their living.

A few years later the Kiowa and Comanche agency at Fort Sill was eliminated by consolidation with the Wichita Agency. The Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches were removed in the fall of 1879 from Fort Sill to the Wichita agency at Anadarko. There they were located with the Wichitas, Wacoes, Tawakonies, Kichais, Caddoes, Delawares, and Penetnethka's Band of Comanches, who were brought up from Texas. The consolidation of the nine tribes was facilitated, the agent reported, by the fact that they all spoke the Comanche language, the "court language" of the Plains Indians, and thus interpretation was simplified.

The history of this region was complicated a few years later by the cattle business. In the early '90's the Kiowa and Comanche reservation was blanketed by leases of vast tracts under wire fence, the largest of which, amounting to 502,490 acres, ran to D. Wagoner and Son, cattlemen of Texas. E. C. Sugg and Brother held 342,638 acres. S. B. Burnett, 287,867 acres; C. T. Herring, 90,000, and J. P. Addington, 81,963 acres. Under instructions in May, 1892, the Indian Agent executed leases to the holders of these pastures at six cents per acre, for a term ending April 1, 1893.

The agitation for opening up the Indian country was highlighted by the introduction of people from Kansas under Payne and Couch. When General Miles was in the country in 1885 trying to compose the troubles of the Cheyenne Indians he addressed a thoughtful communication to the Secretary of War on the subject of the proper administration of the country. He proposed that as the Indians had more land than they possibly could care for, the President appoint a commission of three experienced and competent men to negotiate with all the tribes for the purchase of their surplus lands and secure for them all a title and possession of as much as they could use; the remainder to be thrown open for settlement under laws applicable to the public domain.

This policy was made effective by an act of Congress May 2, 1889, under which the President appointed a commission to negotiate with the Cherokees and other Indians owning or claiming lands west of the 96th meridian for cession to the United States, and ultimate opening up to settlement. The President appointed on this commission; General Lucius Fairchild, ex-governor of Wisconsin; John F. Hartranft, governor of Pennsylvania, and Judge Alfred Wilson of Fayetteville, Arkansas. This was followed by the first opening in Oklahoma Territory on April 22, 1889. This so-called Cherokee Commission was unable to make any progress with the Cherokees, with whom they first attempted to negotiate, and then proceeded to negotiate with the Sac and Fox, Pottawatomi, Kickapoo and other tribes; and finally, September 28, 1892, got around to negotiate with the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches at Fort Sill. Here on October 6, 1892, four hundred fifty-six male

adult members of these confederated tribes signed a paper purporting to agree to the surrender of their lands amounting to 2,968,892 acres, which they held under their treaty of October 21, 1867. Eliminating 350,000 acres of mountain land, the amount of surplus suitable for farming was estimated at 2,150,000 acres. Subsequently members of the tribes claimed that the terms of agreement had been misrepresented to them; and in 1893 James Mooney of the Smithsonian Institution, Army Officers and others charged that bribery and fraud had been employed in procuring the agreements with the Indians. The controversy delayed ratification by Congress until June 6, 1900. The act of ratification provided for setting aside for the common use of the Indians 480,000 acres of their pasture land included in four "pastures." Number One became known as the "Big Pasture," west of Lawton, with 414,300 acres. The act provided also for allotting to each of the Indians 160 acres of land in the reservation. The government agreed to pay the Indians two million dollars, of which $500,000 was to be distributed per capita, and the remainder invested and the interest paid per capita.

In the name of the Kiowa Chief, Lone Wolf, on June 6, 1901, a proceeding was filed in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia seeking an injunction against the carrying out of the agreement. The Court on June 26 entered a decree against him, which was later affirmed by the United States Supreme Court. The President, immediately after the decree of the lower court on July 4, 1901, issued his proclamation carrying into effect the act of Congress and the agreement with the Indians. This proclamation opened the country, except the pastures, to settlement on August 6, 1901, at nine o'clock in the morning; 443,338 acres had been allotted to 2759 Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita and Apache Indians, leaving 2,033,583 acres for white settlement. The proclamation opened also to settlement the adjoining more than half a million acres of the Wichitas and affiliated bands as well as the Kiowa, Comanches and Apaches. [1]

[1] This address was delivered by Dr. Grant Foreman at the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, May 13, 1941. It is condensed from pages in the manuscript of his forthcoming history of Oklahoma.

THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE PANHANDLE OF OKLAHOMA, 1886-1940.

By Elsie Cady Gleason

When Texas (1845), New Mexico (1850), Kansas (1854), and Colorado (1861) decided upon their boundaries, cartographers discovered an oblong strip of unclaimed land remained. It was one hundred and sixty-six miles east and west, and thirty-four and one-half miles north and south, and has been known as No Man's Land, the Neutral Strip (the Strip), Beaver County of Oklahoma Territory, and, lastly, Cimarron, Texas, and Beaver counties of the sovereign state of Oklahoma.

The Indians used the tract for a hunting ground until they were restricted to reservations. About 1870 cattlemen from New Mexico, Texas and Kansas began to extend their ranges into it; and along the eastern part two highways were worn by hundreds of thousands of cattle on the march from Texas to Dodge City, known as the Tascosa-Dodge, and Jones-Plummer Trails.

In 1886, following a proclamation of President Cleveland that No Man's Land was open for squatters, a great immigration began which brought the population up to nearly 15,000. In 1889, when the unassigned lands to the east were opened to homesteaders, most of the newer residents left for them, so that not many more than two thousand remained.

At this time No Man's Land had three towns, Kenton in the northwest corner near the Colorado and New Mexico borders; Hardesty, a mile from the mouth of the Coldwater Creek, and Beaver on the Beaver River about thirty miles from the east line. The last named had a population of two hundred persons, while Kenton and Hardesty were much smaller.

Oklahoma Territory established (1890), a great rush of homesteaders began which was increased by the building of the Rock Island railroad from Liberal, Kansas, to Dalhart, Texas. The population grew from 3,169 (1902) to 35,677 (1907).[1]

Newspapers, in numbers quite out of proportion to population needs, were established in many small towns which resulted from this invasion. These were all weekly publications of a four page issue. The print paper came to the various offices in the form of large sheets, which were folded once. The inside pages, 2 and 3, were ready printed with "patent" material—stories of national figures, reviews of news, a short story, a woman's column, and a long list of humorous anecdotes, with some advertising for which the paper company received pay.

The name of the paper and date line, local news, exchange comment, a few brief editorials, rarely exceeding five hundred words,

[1] *Oklahoma Territory, Governor's Reports* (1902-1907).

and the local advertising covered pages 1 and 4. The Hardesty *Herald* carried a half column of cow brand pictures, with owners range, and, for a time, the Beaver *Herald* did the same.

After 1890, space was taken by final proof and contest notices, and the reports of county commissioner proceedings, which forced advertising to the front page. E. E. Brown says the cost of equipment of an office in No Man's Land was about two hundred to two hundred fifty dollars. Two dollars and fifty cents bought five hundred sheets of print paper for one issue, and "it was hard enough to find the cash each week."

The press used at Hardesty was the oldest one in No Man's Land and it is a museum piece for in the *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking* was found a picture of an old Ramage press which coincided exactly with the remaining parts of the Guymon press . . . R. B. Quinn stated that when he got the press it bore a plate. The name as he remembered it was something like "Bronstrub." Seemingly this ruled out the supposition that it was a Ramage Press. But shortly afterward in the *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking* the following paragraph was discovered: "Bronstrup Press. A Hand press formerly made by Frederick Bronstrup, the successor of Adam Ramage and having three sides. . . The material is chiefly wrought iron. . ."

Probably Bronstrup had some of Ramage's old wooden presses on hand and attached his name plate to them. There can be no doubt that the Guymon press is of the old Ramage type. Adam Ramage, the first press maker in America, began business in Philadelphia, 1800, and "was the only one of consequence in the country."[2] The Washington Press was the kind mostly used in the early days of No Man's Land though it was superceded by the Army Press in a few years. Both presses were operated by hand, printing one six-column page at a time.

When a man started a newspaper he was usually owner, editor and publisher. Many difficulties beset him. A heavy rain would cause the creeks to rise so the stage could not bring the print paper when it was expected. Repairs on the press were days away from the office and the subscription list was small, though almost everyone sent the paper "back home." An "ad" three columns square cost three to five dollars. "It was rare to have the advertising reach fifty dollars a month."[3]

A newspaper made a meager living for its editor and it is not surprising that the *South and West* advertised for "a few loads of chips" as payments on subscriptions and the *Beaver County Demo-*

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[2] Kirke Mechem, "The Mystery of the Meeker Press," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (1923).

[3] Statement of E. E. Brown, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

crat (1893) offered the paper in exchange for feed, chickens, eggs or butter. Dick Quinn (Hardesty *Herald*) burst into verse:[4]

Have you found that $ yet
Hand it in.
We need it, you can bet,
Hand it in.
We need it in our biz
To make this paper whiz,
It won't go less it iz,
Handed in.

On April 29 of the same year this item appeared in the same paper: "We were asked to change $20.00 this week. Gentlemen, we are not a bank."

It is difficult to characterize a newspaper of this period. The editor's opinion, choice of news, politics and experience made the policy of the paper—the editor was the paper. Although politics played a small part before 1890, editorials were favorable to either of the two leading political parties. The Hardesty *Herald,* the Beaver *Herald* and those so labeled were always republican. The balance of the field was democratic. After Oklahoma Territory was established, a constant and frequently bitter bickering began between the paper which won the county printing and those which did not. The defense of the county commissioners kept the lucky paper busy. As the county seat was at Beaver, the printing was given to local papers there.

The *Cimarron News* (Kenton) kept out of these quarrels, but spoke for the rights of the cattlemen, believing it was a mistake to use the semi-arid land for small farms. "Kenton was always a stockman's town."[5] The Hardesty *Herald* was a friend of the "cowmen," also, though Dick Quinn lived close enough to Beaver City to keep in touch with politics there. Always ready to criticise those practices of the county commissioners, which he believed harmful, he maintained a constant editorial argument between their defenders and himself. Each subscriber reached for his *Herald* with the comment, "Well, I wonder what Dick's up to now." His view of ranchers and ranchmen follows: "We who have lived in Beaver County since the early days believe God made this country for the cattleman, and it is little less than a crime to destroy the natural grasses by plowing up the sod. We have seen this belief demonstrated both by the success of the cattleman and the failure of the man who confined himelf exclusively to farming."[6]

In the discussion of newspapers which follows, those which have not survived to 1940 will be completed when first mentioned. The last section will review the story of 1940 papers. It must be re-

[4] Hardesty *Herald,* December 7, 1893.
[5] Statement of R. Compton Tate, Kenton, Oklahoma.
[6] Kansas City *Star,* January 24, 1902. Fred Barde quotes Dick Quinn.

membered that frequently the early papers omitted the mast head which carried editor's and publisher's names. Therefore, changes in editors are recorded only as they are found in the mast heads of the papers filed at the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The newspapers of the Oklahoma Panhandle fall into three groups:

(1) Early: (a) No Man's Land and (b) Beaver County to 1900.
(2) Rock Island towns, 1900-1907.
(3) Oklahoma. Cimarron, Texas, and Beaver Counties, 1907.

(1) Early Newspapers—No Man's Land.

Four newspapers were established in No Man's Land, the Beaver City *Pioneer* (1886), the *Territorial Advocate* (1887), the Benton County Banner[7] (1889), and the Hardesty Times[8] (1889). The following can be listed as early papers, also; the *Beaver County Democrat* (1892), *South and West* (1894), and the *Cimarron News* (1898).

On June 19, 1886, the Beaver City *Pioneer* was launched at "Beaver, Neutral Strip," by E. E. Henley, who published the Fowler *Graphic* at Fowler,[9] Kansas, a town about thirty miles north of Beaver City. The mechanical work on the *Pioneer* was done there. In the first issue Mr. Henley challenged the townspeople to support the paper for he had started it because he thought the town needed it.

In the account of the life of the paper the writer has been unable to find data to prove who represented the *Pioneer* at Beaver. The "brain food" was furnished by a stranger to local people. He showered attentions on the town girls so successfully that a rivalry sprang up between him and the cowboys. This was fanned into a flame when the crowd "hit the lumber with the leather" for the girls liked to dance with the new man and there were never enough girls to go around anyway. The cowboys vowed revenge and one night succeeded in getting the *Pioneer* man very drunk, when his face was painted in green stripes and his bald head, red. Then he was rolled in a "green" cowhide, hauled through the streets and tied to a hitching post before his rooming house.[10] The newspaper ceased to be delivered thereafter.

E. E. Eldridge established the *Territorial Advocate* at Beaver City in June, 1887, sold it three months later to E. E. Brown[11] and

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[7] Became Beaver City *Journal*, 1890.

[8] Became Hardesty *Herald*, 1890.

[9] Information from Lela Barnes of the Kansas State Historical Society.

[10] The Wichita *Eagle*. Interview of Tom Braidwood, Beaver. Copied in Beaver *Herald*, June 14, 1908.

[11] E. E. Brown, with J. J. Burke bought and consolidated the *Times* and the *Journal* at Oklahoma City (1889). Brown was Clerk of the Territorial Senate; Editor and manager Guthrie *Observer;* Postmaster, Oklahoma City (1907-1912); Chamber of Commerce (1913-1915); fifty years with Times-Journal Publishing Company, Oklahoma City (June 1939); President, 1940.

George F. Payne[12] to be used for Boomer publicity. They changed the name to Beaver *Advocate,* editing it until 1899 when Mr. Brown moved to Oklahoma City. The first issues were printed on a Washington Press in a sod house.[13] Mr. Payne spent much of his time cleaning up type cases since a tornado had taken off the roof of the office just before it changed hands. Many people "stopped in" to read the exchanges, the most popular of which was the Juneau (Alaska) *Free Press.*[14]

In 1892, Mr. Payne sold the *Advocate* to J. C. Hodge[15] who sold to C. R. Wright in 1895. The name was changed to the Beaver *Herald* by Wright. The first women to edit a Panhandle newspaper were the misses Dolly and Lily Wright,[16] daughters of C. R. Wright, who issued their first paper February 7, 1895. It was the best looking sheet which had appeared in Beaver County. W. I. Drummond[17] bought the *Herald* June 30, 1896, at which time he was assisted editorially by his father, I. S. Drummond.[18] W. I. (Pete) Drummond bought the Enid *Sun* and sold the *Herald* to Noah Daves,[19] Feb-

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[12] George F. Payne came to Beaver from Paola, Kansas. He was an experienced printer. His health was poor after he left the paper. He died in 1892. E.E.B.

[13] Oklahoma Historical Society, Barde Collection. Letter of E. E. Brown to Anton Classen, December 27, 1914.

[14] Statement of E. E. Brown, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[15] J. C. Hodge was a merchant at Beaver for many years. He died March 6, 1920.

[16] The Misses Wright moved to Hutchinson, Kansas, to continue in newspaper work.

[17] Wilbert I. Drummond was born October 10, 1874, at Sigourney, Iowa. He lived in Kansas 1881-1891; Beaver County, Oklahoma, 1891; Educated in the public schools with special courses later in journalism, economics, agriculture; associated with the Beaver *Herald,* 1896-1898; Enid *Weekly Sun,* 1898; combined Enid *Weekly Eagle* (1899) under *Eagle* name after 1900; founded the Enid *Daily Eagle,* 1901-1912; Chairman of the Board of Governors of the International Dry Farming Congress (International Farm Congress), 1913-1924; Editor of farm publications, 1916-1924; magazine articles, 1920-1934; devoted part time to farming until 1930; moved to Kansas City, Missouri, 1920; since 1932 engaged in development of land and water resources. In 1924, at the invitation of President Coolidge, he organized agricultural section of the Republican National Committee and directed campaign; married Mary E. Peckham, 1898; Presbyterian; resides in Kansas City, Missouri. Mr. Drummond was called "Pete," during the period of his newspaper work in Oklahoma. W.I.D.

[18] I. S. Drummond was born in Jefferson County, Ohio, April 28, 1836. His parents died when he was very young, so he was apprenticed to learn printing at Belmont, Ohio. In 1860 he married Rebecca White; a soldier during the Civil War. Later he worked in printing offices in Iowa, Kansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. His seven children all learned the printing business. Three sons, W. I., Franz S., and George edited papers. I. S. Drummond spent the last years of his life at Beaver, Oklahoma, in the home of his daughter, Clara Weller. He died in May, 1912. Thoburn, *Oklahoma: A History,* 1916, vol. 5, and W.I.D.

[19] Noah Daves was county superintendent of schools at the time he bought the *Herald.* He continued as an educator.

ruary 17, 1898, who sold it to Franz S. Drummond[20] on December 29, 1898.

One of the ghost towns of Oklahoma, Benton was the home of the *Benton County Banner,* established by Extus Leroy Gay[21] in 1886. Under the title ran the line "Benton, the Gem City of the Neutral Strip." The running line carried "Benton, Benton County, Indian Territory. It is sure to be the county seat because it is the exact center of the county." This is the one paper which recognized the Cimarron Territory organization in its set up. In fifteen months Mr. Gay sold to J. B. Nicholas and —.—. Kirtley who moved the paper to Beaver where it was named the Beaver City *Tribune,* January, 1890. Nicholas was sole owner before the first territorial legislature assembled. E. E. Brown assumed it died about that time for both men were interested in political affairs at Guthrie.

A party of men from Liberal, Kansas, visited Hardesty in May, 1889, to form a townsite. One of the party was Lambert Willstaedt, editor of the Liberal *Leader.* Dick Quinn[22] persuaded him to start a paper and was employed to "get out" the Hardesty *Times.* The name was changed to the Hardesty *Herald* when it was taken over for back pay in about a year's time. This was probably the most widely read paper in Beaver County during its existence. The Beaver *Herald,* May 3, 1895, stated, "The Hardesty *Herald,* the oldest paper published in Beaver County, started on its fifth year last week." This must have caused a new thought, for shortly the Beaver *Herald,* assumed the volume number of its predecessor, *The Advocate,* and thereafter advertised as "the oldest paper in the county." Dick Quinn published his paper until May, 1900, except for a period of a year and a half when George Drummond[23] was owner, but

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[20] Franz Seigel Drummond was born April 1, 1862, at Brighton, Iowa. He came to Oklahoma in early days; editor of the Beaver *Herald,* 1898-1902; moved to Gig Harbor, Washington, editing the *Bay Island News,* 1918-1924; appointed postmaster for several terms during which the post office was named district office and two new buildings were erected. Married Frances Louella Faidley, May 14, 1887, at Mankato, Kansas. Mrs. Drummond's home town was Burr Oak where her father had the first store and post office. Franz S. Drummond died August 23, 1933. Mr. Drummond was an accomplished musician and did much to develop an interest in it in his community. F.F.S.

[21] Extus Leroy Gay was born in 1862 in Ohio; schooling in Ohio and at Valparaiso Normal, Indiana; edited papers at Benton, El Reno, Shawnee and the Pawhuska (Osage) *Journal;* City Clerk, Beaver (1890); active in first legislature; married Alice Crawmer; died in Pawhuska, 1929.

[22] R. B. (Dick) Quinn was born March 31, 1868, in Missouri; schooling in same state. Went to No Man's Land in 1887; editor Hardesty *Times,* 1889-1890; Hardesty *Herald,* 1890-1900; Guymon *Herald,* 1900-1907; Guymon *Tribune,* 1921-1926; U. S. Marshal, 1926-1933. Married Cleo Luikart, 1900. Two children, Robert and Florence (Mrs. P. P. Gibbons). Died June 10, 1939. Odd Fellow. Mason. C. L. A.

[23] George Drummond moved to the Pacific Coast where he has been active in the mechanical phase of newspaper work. Now lives at Glendale, Oregon. W.I.D.

he returned to the business world and Mr. Quinn resumed his work as editor of the "most unique"[24] paper of Oklahoma Territory.[25]

Early Newspapers—Beaver County, 1890-1900

When No Man's Land became Beaver County there was an ever increasing number of homestead entries which made final proof and contest notices a valuable asset to a paper. Frequently an editor's politics changed over night at the prospect of having these notices or the county printing. Land commissioners who owned papers prospered, and as they were appointed at Washington, it was not unusual to find a flourishing republican paper in democrat territory.

In the hurry and scramble of organizing pioneer communities, with their lack of individual responsibility, Oklahoma newspapers were conducted too often as a purely commercial enterprise; one being established by a political adventurer, another by a townsite promoter, and still another by what Oklahoma "hill billies" have learned to call "the special interests."[26]

The *Beaver County Democrat* was started by Joe D. Carter in March, 1892. Two years later, February 22, 1894, Dr. J. R. Lindley bought it because he "had the county printing." In a few months C. F. Jenkins was employed as editor but he had some trouble with the land office at Woodward and left the country. Mrs. Jenkins left September 17, 1894, for Philadelphia to make her home with relatives. In August the *Advocate* announced it was the only paper being published at Beaver City, so the *Democrat* must have died in late July.

South and West was another political adventure of Dr. Lindley. It was purchased by the Beaver *Herald,* May 13, 1897, after it had run from September 20, 1895.

Louis A. Wikoff,[27] who had been editor and publisher of the Springfield (Colorado) *Herald,* established the *Cimarron News* Au-

[24] Mrs. Tom B. Ferguson, *They Carried the Torch* (Kansas City, Missouri: Burton Publishing Company, 1937), 53.

[25] Careful check up with settlers who know Hardesty's complete history proves there was no other paper published there. Ayer, *Newspaper Bibliography,* states there was a Hardesty *Kicker.* Dates indicate they placed the Hennessey *Kicker* to Hardesty's credit as well as its own town.

[26] *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine,* February 1910. "Oklahoma Newspapers," by Fred S. Barde. (Mr. Barde was Oklahoma representative of Kansas City *Star,* 1898-1910.)

[27] L. A. Wikoff, b. April 4, 1855, near Buenta Vista, Ohio. Attended school in New York. Worked on paper, Anthony, Kansas. Filed on claim Baca County, Colorado, 1887, and established the Minneapolis *Chico,* Springfield *Herald,* 1891, 1898; Cimarron *News,* 1898-1910. Moved to Clayton, New Mexico. Started Pioneer Auto Company. Moved business to Raton, N. M. Married Sarah Ellen Raney of Parsons, Kansas. One child, J. Allen who continues auto business. Died March 20, 1930. Mr. and Mrs. Wikoff assisted in founding the first church in west Beaver County—Methodist. When they left Kenton they gave the dressed stone newspaper office to the church to be used for a new structure. J.A.W.

gust 11, 1898 at Kenton and continued its career until March 24, 1910. W. E. (Billy) Bolton of the Woodward *News* and of the *Livestock Inspector* said that no one but Dick Quinn could print a paper at a place like Hardesty and "make a go of it." But Mr. Wikoff was printing a paper four days' travel from the county seat —if the weather was good—yet he kept alive an interest in affairs at Beaver and in Oklahoma, most praiseworthy since Kenton was a town almost "forgotten" by the politicians at Beaver City.

Franz S. Drummond who bought the Beaver *Herald* had for his assistant Maud O. Thomas, who purchased the paper February 17, 1902, thereby becoming the Panhandle's third woman editor.

Rock Island Towns, 1900-1907

When the Rock Island railway company decided to build southwest from Liberal, Kansas, the center of population of Beaver County shifted to a diagonal line along the railroad. New towns were located: Tyrone moved a few miles west to become a prospective county seat town; Guymon was platted by Liberal men; Hooker was a Chicago Townsite company's "boom town," and Texhoma was platted by J. A. Robertson who had homesteaded it. The railroad ran excursions every other week in the early 1900's to bring home seekers to look over the country, and the growth of the towns and population was rapid.

Guymon had the first newspaper. In 1900 it became known the Rock Island would not build through Hardesty. Early in May Dick Quinn loaded his printing office and equipment on five wagons and drove to a switching point on the railroad called Sanford. Here he set up his press to print the Sanford *Herald.* After a few weeks had passed the railroad asked to have the name of the town changed. Guymon, to honor E. T. Guymon of Liberal, one of the townsite organizers, became the permanent title for the earlier Sanford. The Guymon *Herald* flourished, for its editor was U. S. Court Commissioner, so the paper was crowded with final proof notices. In 1903, three to five pages were devoted to them, or contest filings. Hardesty and Hansford County ranchers transferred their subscriptions and allegiance as the *Herald's* editor became an influential politican. March 29, 1906, the paper had 1200 paid up subscriptions, and by June 21 of the same year, 1300. Warren Zimmerman,[28] who had

[28] Warren Zimmerman. B. at Portis, Kansas, January 8, 1880. Son of B.F.G. and Phoebe Higgs (Smiley) Zimmerman. Edu. Kansas Wesleyan Univ. In U. S. Postal service, Portis, Kansas, 1901; in newspaper work *Osborne County Farmer,* 1901-1903; editor *Osborne County News,* 1903-1905; part owner, editor, manager Chandler (Okla.) *News,* 1905-1907; owner-editor Guymon *Herald,* 1907-1916. Liberal *News,* 1916-1935. Member Southwest Kansas Editorial Association; Blue Lodge, Mason, Shrine. Clubs: Lions, Republican. Methodist Episcopal Church. Married Martha Edgemon, Ft. Worth, Texas, Jan. 22, 1906. One child: Richard Grush. Elected president Southwest Editorial Assoc., 1929. Part owner with Richard Zimmerman of the Kansas Color Press, Lawrence, Kansas, at present time. (Taken from *Who's Who in Central States,* 1929.)

been manager of the Chandler *News* bought the Guymon *Herald* March 14, 1907. It continued to grow under his direction and was regarded as the best business success of any paper in the Panhandle. Mr. Zimmerman sold the paper, December 15, 1915, to own and publish the Liberal (Kansas) *News*.

The Guymon *Democrat* was started under the leadership of M. G. Wiley, an attorney, January 17, 1907, "to pick plums for the democrats."[29] Mr. Wiley and J. Porter Wright were joint editors until February 6 when the latter sold his interest to Mr. Wiley and C. B. Baxter[30] became manager. The paper was purchased by E. N. Faris in 1910 and was sold to Rev. R. A.[31] and Miss Mildred Baird[32] February 1, 1912. Mr. Baxter bought from them November 26, 1913, and was publisher until February 13, 1919, when J. I. Denny of Guymon *Herald* consolidated the two papers under the *Herald* title. During the period from April 1, 1918 to February 13, 1919, D. J. Murr had an interest in the *Democrat,* though he worked on the Goodwell *News* at the same time. For a time in 1915 J. C. McConnell assisted Mr. Baxter.

The Hooker *Advance* began publication February 19, 1904, under the direction of Jesse S. Moffitt. It was started as a "boom" paper for a "boom" town, carrying a double column, half page section, titled: "Tell the Truth about Hooker." J. Henry Shields[33] acted as editor in Mr. Moffitt's absence. May 10, 1906, the paper became republican. July 6, 1906, the editor was appointed U. S. Court Commissioner for Hooker. The building and press were destroyed by fire June 7, 1908, at an estimated loss of two thousand dollars. In 1906 the paper claimed a circulation of one thousand.

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[29] Hooker *Advance*, January 25, 1907.

[30] Charles B. Baxter, b. Missouri, November 5, 1868. Started newspaper career at Bolivar, Missouri, "behind an old reliable Washington hand press and 13 em stick and rule and somewhat 'bottled' Burjoice type." Rush Springs, Kans., 1900. Dalhart *Tribune;* mechanical part of Guymon *Democrat* for E. N. Faris, Baird. Guymon *Democrat*, 1913-1919. Moved to California 1923, now resides at Fullerton. Married Ida Newport, August 21, 1901. Five children. C.B.B.

[31] Robert A. Baird, b. Chatfield, Texas, Nov. 14, 1871. Father and grandfather were pioneer Methodist ministers in Texas; the grandfather took a grant when Texas was a Republic. Robert worked on papers: Santa Anna (Texas) *News,* and Comanche (Texas) *Chief.* Moved to Okla. 1902 and served in churches at Ryan, Temple, Lindsey, Pauls Valley and Guymon (1910). Admitted to bar 1913, establishing himself at Healdton. City attorney at time of his death, October 1, 1921.

[32] Mildred Baird, b. Chatfield, Texas, Apr. 7, 1874. Taught in rural schools, worked in banks. Deputy Tax assessor and deputy treas. (Guymon). Bookkeeper City National Bank. Guymon *Democrat* (1912-1913). Moved to Hugoton 1915. Married Mr. Jim Parsons, Dec. 17, 1916. Resides at Hugoton, Kansas.

[33] J. Henry Shields, b. Jan. 6, 1887, Russelville, Arkansas. Came to Oklahoma 1895. Owner and publisher Hooker *Advance* 1916-. In 1909 edited *The Farmer's Voice,*[a] or *The Farmer's Educational and Co-operative Union of America of Texas County.*[b]

[a] Beaver *Herald,* Jan. 14, 1909, [b] Tyrone *Observer,* Jan. 15, 1909.

During the period when the greatest number of homeseekers was coming into the Rock Island area, the Hooker *Advance* was outspoken as the settler's defender and protector against the cattlemen. A spirited exchange of editorials between the *Advance* and the Guymon *Herald* lasted for several years, for the latter believed the cattlemen, as first comers, should have consideration, as well as the settlers. Not the Hooker *Advance!* It aided in the organization of a "New Settler's Convention," an independent political organization, anti-cattlemen in spirit, but which wanted county offices for its members, also. The movement died down when the homesteaders became so numerous that ranching was impossible.

The Hooker *Republican* was established by H. P. Fluhart in 1906, but the *Advance* changed to the same party that year, so it is probable the newer newspaper was short-lived.

H. W. Hill[34] founded the Tyrone *Observer* May 5, 1904, consolidating with the Tyrone *Leader,* whose editor was G. W. Griffith, March 15, 1905, and gave it the name *Observer-Leader.* J. F. Carter purchased it two days later and sold it to W. V. Goforth, August 31, 1906. Mr. Carter continued to manage the paper for Mr. Goforth and for Mrs. Frank Belle Healy[35] when she purchased the Tyrone *Observer,* as it was again called, August 31, 1906. J. S. Maynard,[36] who was to purchase the paper three times and sell it twice, bought it in November 1910 for the first time.

Two newspapers have been published in Texhoma; the Texhoma *Times* which was established in September 1904 by J. E. Kerr, and the Texhoma *Argus* founded in January 1907 by Joe L. Buckley. The *Argus,* under the editorships of V. M. Grant and T. H. Davision, ceased publication December 3, 1914. The Texhoma *Times* was sold to J. W. Scroogins, a Texan, who edited it for about two

[34] Mr. Hill and Mr. Moffatt were friends in Nebraska. The *Beaver County Republican* had as editor Feb. 2, 1906, H. W. Hill, who homesteaded near Boyd (ghost town of Oklahoma).

[35] Mrs. F. B. nee Dow, Healy, b. Liberty, Maine, Nov. 10, 1860. Married F. D. Healy of Boston (1884) when they went to Okla. to engage in cattle business with father and brothers. Mr. Healy served as Deputy U. S. Marshal and as sheriff for Beaver County, was appointed Register of the U. S. Land Office at Woodward by President McKinley. After his death (1904) Mrs. Healy was appointed U. S. Commissioner at Tyrone, where she was postmaster. In 1910 she moved to Claremont until the World War when she lived at Cambridge, Mass., while her three sons were in service. In 1926 she returned to Claremont to reside with Frank Dale Healy. She died July 14, 1938. She was active in the D.A.R., art and women's clubs. She had three sons: W. H. Healy, Charles H. Healy, and Frank D. Healy.

[36] James Shadrack Maynard, son of James Carson and Mary Frances Maynard. B. Bower Mills, Lawrence County, Missouri, Sept. 22, 1880. Schooled in Lawrence and Jasper counties, Mo. Red Rock *Valley News,* 1900. Helped "get out" the first issue of *Beaver County Democrat. Meade County News.* Worked for Mrs. Healy, 1907. Bought and sold Tyrone *Observer* three times, the last 1928—. Married Frankie May Williams, Nov. 18, 1918. Four children: Cornelia Frances, Ida Lieu, James Robert and John Porter. Baptist, deacon of church. Never held public office. J.S.M.

years, when the U. S. Court Commissioner, J. S. Fisher[37] became its owner, August 30, 1907. Under his management the *Times* made a splendid growth and was widely quoted.

The Optima *Optimist,* C. E. Brown editor, appeared October 29, 1905, and continued under his direction until May 4, 1917, when H. M. Holman succeeded him. The paper ceased publication November 9, 1918.

In addition to the newspapers established in the Rock Island area, five were started in the vicinity of Beaver. George H. Healy[38] and John W. Savage[39] started the Beaver *Journal* in 1904, but for some reason their names did not appear on the mast head until July 1, 1904.[40] A revived ("reincarnated") Beaver *Advocate* appeared about the same time, edited by H. E. G. Putnam[41] and J. W. Culwell.[42] It looked "as tho' there was a plan on foot to get the county printing."[43] The *Advocate* and the *Journal* were purchased by W. L. Beardsley[44] January 20, 1905. The united papers were issued as the Beaver *Journal.* Mr. Culwell was sole editor November 14, 1905, with a "Republican paper qualified to do legal work." J. C. Fisher bought the *Journal* the same year but was succeeded by

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[37] J. S. Fischer. Owned the Beaver *Journal* which he sold to W. T. Quinn, and the Gate City *Journal* which W. L. Beardsley bought. Texhoma *Times* 1907-1911, 1912-1912. Mr. Fischer built up a strong paper and aided in locating the A. and M. College at Goodwell, being the first editor to suggest it. Republican. Secretary first state Republican Convention, Tulsa, 1907. Moved to Boise, Idaho, 1912-1927, engaged in real estate business. Amarillo, Texas, 1927—, manager of abstract company. Clubs: Lions, Elks, Spanish War Veterans. Methodist. Married Georgia Caperton, a Texas County pioneer who had lived in Alabama, 1908. Two sons: Jack and Leigh who have attained high scholastic honors. Jack was a Rhodes Scholar and Leigh is an attorney in Texas. J.S.F.

[38] George H. Healy, b. Maine, 1857. Schooling at Boston. Cowpuncher on Padre Island, near Corpus Christi (1875). Never voted until 35 years of age because he lived in No Man's Land (1880). Owner of K K ranch with Frank D. Healy. Had a fur and hide business, sending goods to Dodge City. 1886 blizzard wrecked the cattle range business—sold out, started a mercantile business at Alpine (ghost town of Oklahoma). Admitted to bar 1900. Candidate on Republican ticket for governor, 1924.

[39] John W. Savage, b. Virginia, Illinois, 1874. Moved to Englewood (Kans.), 1886, Oklahoma 1887. Married Jennie Maple 1907. One son. Held several county offices. Farm loans at time of death April 7, 1912.

[40] Hooker *Advance*, July 1, 1904. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1904.

[41] H. E. G. Putnam, b. Jasper County, Iowa, Jan. 15, 1859. Came to Oklahoma 1891, ranch near Beaver. Guymon 1907. Married Electa F. Allison. County Commissioner, County Treasurer of Beaver and Texas counties. County Judge Texas County. Chairman Democratic County Committee. (Died 1936.) Harlow, *Makers of Government in Oklahoma,* 1930.

[42] J. W. Culwell, attorney at Beaver for many years.

[43] *Ibid.*, footnote 40.

[44] W. L. Beardsley, b. Rock Island, Illinois, 1860. Came to Woods County (Okla.) 1897. Board of Education eight years. U. S. Court Commissioner, Beaver County 1890-1907. Beaver *Journal,* 1905. With J. S. Fischer, Gate *Valley Star,* 1906-1907. City Clerk, Forgan. Opened up Forgan, Oklahoma, 1912. Resides at Arnett, Oklahoma. L.L.B.

W. T. Quinn[45] with C. M. Parr and E. B. Quinn as assistants, in 1906. They built up a good business when a fire destroyed the office, fixtures and all subscription and account books, valued at $2,000, in 1909. The good will was sold to the Beaver *Herald.*

J. S. Fischer and W. L. Beardsley began the Gate *Valley Star* the second week of April, 1905. Miss Edna S. Beardsley[46] moved over from Beaver to do the editorial work. Mr. Fischer was sole owner June 3, 1907, but L. L. Beardsley[47] took over the paper November 20, 1907. For a time (May 23—September 11) the newspaper was printed by F. S. Nipper, owner and publisher of the Englewood (Kansas) *Tribune,* on the *Tribune* press. In an early editorial Mr. Nipper wrote he would buy a new press for the *Star,* but Mr. L. L. Beardsley resumed management September 11, 1908, on the old press. His father, W. L. Beardsley, was in charge April 9, 1909. No copies of the paper are available dated later than this. The paper was published for a time by one of the Beaver papers. The editors during that period were Pearl Holliday, Bernidine Wiles and Arthur J. Stevens. A fire destroyed the *Star* plant in July, 1923, but Mr. Stevens was urged by the citizens of Gate to install a new press.[48] The Beaver *Democrat* absorbed it, however.

The *Beaver County Democrat,* "the only democratic paper in the county," was founded by W. B. Newman, July 7, 1906. Until L. B. Tooker[49] became owner June 18, 1908, there were a number of owners; A. J. R. Smith, with Bob Dickson, editor, October 1, 1907; F. C. Tracy and W. H. Willhour, joint owners, January 16, 1908. Mr. Tooker began to build up a strong newspaper by purchasing a number of small town publications which had been started in places where there were not enough people to support them; the Forgan *Enterprise, La Kemp* (or Lakemp), *Mirror,* and Ivanhoe

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[45] W. T. Quinn, b. Pulaska County, Indiana, Jan. 16, 1870. Lived in Missouri, 1884-1887. Arrived at Beaver, March, 1887. Taught school 1894-1903, in winter, worked on range in summer. Deputy U. S. Court Clerk 1903-1907. Beaver *Journal* 1906-1909. Insurance business 1920—. Married Ada C. Weir. Five children. Mr. Quinn is next to the oldest of ten children, all living. He was an intimate friend of R. B. Quinn, though they are not related. W.T.Q.

[46] Miss Edna Beardsley is Mrs. W. T. Rogers, San Francisco, Calif.

[47] L. L. Beardsley established Forgan *Eagle,* 1914-1918. Odell (Texas) *Enterprise,* 1910. Fargo *Statesman,* 1934. Moved it to Arnett, naming it *Ellis County Statesman.* Sold it to W. W. Denson who moved it to Gate as the *Republican.* Active as Republican county organizer. L.L.B.

[48] Beaver *Democrat,* July 26, 1923.

[49] L. B. Tooker, b. McHenry County, Illinois, July 12, 1888. Schooling in McHenry Co. University of Illinois (1908). Came to Oklahoma 1907. Teacher in Beaver County. Principal of schools of Beaver, 1910-1911. Beaver *Democrat,* 1908-1920. Thoburn, *History of Oklahoma,* 1916, vol. V. (Mr. Tooker and family left in December, 1920, for California to live.)

News. A. L. Kimball[50] and A. W. Cox bought the newspaper September 30, 1920, after which date it was known as the Beaver *Democrat.* Three years later Mr. Kimball, then sole owner, purchased the Beaver *Herald* and consolidated the Ivanhoe *Independent,* the *Beaver County Republican, Farmer's News* (Knowles) to form the *Herald Democrat* August 1, 1923. H. H. Hubbart bought the paper, May 17, 1928, and continues to publish it, and the Forgan *Advocate* today (1940).

The following were associated with *The Beaver County Democrat*:

W. B. Newman[51]	June 7, 1906
A. J. R. Smith[52], Bob Dickson,	October 1, 1907
F. C. Tracy[53], W. H. Willhour[54]	January 16, 1908
L. B. Tooker	June 18, 1908
A. L. Kimball, A. W. Cox[55]	Beaver *Democrat,* September 30, 1920
A. L. Kimball	*Herald-Democrat* August 1, 1923
H. H. Hubbart[56]	May 17, 1928-

When the Beaver *Herald* was purchased by Mr. Hubbart to form the *Herald-Democrat,* its long career as a republican paper came to an end. Since Mr. Hubbart left the name *Herald* first in the title, the writer has carried the Beaver *Herald* in the last section, when doubtless the *Democrat* should be there, instead.

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[50] A. L. Kimball, b. Minneapolis, Kansas, 1879. Apprentice on newspapers in Winchester, Tenn., 1892-1898. 1st Tenn. Vol. Inf. Spanish-Amer. War and Philippines. Discharged in Philippines, worked on newspapers there, instructed in printing office in Dept. of Education. Returned to U. S. in 1904, worked in printing offices in New York City, Kansas City, Chicago, Columbus, Ohio, and during World War with J. B. Miller of Liberal (Kans.) *Democrat.* Forgan *Eagle,* 1920. Beaver *Democrat,* 1920. Bought Beaver *Herald* to issue *Herald-Democrat* to 1928. Associated with son Roy, publishing DeQueen *Bee* (weekly) and DeQueen *Daily Citizen* at DeQueen, Arkansas. A.L.K.

[51] Died at Cherokee, Okla., Nov. 26, 1908.

[52] Moved to Beaver from Woodward, Okla.

[53] Fred C. Tracy, b. Rochester, Ill., Jan. 17, 1868. Came to Okla. 1885. Grade schools. Married Ora Thomas. Four children. Postmaster, County Clerk. Constitutional Convention. Board of Education. Town Council. (Harlow, *Makers of Government in Oklahoma,* 1930.)

[54] Resides at Tulsa, Okla. Has retired from police force.

[55] A. W. Cox came from Columbus, Ohio, to edit the *Democrat* at Beaver. Returned to Ohio when he sold his share in the *Democrat* to A. L. Kimball.

[56] H. H. Hubbart, b. Sarcoxie, Missouri, 1880. Spent boyhood there. Parents homesteaded in Grant County, opening of Cherokee Strip. Educated public schools of Oklahoma. Moved to a farm at Lawton, 1901, in few years moved to Butler. Pond Creek *Herald.* Beaver *Herald-Democrat,* 1929—. Forgan *Advocate,* 1929—. Pres. Beaver Chamber of Commerce. Town council. Active for public and private improvements via civic affairs. Married. Seven children. H.H.H.

Part 3. Cimarron County 1907-

When Okahoma became a state, Beaver County was divided into three almost equal parts. The new names with their county seats were: Cimarron (Kenton); Texas (Guymon); Beaver (Beaver).

Kenton, located in the most northwesterly part of Cimarron County, accepted the general opinion that a county seat must be in the center of the county, "sat back to see what would happen."[57]

Soon, seven towns organized more on paper than elsewhere, began a race for the prize, making one of the unique county seat fights in the history of the United States . . . and which sent two men to the penitentiary. The surest way to reach the voters was through the newspapers, though some of the villages of a handfull of small homes were too poor to buy any. The towns which did were Jurgensen, Hurley, Cimarron, Doby (Adobe Wind Mill), and Boise City.

Jurgensen's *Cimarron Courier*, with J. F. Carter[58] and J. Q. Denny, owners and editors, started the contest March 7, 1907. After three months Mr. Carter withdrew and Jurgensen's chance passed away for the Union Townsite Company, promoters for Cimarron, purchased the paper, changed the name to *Cimarron Citizen* and set up with Roy Rudolph, editor.

Then, J. F. Carter began (or reestablished) the *Courier* at Doby early in December where it had to be sorted for mailing twelve miles away as Doby had no post office. The *Courier* remained at Doby until it was apparent the county seat would be located elsewhere. The plant remained idle until it was moved to Boise City where it died in a few months. In September 1909 all the equipment was loaded in wagons and moved to Inka, Kansas, where Mr. Carter would start a new paper in a new town.

Hurley's paper was started October 11, 1907, by F. M. McKinney,[59] J. S. Fischer and W. E. Krieger.[60] After statehood J. Q. Denny purchased the plant and moved it to Boise City where he was U. S. Court Commissioner for Cimarron County. The paper, renamed the Boise City *Tribune*, July 31, 1908, was sold to R. C. Thomas to be absorbed by the *Cimarron News* (at Boise City), June 8, 1911.

Mr. Wikoff sold the *Cimarron News* to Roscoe C. Thomas who moved it to Boise City, the successful county seat aspirant on March 24. 1910. Ten years later it was sold to S. M. Koukel and F. S. Graves of the Springfield (Colo.) *Herald-Democrat*. Mr. Koukel remained in Colorado and Mr. Graves edited the *News*. H. W. Kes-

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[57] *Cimarron News* (Kenton), Dec. 12, 1907.

[58] J. F. Carter, b. 1868, Kansas City, Missouri. Worked on newspapers Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Worked on Tyrone *Observer*, 1905-1907. Was manager for W. V. Goforth and Mrs. F. B. Healy.

[59] Died, Dalhart, Texas, January 20, 1930.

[60] Brother of Fred Krieger of *Cimarron News*, half brother of Roy Butterbaugh. Had experience on southern Oklahoma and Texas papers.

ler and V. H. Shumway bought the paper April 7, 1921. J. S. Miller bought the interest of the last named March 9, 1922. Mr. Kesler was sole owner a year later and continued to edit the paper until Roy Butterbaugh[61] and Fred Krieger bought it February 15, 1926. They operated as partnership until January 15, 1927, when Mr. Butterbaugh became sole owner.

The name of the *News* was changed to Boise City *News* July 25, 1930.

The following were associated with this paper:

W. A. Wikoff ..... August 11, 1898. (Kenton)
Roscoe Thomas[62], W. I. Cleeton ..... March 24, 1910. Moved to Boise City.
S. M. Konkel, F. S. Graves 1920
H. W. Kesler, V. H. Shumway ..... April 6, 1921
(J. S. Miller) ..... March 9, 1922
H. W. Kesler 1923
Roy Butterbaugh, Fred Krieger[63] ..... February 15, 1926
Roy Butterbaugh ..... January 15, 1927-
..... Boise City *News*, July 15, 1927

There were four other newspapers started in Cimarron County which Mr. Roy Butterbaugh has summarized as follows: The Boise City *Enterprise* was born March 27, 1922 and died December 20, 1922. The three others were short-lived: the Keyes *Advocate,* Felt *Enterprise,* and the Ramsey *Rig and Reel.*

After building of the Santa Fe railroad from Elkhart to Felt through Keyes and Boise City, a paper known during its short life as the Keyes *Advocate* was established by Arthur Godown May 4, 1927. Having no plant, Godown had the mechanical work done by the *Cimarron News.* This arrangement was not satisfactory to the supporters of the paper, however, and after a few months the Keyes Chamber of Commerce acquired enough equipment to produce the paper at home. The *News* kept the paper alive until the commercial

[61] Roy Butterbaugh, b. Duncan, Indian Territory, Nov. 1, 1898. Public schools Duncan and West Texas. Panhandle Agri. Inst. at Goodwell and Clarendon College (Texas). Learned type cases on Duncan *Eagle,* and *Banner.* "Devil," Texhoma *Times.* Marlow *Review* and Waurika *News-Democrat.* Printed and taught music, San Pedro (Calif.) School of Arts. Led town bands in Okla. and Texas. Married Ophelia Fincher (Denton, Texas), 1925. One child, Norma Gene. Owned and edited Boise City *News* 1927—. R.B.

[62] Roscoe C. Thomas, b. Feb. 22, 1883, Wilson County, Tennessee. Came to Oklahoma in 1904. At the 101 Ranch for a year. Real estate, Guymon. In 1907 organized the Cimarron Town Company. Went to Boise City 1908. *Cimarron News* 1910, absorbed Boise City *Tribune* 1911. Married June 29, 1910 to Miss Ruby Allison. One son.

[63] Fred Krieger. Band leader at Guymon. Wrote column "Human Interest" for *Panhandle Herald* 1938-1939.

body put its plant in operation. Their editor, a Mr. Campbell, began slipping after a few months and the plant was then sold to Graves and Kesler (formerly *Cimarron News*). After operating the paper about a year this management suspended publication.

After the oil strike in Cimarron County in 1927 by Ramsey brothers, and subsequent laying out of the townsite of Ramsey, ten miles north of Boise City, a paper called the Ramsey *Rig and Reel* was established by R. B. McDermott of Las Animas, Colorado. Graves later became connected with it but no equipment was ever moved in, the mechanical work being done at Las Animas, Boise City and Stratford, Texas. When the potential oil field failed to develop, publication of the paper was suspended.

The other was called the Felt *Enterprise,* established at Felt in 1930. The founder, A. E. Clark, inaugurated a whirlwind circulation contest with his first issue, published two issues and disappeared. The postal department called the action "use of the mails to defraud" and his "reward" was five years in Leavenworth. The Enterprise was not revived.

Texas County.

Texas County, also, had a number of papers which did not last very long. Goodwell had the *News,* the *Independent* and the *Farmer.* Mr. H. E. Scholl writes that, during the Guymon-Goodwell contest for the A. & M. school, the Goodwell *News* was about to die for lack of support. He was persuaded to buy the paper, although he had "worked for a few months as solicitor and writer for the Guymon *Herald.* Jethro Scroggin, an itinerant newspaper worker was hired at a wage of eighteen dollars per week and his wages took all and more of the cash receipts for the first year, then I found it compulsory to get along without his help. I put the business on a paying basis and sold to a Mr. Hickey, another itinerant newspaper man who sold to V. W. Grant." Mr. Scholl[64] was editor from June 18, 1908 to December 3, 1910. J. Q. Denny absorbed the paper when he consolidated the Guymon *Herald,* Guymon *Democrat,* and the Goodwell *News* March 1, 1919. The Goodwell *Independent* was published by the Guymon *Democrat* and was absorbed by the *Panhandle Herald* January 6, 1927. Mr. Scholl states that V. W. Grant acted as publisher for a longer term than any other editor.

R. B. Quinn returned to the newspaper business with the Guymon *Tribune* in September 1921, which he published until the end of 1926 from the old *Herald* office. It contained many No Man's Land experiences and a series of sketches of "old B. C." and his wife Matty. Mr. Quinn was appointed U. S. Marshal in the spring of 1926 and left for Oklahoma City, placing his daughter, Florence,

64 H. E. Scholl, b. Ladoga, Montgomery County, Indiana, Jan. 18, 1867. Moved to Wellsville, Kansas, 1879, where he was educated. Managed Farmers' Co-Op. Store at Wellsville. Oklahoma Panhandle, Nov. 1907. Worked on Guymon *Herald* as solicitor and writing articles. Persuaded to buy Goodwell *News,* which was absorbed by Guymon *Herald.* Returned to Wellsville where he now resides.

in charge of the newspaper. It was sold to Giles E. Miller to be absorbed by the *Panhandle Herald.*

The following were associated with this paper:

R. B. Quinn ..... May, 1900
Warren Zimmerman ..... March 14, 1907
J. Q. Denny[65] ..... January 6, 1916
Consolidated Guymon *Democrat*
Goodwell *News* ..... January 6, 1916
Giles E. Miller[66] ..... August 7, 1919
Consolidated Guymon *Tribune, Herald,*
Goodwell *Independent,* ..... *Panhandle Herald,* January 6, 1927
Goodwell *Farmer.* ..... A daily November 16, 1933
Harry Wacker[67] ..... January 2, 1939
Peyton Reavis[68] ..... July 12, 1939
Dick Reavis[69] ..... August 19, 1939
Tom Dalhausen[70] ..... December 4, 1939-

[65] John Quincy Denny was born Nov. 6, 1876, at Lorraine, Missouri. At the age of eight his parents moved to Kansas, where, at eleven, he was apprenticed to a printer to learn the trade and go to school. After an apprenticeship on the small town paper, he went to the Winfield *Daily Courier*, where he remained until the run into Oklahoma in '89. Here he was employed by Frank Greer and helped with the first edition of the Guthrie *Daily State Capital.* This was a rather exciting experience as the printing plant was dumped at the side of the track, a tent thrown over all and the printers went to work. He also made the race into the Cherokee Strip in '93, settling in Blackwell, where he worked on the daily papers until '94 when he returned to Guthrie to play professional ball in the summer and in the winter worked on the *Capital*, during which time he learned the linotype, which had just been installed in the *Capital* office. He remained here until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and a labor strike on the *Capital* when he went to the Wichita *Eagle*, later to the Topeka *Capital* and *Capper's Mail and Breeze*, then to the Kansas City *World*, St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Terre Haute *Evening Tribune* and *Morning Express.* In Chicago he worked on various dailies for the next six years when he went to the Panhandle, settling on a homestead in what, after statehood in 1907, became Cimarron County, where, in March of 1907, he established the *Panhandle Tribune.* In 1908 (July), before Boise City became county seat, he established the Boise City *Tribune*, which after election blotted out the Hurley, Doby and Jergensen papers. In 1911 the *Tribune* was sold to Roscoe Thomas and in 1914 he went to Guymon to help Warren Zimmerman with his new linotype, which he was unable to run, and in 1916 purchased the Guymon *Herald.* A year later the Guymon *Democrat* was added to or consolidated with the *Herald.* Mr. and Mrs. Denny are now living at 144 North Hillcrest Boulevard, Inglewood, California. H.M.D.

[66] Giles E. Miller, b. April 13, 1871, Neutral, Kansas. Apprenticed to the *News* there in 1883. Came from Hutchinson, Kansas, to Oklahoma, 1919; had been traveling for a number of years for Central Topeka Paper Company. Editor and part owner *Panhandle Herald* 1919-1938. Married. Three children. Mr. Miller printed the paper in the former Democrat office and the *Panhandle Herald* is printed there at present.

[67] Henry Wacker. Had worked for Giles Miller for ten years.

[68] Peyton Reavis. Had worked on a Guymon paper.

[69] Dick Reavis. Gave up work to go to school at A. & M.

[70] Tom Dalhausen. Came from San Diego, Calif., graduate of University of Calif., 1931. Worked on newspapers in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York.

The files at the Historical Society have no issue which states the change to a "daily, except Sunday." On November 23, 1933, the mast head carried this information, and the number of the issue was changed to daily issue numbers.

The following men were associated with the newspapers listed below:

Hooker *Advance*

J. I. Moffitt ..... February, 1904
Southworth Hoole ..... August 27, 1909
Number of politicians purchased, J. M. Browning, ed. ..... August 12, 1910
Advocate Publishing Company
A. L. Hiebert ..... August 22, 1913
W. C. Hawkins ..... October 2, 1914
R. W. Roddy ..... January 28, 1916
J. Henry Shields ..... November 3, 1916-

Tyrone *Observer*

H. W. Hill[71] ..... September 1, 1904
Consolidated Tyrone *Leader*[72] ..... March 15, 1905
J. F. Carter ..... March 17, 1905
W. V. Goforth ..... August 18, 1905
Mrs. F. B. Healy ..... August 31, 1906
J. S. Maynard 1907
J. E. Peters ..... February 16, 1911
Harvey Allen
J. S. Maynard ..... April 10, 1913
A. L. Hiebert[73] ..... May 3, 1917
Loyalty Publishing Co. ..... August 14, 1919
C. M. Mast ..... April 20, 1922
J. S. Maynard ..... May 17, 1928-

Texhoma *Times*

J. S. Fischer ..... August 30, 1907
S. R. Bartholemew ..... December 16, 1910
J. S. Fischer ..... January 5, 1912
W. E. Kreiger[74] ..... January 26, 1912
George Butterbaugh[75] ..... July 6, 1912
W. E. Kreiger ..... January 5, 1917
Roland Bush ..... March 30, 1917

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[71] H. W. Hill, began to edit *Beaver County Republican* at Ragsdale, February, 1906.

[72] Tyrone *Leader* edited by G. W. Griffith at that date, who retired to his farm near Optima.

[73] A. L. Hiebert published Hooker *Advance*, 1913, for several months.

[74] W. E. Kreiger in newspaper work in California.

[75] George Butterbaugh. Has been operator of Texhoma Hotel for many years.

George Butterbaugh ..... May 11, 1917
I. S. Divine[76] ..... November 7, 1924-

Beaver County.

Forgan, a new town, was started in Beaver County when the Santa Fe extended its line to Felt (1912). It has had the surplus of newspapers that came to many Oklahoma villages. The Forgan *Enterprise,* Forgan *Democrat* and the Forgan *Eagle* left the Forgan *Advocate* in control of the field.

The Forgan *Enterprise* was started by Leroy B. Tooker who began the movement of consolidation of newspapers of less strength, and the following were associated with it:

Leroy B. Tooker, E. J. Haworth ..... July 11, 1912
Leroy B. Tooker ..... September 5, 1912
J. W. Bell ..... April 6, 1915
Forgan Enterprise Company ..... December 20, 1922
L. B. Tooker, President — On this date Mr. Tooker purchased the Beaver *Herald.* He had been owner of the Beaver *Democrat* (1908-1920).

The Forgan *Eagle* was established by L. L. Beardsley in February 1927 and sold to Chauncey V. Rice in 1918 and absorbed by the *Advocate.*

The Forgan *Advocate* had the following editors:

Percy Torrey ..... October 24, 1927
W. Roy Brashear ..... October 24, 1929
H. H. Hubbart ..... July 14, 1932

Mr. Hubbart had as editors from that date:

Marie Adams ..... July 14, 1932
Olive Adams ..... June 23, 1933
Mrs. Roy Cunningham ..... January 10, 1934
Mrs. H. M. Parks ..... October 6, 1936-

Lakemp, now a ghost town, had two papers; the *Mirror* and the *Citizen.* The *Mirror* had the following men associated with it:

Williams and Hardy, publishers, George W. Williams, editor ..... June 14, 1909
George Williams ..... November 4, 1909
Jesse W. Bell ..... January 23, 1913
W. F. P. Munsey, editor and lessee, ... April 24, 1913

[76] Ira Donnell Divine, b. March 11, 1882, Coles County, Illinois. Came to Oklahoma in 1900. Educated at Jennings Academy, Jennings, Okla., and Franklin Academy in Nebraska. Worked way through school. Came from Guthrie where he had worked on several papers, to Texhoma. Married May Galland who died October 1, 1913. Married Edith Johnson who died December 18, 1930. Two children: Forrest M., attorney at Hugo, Okla., and Louise Mitchell, Colorado Springs. Mr. Divine has acted as Town clerk at Texhoma and president of chamber of commerce.

It was consolidated with the *Beaver County Democrat* ..... September 30, 1920

The Lakemp *Citizen* was published by P. F. Rayl[77] January, 1909, at Conroy, though the mast head carried the name Conroy *Citizen.* It was consolidated with the *Mirror* the week of June 26, 1910.

Two papers were published for a time at Ivanhoe, which has about disappeared from all maps, the *Independent* and the *News.* J. H. Holland founded the first, October 8, 1915, and consolidated it with the *Beaver County Democrat* September 30, 1920. Joe Alexander was owner and editor of the *News* which lasted from May 1913 until it was absorbed by the Beaver *Democrat,* 1916.

Knowles, another town without a press, had the *Farmer News* which was published at Sandy City from August 1, 1907, to September 30, 1920, when it was absorbed by the *Beaver County Democrat,* September 30, 1920. B. A. Humiston[78] was editor at the time.

The Beaver *Herald* has had the following men and women associated with it:

C. R. Wright, Publisher
Dolly and Lily Wright, Editors } ..... February 7, 1895
W. I. Drummond ..... June 30, 1896
Noah Daves ..... February 17, 1898
Franz S. Drummond ..... December 29, 1898
M. O. Thomas[79] ..... February 17, 1902
A. L. Kimball ..... August 1, 1923

The Beaver *Herald-Democrat* has been edited by H. H. Hubbart since May 17, 1928.

In this brief summary of the Panhandle press it has been impossible to trace the improvements in size, form and general appearance that have followed the increase of business and circulation.

No attempt has been made to show the politics of each paper, although it is a fair assumption that they were democratic in policy unless otherwise stated. The Beaver *Herald* carried the slogan, "Republican for Principle," until it became a democrat sheet as the Beaver *Herald-Democrat.* The Guymon *Herald,* under the direction of R. B. Quinn and Warren Zimmerman, was vociferously republican.

Praise should be given those editors and publishers who were far-sighted enough to encourage the consolidation of the newspapers, to build ones of greater scope. There are enough papers in the Pan-

[77] Rayl and Rayl were merchants at Lakemp and Glazier, Texas.

[78] B. A. Humiston, b. Atchison, Kansas. Educated Mt. Ayr, Iowa. Owner and editor of Sharon *News.*

[79] Maud O. Thomas, b. Green Ridge, Missouri. Educated Beaver City schools, Oklahoma University. Beaver *Herald* 1902-1923. Lives at Beaver, Oklahoma. Has been active in women's organizations and has been widely known for her success in building up the Beaver *Herald.* Miss Thomas offered the *Herald* for sale in the September 5, 1918 issue. Her last edition was July 26, 1923.

handle today unless some unforeseen development in oil activities or in irrigation should come.

The editors and publishers of the westerly counties were true builders of their communities for they came to the Panhandle to grow up with the country, giving of their knowledge, courage and ability to voice the spirit of the people in the columns of their papers. And into those news-sheets was woven the fabric of life which makes the Oklahoma Panhandle.

TOWNSITE PROMOTION IN EARLY OKLAHOMA

By Homer S. Chambers[1]

Townsite promotion and town buiding was a fascinating, widespread, and often remunerative business in Oklahoma and Indian Territory thirty-five to forty years ago. Many firms and persons engaged in it; fortunes were made and lost by it, and scores of Oklahoma towns owe their origin to it.

Some of the earliest and most spectacular townsite promotion activities on the Oklahoma side of the future state were little more than rival townsite fights. Before the opening of the "Cherokee Strip" to settlement, the government had set aside and designated sites for county seats in the new counties to be erected therein. Among the places so designated were Newkirk and Perry on the Santa Fe Railroad and the present towns of Pond Creek and Enid on the Rock Island, the two railroads then crossing the tract to be opened. This action being unsatisfactory to the railroads for the reason that none of such sites were adjacent or near to previously established railroad stations, the railroads commenced booming rival towns adjacent to their established depots—Kildare near Newkirk, Wharton, near Perry, old Pond Creek (now Jefferson), and North Enid. These railroad-backed towns became at once formidable rivals of the government-designated towns. The railroads refused to recognize the new towns, rushing their trains through them at breakneck speed without so much as a whistle, for several months. This engendered bitterness which led eventually to violence and threatened tragedy, on the Rock Island particularly, trainmen being arrested and trains ditched by the enraged and slighted townspeople.

Cross, a Santa Fe promoted town in Kay county, became in the first year after the opening the biggest and most promising town in that county, but a group started a rival town less than a mile down the track at which the Santa Fe train did not even whistle for many months. Eventually this new town (now Ponca City) overshadowed every other town in the county, while Cross is now unknown except as a suburb of Ponca City.

Blackwell, started at the "opening" by a Winfield, Kansas, company of townsite boosters headed by Col. A. J. Blackwell of Claremore, Indian Territory, got off to a good start to become the second city of Kay County, but it early had a bad scare in the way of a rival. A wealthy Arkansas City man, Isaac Parker, organized a company, including some Western Kansas townsite promoters, acquired a site across the river a mile from Blackwell, and proceeded to make an amazing showing as a rival town (first

[1] The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Tulsa *World* for permission to use a substantial part of this article printed in its issue of June 21, 1936.

called Parker, later Kay Center), erecting brick buildings, and even securing the promise of a railroad (Blackwell had none), with the roadbed practically completed and rails laid from Hunnewell, Kansas, to Braman ten miles north of Blackwell. Then Blackwell closed a contract to bring the Hutchinson & Southern Railroad in from Medford and the "Frisco" from Arkansas City. This "coup" halted construction of the Parker-bound road which was, after some negotiation, diverted from its original course and into Blackwell instead. Whereupon Parker faded from the picture.

The real townsite promotion business, however, was a coincident with the railroad building era which commenced with the turn of the present century. Townsite enterprises on a large scale were quite naturally first adopted by the promoters or builders of new railroads, either as a part of the method of helping finance the road's construction, or as an independent action of individuals connected with the road for personal gain. Such enterprises were operated by, or in connection with, practically every new railroad built in Oklahoma or the Indian Territory.

Originally conducted legitimately, and by the roads as a rule, the success of many such enterprises naturally drew into the business over-zealous and unscrupulous persons and firms, and it became, in such hands, but little more than a "racket." This class, by false or misleading representations in its eagerness to sell lots, brought more or less odium upon all townsite promotion enterprises, which led eventually to a closer scrutiny of such activities by United States and Territorial officials and the weeding out of these unscrupulous promoters.

One of two methods, with slight variations, was used by those engaging in the business. By one method the townsite company purchased a quarter, or half-section of land, as the location and need seemed to warrant, at the place designated by the railroad where it wanted a town. It then platted the land into lots, blocks, streets, etc., gave the place a name, and promoted the sale of the lots and the location of businesses in the new town. By the second method it took options on the land desired and sold the option and townsite rights to individual promoters. In some cases the townsite rights on the entire road or a considerable section of it were sold outright, and the promoter did the locating, purchasing, naming the town, selling the lots, etc.

To cite a concrete example of the working of the chief method employed, consider the Frisco Townsite Company, one of the earliest and largest of the railroad connected companies, and which promoted the townsites on the Blackwell, Enid & Southwestern (now "Frisco") from Arkansas City, Kansas, across Oklahoma to Vernon, Texas; the Denver, Enid & Gulf (now Santa Fe) from Guthrie to Belvidere, Kansas; and the St. Louis, El Reno & Western from Guthrie to El Reno.

This company was one of three units having to do with the location, construction, industrialization, and operation of these roads. The other units were a construction company, charged with actual building operations, and the railroad company, to which passed ownership and operation after roadbed, trackage, and appurtenances were completed. All three companies were officered and managed by practically the same persons. The general officers of all were at Enid.

The townsite company at the peak of its experience had hundreds of employees, agents, and representatives. In the head office were a general manager, sales manager, advertising manager, and industrial department, each with a staff of assistants. (Accounting was handled in the railroad's auditing department.) There were local agents of the company in every town on the railroad line under construction, or to be constructed; sales headquarters were established in several large eastern and southern cities, and scores of sales representatives sought out prospective business men and town lot speculators in many sections of the country. Large quantities of advertising matter—newspapers, magazines, booklets, pictures, etc.,—were mailed out to prospects by the Enid office, or distributed by the sales representatives.

While this company sought industries, businesses, and residents for its towns, it did also emphasize the speculative lure. Its advertising matter and salesmen stressed to some extent the great profits that had at times previously been made on lots in Oklahoma and other towns, with names, dates, amounts, and the like, truthfully given. It also sought to give fair and accurate descriptions of its towns and the properties it offered therein. Mr. Ed L. Peckham, president of the company, as well as vice-president and general manager of the railroad company, would tolerate no deception if he knew it, and any complaint of that nature was promptly investigated and rectified. Every important booklet, or other piece of advertising matter was passed upon by the company's general attorney, Hon. A. G. C. Bierer, former Oklahoma Supreme Court Justice, and any sentence, word, or even comma, that might lend a deceptive twist, promptly received the blue pencil.

The company had thousands of lots to sell, and of course would sell to any one who wished to buy, but agents and salesmen were instructed to urge no one to buy who was not abundantly able to lose the purchase price if made for investment or speculative purposes. As a result of this policy, a large majority of their out-of-Oklahoma sales were made to people of above the average in wealth and influence, and if, as a result, any of these buyers later came on to make a home, or establish a business, it was better for the railroad, for the town, and for the future state.

A favorite method of sales adopted by this company brought hundreds of investors on sight-seeing trips to Oklahoma, some from as far away as the Atlantic seaboard. The company would offer

a certificate good for, say, five lots for $175, and give the purchaser in addition a free round-trip ticket on one of its excursion trains, usually from Birmingham, Alabama, to the particular town or towns to be opened. Besides the lot certificate and free trip to each purchaser, a business building or some other worthwhile property, would be given free to the certificate holders to do with as they pleased. The lots would also be turned over to the certificate holders to distribute among themselves in any manner they might elect. Usually, of course, the free property and all lots would be distributed by a drawing.

In June, 1905, at one of their towns handled under this method (Coldwater, now Hillsdale, on the Denver, Enid & Gulf, northwest of Enid), the 2,000 lots in the townsite were oversold, and some late purchasers, whose money was refunded, were considerably disgruntled, even though they got the free trip from Birmingham and back.

Among those attending this particular opening, were several newspaper men from Birmingham, Atlanta, and nearby cities. They were special guests of the advertising department and sent many columns about Oklahoma to their papers. Enid is in a practically level prairie country, and they made much of the fact that seven sizeable towns were visible from a point near there, and the windmills that could be counted from the top of a building were reported to be legion!

After the opening, the townsite company took as many of these excursionists as cared to go on a special train of "Pullmans" from Enid to Vernon, Texas, as an advertising stunt. This line of the "Friseo" passes through some of the Southwest's most picturesque country. Stops were made at Canton to see an Indian village; at Thomas to see the then-famous Bronson-Nichols collection of Indian and southwestern curios; at Mountain Park in the heart of the Wichita's; at Arapahoe to see the "grand canyons" of Oklahoma; and between Snyder and the Red river they passed over the longest tangent on the entire "Friseo" system—26.75 miles of railroad. One night was spent at Hobart where they heard the marvelous story of a bare spot of prairie one day becoming a city of 5,000 by the close of another day.

When it is considered that the Frisco Townsite Company was but one among many such agencies spreading information about Oklahoma in those days, does this not account in large measure for much of its rapid urban development?

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GRAIN BUSINESS IN OKLAHOMA.

By E. H. Linzee

The writer arrived in Oklahoma in June 1899 just before a wheat crop was ready for harvest, looking for something to get into in the new country. In Hennessey a partnership was formed with Mr. W. L. Farquharson who had been in the grain business for several years and had six buying stations on the Rock Island Railroad north and south of Hennessey.

There were very few grain elevators so that most of the grain was scooped from wagons into cars. A buying station consisted of office and scales, a grain tester and scoop shovels which was about all that was needed to start buying grain except a little money to put up with the bank for margin. When a car of grain was loaded it was sold and billed out, the bill of lading attached to a draft on the buyer and deposited with the bank and immediate credit given for the amount. A small amount of margin was left to provide for possible discrepancies in weights and grades. Most of the wheat was sold to exporters for shipment through Galveston.

Railroads were new and used very light equipment compared with present day equipment. Box cars were of 40,000 pounds capacity, about 700 bushels, and there were still quite a few 30,000 capacity cars being used, all equipped with hand brakes and link and pin couplers. Most of the cars today will carry 100,000 pounds. Two reservations had been opened west and north of Hennessey since the original Oklahoma opening, the Cheyenne and Arapaho on the west and the Cherokee Strip on the north. There was no railroad in the Territory west of the Rock Island so that all grain and live stock must be marketed at stations along this line from as far west as they were raised. The settlers lived mostly in sod houses and dugouts and would break out a little more sod ground each year. In some sections a war between the cattlemen and settlers, called "nesters," was carried on for several years until the nesters came in so fast the cattlemen gave up the fight to hold their range. During this time the nesters would often carry their rifles along as they plowed. Cattlemen would try to discourage and run them out of the country by running herds of cattle over their fields of grain and destroying them before harvest. One of our early Governors (Ferguson) helped to stop this fight by threatening to call out the National Guards and run all of the cattle out of that country if it did not stop. There were no roads across the Cheyenne and Arapaho country, only trails followed by the settlers bringing their products to the railroad, so that those from a distance would form parties when coming to market so they could double up their teams and help each other over bad roads and across rivers and canyons. Trips of this kind would often require

a week or more, camping along the way. When ears were scaree they might have to wait over a day or two before selling their wheat.

Threshing the wheat was a problem in those early days. Fields were small and it was difficult to get from one claim to another, often requiring a long detour with the thresher. The settlers in a neighborhood all exehanged work and the women helped one another in the cooking and providing for the threshing crew. They don't have to bother with that any more for as the country was settled up and the fields became larger the threshers began to earry along their own eook shacks on wheels. For a year or two before any railroads were built farther west, Kingfisher was declared to be the largest primary wheat market in the world. The course of the Cimarron River to the north forced a great deal of trade to Kingfisher that otherwise would have gone to Dover and Hennessey. Of course there were no bridges in those days. There were from ten to twelve grain buyers in each town and as empty ears were received the Agent would portion them out to the buyers in rotation so that some buyers would usually be out of the market waiting their turn for a car to load.

The prices for wheat ranged from thirty-five cents to fifty cents a bushel and a load coming from a distance usually eonsisted of about twenty-five bushels, for, like the railroads, the equipment was very light, however, the money reeeived at the time would buy more than much higher priced grain would now. The wants of the settlers were simple and they were not bothered with burdensome taxes so that they gradually improved their claims and homes.

In later years a farmer living near Custer City told me of being one of a string of wheat wagons hauling their grain to El Reno. While crossing the military reservation at Ft. Reno they were met by a man on horsebaek who offered them $1.00 a bushel for their wheat. They drove on thinking the man was crazy or else he was trying to "spoof" them in some way but when they got to town they sold for $1.10 a bushel. It was the year of the "Leiter Deal" when an attempt to corner the Chieago wheat market had sent prices skyrocketing and they had heard nothing of it. Their wagons were not large enough to carry home all they could buy on that trip.

In new countries it has always been the case that a large part of the elaims were mortgaged as soon as they were proved up and a title reeeived, and a great many were never paid out by the original settler who would become discouraged and abandon it after a year or two of drought or erop failures and go farther west, or back to his wife's folks. During a slack time onc day three buyers were sitting on a wheat wagon idly sifting the grain through their fingers. There were quite a few yellow grains in the wheat and they began commenting on whether they had been eaused by weather or soil eonditions. The young farmer thought we were criticising his wheat and promptly begun telling us how little we town "fel-

lers'' knew about wheat, dwelling on the faet that he ought to know something about raising wheat as his father and grandfather before him had been wheat raisers. One of the buyers happened to have known the grandfather in Kansas and by questioning brought out the faet that he had been given a free farm in Kansas, that the father had seeured a elaim in the opening of old Oklahoma, and that the son we were talking to had seeured a good elaim in the opening of the Cherokee Strip. The father and grandfather had both mortgaged and lost their elaims and were living with the son who lost his elaim later. Three generations had been given free farms by the Government and none eould hold them. Some sueeeed where others fail. There are many homesteads in Oklahoma on whieh the title has not been transferred sinee the Government grant to the original settler. Pioneering in a new eountry was a hard life and required plenty of stamina for both husband and wife if they stuek it out. It had not been demonstrated that the eountry eould ''eome baek'' after a year or two of drought and erop failures, many would get diseouraged and say the ''durned'' eountry would never amount to anything anyway. There was no paternal government to help over the rough plaees as we have now.

When the early settlers eame to town the soeial eenters were around the wagon yards. They were starved for eompanionship so that when they did get together they would do lots of visiting. When people would meet the usual question was, what wagon yard you stopping at. At home visitors and strangers were always weleome and the lateh string was always on the outside whether the family was at home or not. It was the eustom of the eountry of wide spaees for the wayfarer to stop at any time and plaee and take what he needed to eat, but to elean up afterwards. This eustom was never abused even by outlaws and eattle rustlers.

The town of Hennessey was named after Pat Hennessey, a freighter who hauled freight from the end of the railroad (at that time Wiehita) to Ft. Reno. A few years before the eountry was opened he was travelling down the Chisholm Trail with a prairie sehooner of freight when attaeked and killed by Indians where the town now stands.[1] After the town was established a monument was ereeted to his memory on the spot where killed. He had been tied to a wagon wheel and burned with the outfit. It was said he had fought till his rifle barrel beeame so hot it jammed with a bullet.

In 1899 Hennessey reeeived a lot of notoriety through a fake story that reeeived wide publicity throughout the east. The story was started that a eyelone approaehing the town had been broken up and made harmless by shooting through it with a eannon and

[1] It has always been claimed by some of the oldtimers that Pat Hennessey was killed by outlaws who made it appear that it was the work of Indians.

the eastern papers made a big play with the story, many carrying pictures of Oklahoma cyclones being shot at with cannon.

After the opening of the Cherokee Strip there was a long and bitter fight between Enid and North Enid. The Rock Island Railroad wanted the town established at North Enid. But that's another story. There was a long stretch between Waukomis and Hennessey so that the town of Bison was platted and made a station between the two. There were many complaints and accusations of short weights on the part of some buyers, but the settlers had a few favorite tricks also. One was to shovel a bushel or two of sand into their load of wheat before reaching town. Another was to weigh their load with their camp outfit and feed on, then leave them at the wagonyard before weighing back. In selling hogs it would sometimes happen that some fence posts and the top of the wagon box would be left at the stock yards before weighing back, to be picked up later. There was keen competition in buying hogs and a favorite gamble was to "dollar them off," or offer so many dollars for the lot instead of buying them by the pound. The loss or profit depended on which was the best guesser.

At one time the writer stayed all night with a settler and it happened to be the regular weekly "gathering night" for the community. After supper the team was hitched to the wagon, the lantern lighted and we drove across the prairie to where the meeting was to be held in a dugout about 14 x 18 feet, in size lighted by a kerosene lamp and the lanterns of the visitors. Some had come horseback and the men sat on their heels around the walls or on the outside where they discussed cattle and crops. The meetings consisted mostly of singing and conversation but there was usually someone who could deliver a prayer.

The present Oklahoma then consisted of Oklahoma Territory, Indian Territory, and several Indian reservations that had not yet been opened for settlement. An epidemic of railroad building had begun in the western part of Oklahoma Territory that settled the country up rapidly and caused more towns and railroads to be built than were needed and many of them are now ghost towns. Many grain elevators were built all of which were operated by individual buyers, causing keen competition between the buyers and between some towns that would try to draw trade from others.

The Oklahoma Grain Dealers Association had been organized in 1898 for the purpose of creating a more friendly feeling among the grain buyers and to assist in settling disputes and price fights that would frequently break out. This Association was a great help at that time and has been kept up ever since. The first President of the Association was Mr. Binkley and the First Secretary J. L. (Jim) Robb, both of Kingfisher. Colonel Prouty was next elected Secretary and served until his death by accident, when his son Frank Prouty was elected to the office and is still holding it at this time (1941).

THE MISSIONARY WORK OF THE REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH IN AMERICA, IN OKLAHOMA

By Richard H. Harper

Part III
WORK AMONG WHITE PEOPLE

The Reformed Church in America had entered this Indian country in 1895, to work with the red men, and did not plan to establish work among white people. However, as the years went by requests were made of this denomination to place ministers in localities inhabited by whites.

Responding to this call from the west, in June, 1900, four young men who were theological students in the Reformed Church Seminary in New Brunswick, New Jersey, were sent to Oklahoma by the Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church in America, whose headquarters were, and now are, in New York City. The young men sent to this new mission field in the west were John Meengs, P. P. Chaff, T. Mulder and Howard Furbeck. They went forth to preach and sing the gospel wherever an opportunity presented itself. Their task was a challenging one. It needed men with courage, ability, tact; and, most of all with hearts filled with a desire to save the souls, minds, and bodies of men.

These "big four," as they were afterwards called, arrived in Mountain View on June 1, 1900. Among the baggage items which they carried were two musical instruments, a violin and a guitar. These were an important part of their equipment.

As they were to work under the direction of Dr. Walter E. Roe, they travelled the intervening miles and reported for duty at Colony.

Soon after arriving they were outfitted for itinerant work: a Studebaker wagon, with a canvas cover, prairie schooner style; two Indian ponies to pull the wagon; cots, bedding, cooking utensils, and for each man a plate, knife, and fork. Thus equipped they went forth, with zeal and determination to do their best for God and their fellowmen.

Their method of work was a simple one. Wherever opportunity offered, there they halted. Mulder used the violin, and Furbeck the guitar. Meengs was the evangelist of the four. They played, sang Gospel hymns, and preached. Always there were some in the crowds who accepted the invitation to live as Christians. Usually they did not spend more than ten days in one place. They assisted in some Indian Camp Meetings during this summer campaign, but their main task was in meetings with white people.

Before the period of their stay had passed they were a different looking quartet from the four easterners who alighted from the

train at Mountain View on June 1st. The derby hats which they wore to the west had disappeared, and wide-brimmed cowboy sombreros covered their heads.

On September the first the young men returned to New Brunswick, New Jersey, to complete their theological course.

In 1901 came the opening to settlement of the Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita and Caddo lands, and again the "big four" were asked to go to Oklahoma for Christian service. By this time all of them had graduated, and were now full-fledged ministers of the Gospel. During the summer of this year they made headquarters at the Fort Sill Apache Indian Mission of the Reformed Church, located on the Fort Sill military reservation, where this group of Apaches were being held as prisoners of war by the United States Government. Here they spent their first week working with the soldiers, and were warmly welcomed by the commanding officer of the post.

Then they went southward, and found travelling sometimes difficult because of lack of water even for the horses. The poor animals would pull the wagon for many miles, uphill and down, in the terrific heat, when they were almost parched for water. Among the places visited were Martha, Dott, Warren, Mangum, Duncan, Marlow, and the place where Lawton suddenly came into being. So far only the name "Lawton" existed, except for a shanty labeled "Land Office."

Outside the townsite were waiting thousands. One of these young missionaries says of the crowd: "Jews, gentiles, black, white, Indian, Mexican, gamblers, prostitutes, saloon keepers, good people, bad people, cutthroats and soldiers." The men in uniform were needed to preserve order. Every night for more than a week they preached and sang the Gospel story. Each evening Rev. Frank Hall Wright, the Indian evangelist of the Reformed Church, came from the Apache Mission a few miles away. The Gospel wagon would drive up close to a crowd. Immediately the violin and guitar could be heard, followed by the quartet as they sang "Where is My Wandering Boy Tonight?" or "Tell Mother I'll Be There," or some other favorite. A short sermon followed by Dr. Wright, a forceful message going deep into the hearts of the listeners. After the sermon came a song of invitation by the quartet, an exhortation and a prayer; and the meeting ended.

By the end of the summer of 1901 the Board of Domestic Missions, who had sent out the young men, decided to begin permanent work in Oklahoma. Two of the four remained for the work, the other two having already accepted calls to eastern churches.

Other ministers came, other fields were entered, and church buildings erected. In most instances the Reformed Church erected the churches, and paid the ministers, with but little cost to the communities entered. As years passed the people who were ministered to gave a small amount of money toward the support of the work. But not much in this way could be expected of them. Most

of the settlers in the new land had but little money, yet many of them were religious people, desiring Church advantages for their families and themselves. They were optimistic and brave. Some had a high education, others but little. One of the "big four" says of these pioneers:

"The vast majority were admirable people, kind, good, and sympathetic. Many of these fine qualities were hidden under a rough exterior. They were rough and boisterous, but dependable and loyal friends. Justice was fair and administered swiftly. I remember one evening after dark at least one hundred men, riding into town on horseback. They came with the speed and thunder of a hurricane. In the last home on that street there lived a man who had cheated one of them in a land deal. As they reached the place they quickly and silently dismounted. They surrounded the house, revolvers gleaming in the moonlight. Suddenly the guns were emptied in a deafening volley. The men remounted and disappeared. The next morning the culprit was gone. But a profound sense of justice was created, and who knows but this was the chief aim in mind all the time!"

The cheater received no bodily harm. A fine field indeed was this in which to sow the seeds of the Gospel.

The Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church, in its annual report to the General Synod, in June 1901, referring to the young missionaries and their work, says:

"Not only are we justified as a Church in following up the excellent impressions these young men made upon the white settlers, who are so rapidly occupying that new territory, but we are greatly constrained as patriots and Christians to do evangelistic work among these pioneers of civilization."

Following the decision of the Board to enlarge and carry forward its missionary work in Oklahoma, the Particular Synod of New York organized the Classis of Oklahoma on October 4, 1906, thus placing much of the responsibilities for the details of the work in this Territory upon churches and ministers within its borders. In this group were included churches which had been organized in several towns, as well as the Indian churches already under the care of the Women's Executive Committee.[1] Work was started and carried on among white people in the following named places: Arapaho, Buck Creek, Clinton, Cordell, Fairview, Gotebo, Mangum, Norman, Oklahoma City, Prairie Home, Shawnee, Thomas and Tulsa. In addition to these, may services were held in school houses, halls, and wherever convenient.

The plan followed in entering a locality for Christian work was to send in one or more persons to make a canvass as to the religious needs. In many instances the canvass resulted in a negative decision, and no work was started, because it was decided that, as a denomination, the Reformed Church was not needed there.

The kind of service rendered was much the same as that done by other denominations in Oklahoma: Worship services, with preaching, Sunday School, Christian Endeavor work for young people and juniors, and work with and for men and women. In

[1] This organization became the Women's Board of Domestic Mission in 1910.

some places special plans were put into effect. In Arapaho a library and recreational building was erected in 1904. Such a center provided a fine opportunity for helping the youth of the town to get recreation which would be of just the right kind. The Rev. L. L. Legters was pastor at this time. Later, under the Rev. J. J. Hoffman, a juvenile brass band was organized, to keep the boys off the street.

Among Mr. Hoffman's acquaintances in Arapaho was "a tall, young man in high school, intelligent and upstanding," by name Leon Phillips. Not long since a former resident of Arapaho, while visiting the World's Fair in New York, went to see Rev. Mr. Hoffman and family in Brooklyn. Mr. Hoffman asked, "What became of Leon?" The friend replied: "Leon? Why, don't you know? At present he is governor of Oklahoma." The former Arapaho pastor was greatly surprised and pleased.

In Cordell the Reformed Church had a parish house, toward which Miss Helen Gould gave the first four hundred dollars.

CORDELL ACADEMY

The Reformed Church in America has emphasized higher education, throughout its history; and, to this end, has established and maintained centers of learning. Soon after the beginning of the work of this denomination in Oklahoma it was felt wise to establish an academy. Such an institution, it was believed, would be of great help to the young people in the western part of this great territory. In 1904 the cities of Cordell and Arapaho offered twenty acres of land and five thousand dollars in money if the academy should be located in either place. The Board of Education of the Reformed Church appointed commissioners to look over the situation. As a result of their conclusions and report to the Board, the latter directed its Corresponding Secretary in New York to make an effort to raise an amount of money equal to that which either city would give toward the building. Cordell was chosen as the location for the academy. Friends and churches contributed almost $17,000 toward it. Of this amount $5,000 came from Mrs. Charles Nash Harder and her children of Philmont, New York, as a memorial to their beloved husband and father; and $5,029 was given by the citizens of Cordell. Mrs. Charles Nash Harder very graciously added, to what she and her family had already given toward the construction of the building, the sum of $500 toward its furnishings. The official name was "Cordell Academy of the Reformed Church in America." The school building was the "Charles Nash Harder Memorial."

The corner stone of the academy was laid in February, 1906. On September 12 of this year the school was opened, under the direction of the Board of Education of the Reformed Church. Sixty-five were enrolled the first year.

The teaching force for the year was: Myron B. Keator, A. B., Principal, graduate of New York University and New York Law

School; Harold C. Amos, Assistant Principal, New York State Normal School; Laura B. Hilger, Preceptress, Texas State Normal School; Pamela Bullock, Salina Normal University; Valonia Corley, Western Conservatory of Music; and the Rev. Cornelius H. Spaan, A. B., Hope College, and Princeton University.

The City of Cordell, where the academy was located, was and is the county seat of Washita County, in the center of a fine farming district, having then a population of about 2,000, now increased to 2800.

The purpose of the school, as stated by the Board of Education,[2] "is to provide a guarded and thorough education for boys and girls, to the end that they may become useful American citizens. It aims to develop the spirit of industry, of independence and of integrity. It maintains that the building of individual Christian character is the prime issue of life. It aims to . . . thoroughly prepare for the best colleges and universities in the land; to fit students for life's work."

A local Board of Trustees was formed, composed of Superintendent of Missions Walter C. Roe, the Principal of the Academy, the two pastors of the Reformed Churches of Cordell and Arapaho, and three laymen, two of whom must be members of the Reformed Church in America.[3] The laymen were John I. Lee, C. T. Murrell, and Dr. J. R. Mansell.

Courses of study were offered in Classical, and Scientific Latin, English, Engineering, Preparatory and Commercial courses,—all taking four years. By 1909 three more courses were added. The tuition was six dollars a quarter, thus placing the advantages offered within the reach of the poorest.

B. B. Andrews, M. D., Ph. D., of Cordell, presented the academy with a fine Natural History Collection.

Many prizes were offered for excellence in academic work, oratory, mathematics, and music. There were also awards for essays on missions, choice of a life work, and Bible study. The business men of Cordell offered five scholarships for tuition in the academy, the recipients to be chosen by competitive examination.

In 1907-8 the school enrollment reached 74.

In 1908 Principal Keator resigned, and was succeeded by the Rev. Jacob Poppen, Ph. D., who was experienced in educational work in America and abroad. At this time the school had six instructors beside the Principal.

The faculty and students of this young academy were so enterprising that they had a school paper.

Alfred Cherry was the first graduate of the institution, in 1907. He continued his studies in Yale University, from which he graduated. Mrs. A. R. Ash, now of Cordell, was the second graduate of the academy, in 1908. The same year there was one business graduate.

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[2] *Annual Report* of Board of Education, 1908, pp. 7, 8.
[3] *Annual Report* of Board of Education, 1908, p. 6.

Miss Helen Gould gave a Bible to each graduate of the academy.

In 1910 the Classis of Oklahoma took the academy under its care, the Board of Education still continuing substantial financial support.

For five years the school did excellent work with its students, who numbered from 50 to 75 per year. The influence for good which it exerted upon them, and upon the community, cannot easily be over-estimated. It promised much for the future.

In 1910, however, there came a culmination of the thinking which had been growing for some time, in the minds of the Board of Domestic Missions, the Board of Education, and a number of people within the denomination, in some other states, and some in Oklahoma. It came about partly because of the elements which now made up the population of Oklahoma, and partly also through a lack of funds, on the part of the Reformed Church, to carry on the Cordell Academy, and at the same time to provide for other academies and for Hope College the amount of money which they needed.

The Board of Domestic Missions came to the painful conclusion that, because of a lack of members of this denomination moving into the new state; and because other denominations in Oklahoma were now ministering well to the population; and from the further fact that new-comers were better acquainted with the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and similar denominations than they were with the Reformed Church, and therefore naturally joined these bodies; therefore the Reformed Church should retire from Oklahoma.

Such a momentous decision was not made hurriedly. It came only after long and careful deliberation and the consideration of all the interests involved.

"To the end that the decision of the Board (of Domestic Missions) as to the future of this work should be reached only upon comprehensive information and largest knowledge of conditions, a special committee of the Board was appointed to visit the field. . . Every field aided by the Board was visited; conferences were had with pastors, consistories, and church members; and information was sought from every source available.

"The testimony of pastors, churches and communities were practically unanimous that the work which had hitherto been done under the auspices of the Reformed Church would be more effective in the future if transferred to some other communion better known in the southwest. Strong expressions of appreciation were received for what the Reformed Church had done in the early days, when its evangelistic work had resulted in the organization of our first churches. Many had become sincerely attached to the Reformed Church, but the most cordially disposed were convinced that other churches with the resources of local constituency were equipped to minister in this field to better advantage than our own."[4]

In 1911 the Board of Education made the following report to the General Synod:

"A careful review of the situation shows that while for five years Cordell Academy has been giving a superior academic education to from 50 to 75 students annually in Oklahoma, and has been rendering an invaluable service to these young men and women, this work has been accomp-

[4] *Annual Report* of Board of Domestic Missions, 1911, p. 15.

lished at the expense for three years of reduced appropriations to our other Classical Academies and to Hope College. . . In view of the position of the Board of Domestic Missions, that Oklahoma would not be considered a favorable field for our Reformed Church, and in consequence of the withdrawal of our Board of Domestic Mission from this State, our Board voted to close Cordell Academy at the end of the present school year, May 31st., and to sell the property."[5]

After the resignation of Dr. Poppen as Principal, Rev. C. H. Spaan succeeded him for one year, 1910-11. This was the last year of the academy's existence, under Reformed Church supervision.

In the year 1911-12 the school work was continued on a co-operative basis with the Southern Presbyterian Church,—an experiment which did not prove to be satisfactory. "The Board finally sold the property to the City of Cordell for $8,000 which was remitted to the principal donor of the building,"[6] the deed bearing the date Jan. 2, 1914.

In recent years an Alumni Association of graduates of Cordell Academy was formed at a reception in the Wells-Roberts Hotel, Oklahoma City,—a gathering in honor of Harold C. Amos, first Assistant Principal, home on furlough from Tokio, Japan, where he was Principal of the American School. The President of the Association is Maurice Foster, Oklahoma City, and the Secretary Mrs. A. R. Ash, Cordell.

It is not necessary, in this article, to enumerate all the activities of the different white churches of this denomination in Oklahoma. As with other church bodies the work of one local church did not differ greatly, in important items, from that of others. The church edifices were not large, nor expensive. One of them, however, was outstanding and deserves special mention, that at Shawnee.

HORTON MEMORIAL CHURCH

Mrs. Edmund B. Horton became the Corresponding Secretary of the Women's Executive Committee of the Reformed Church in 1887,—the organization which undertook work for Indians in Oklahoma in 1895.

The women of the Reformed Church decided to build a church which would be a memorial to this consecrated woman of God. Thus it came about that, in Shawnee, Oklahoma, a city of some 20,000 people, the Horton Memorial Church was erected,—a fitting monument of brick construction. In the north part of the city, where there was no other Protestant church, giving an opportunity to minister to a population of some size and extent, the building was placed. It was a beautiful one-story edifice, with attractive windows, well seated, having a two-manual organ, and other needed equipment. The building was put up in 1906, apparently under the supervision of the Rev. Sheldon Vandeberg. He was followed, in the summer of 1906 by Evert Kruizenga, a theological student from

[5] *Annual Report* of Board of Education, 1911, p. 6.
[6] *Annual Report* of Board of Education, 1914.

the New Brunswick Seminary, who spent three months on the field, holding services, making a religious canvass of the community, and watching the work on the new building as it neared completion.

On September the sixth, 1906, the writer of this article was sent to Shawnee, to get the church building ready for occupancy, and dedicated, and to go forward with regular church work.

The main auditorium was used for the first time on December 2, 1906. The building was dedicated on Sunday, December 9, 1906. Superintendent Walter C. Roe preached the dedicatory sermon, and the Rev. M. T. Conklin, of Arapaho, Oklahoma, offered the dedicatory prayer. Mrs. John S. Bussing, of New York, President of the Women's Executive Committee, delivered an address on The Life of Mrs. Kate Brownlee (Edmund B.) Horton, in loving memory of whom the church had been erected. The Rev. M. T. Conklin gave the evening address on "The Beliefs and Practices of the Reformed Church." The Rev. W. O. Rogers also had a part in this service. It was a memorable day for the people of this new parish.

On January 13, 1907, the Horton Memorial Reformed Church of Shawnee was formally organized, and was so declared by Superintendent Roe. The usual methods of church work were to be employed here.

In July, 1907, the Rev. Richard H. Harper was called back to Indian work, to which he and his wife had consecrated their lives, and moved to Colony, Oklahoma, to assist the Rev. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe in the work with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. The Rev. M. T. Conklin, of Arapaho, became pastor of the Shawnee church.

After a careful canvass, Reformed Church work was begun in Oklahoma City, a church building was erected at the corner of Shartel Avenue and Eleventh Street, and an organization was effected.

The territorial and state overseers of the Reformed Church work in Oklahoma were three. The Rev. John Vander Meulen, who opened up the field at Cordell in 1901, acted as pastor of that church, and also as Missionary at Large for all the white work in Oklahoma. He was followed, in 1904, when he resigned to accept a professorate in Hope College, by the Rev. Elias W. Thompson, pastor of Broadway Reformed Church, Paterson, New Jersey, who came as Superintendent of the work. After giving the fields a careful visitation he returned to the East, in 1905, after a stay of six months, and "reported his observations to the Board. He recommended liberal support and encouragement of the churches already established, and branching out into localities not fully occupied by other denominations."[7] He was succeeded by Superintendent Walter C. Roe, of Colony, in 1905.

Thus was Dr. Roe over all the work of the Reformed Church in Oklahoma, both Indian and white. He retained this relation to

[7] *Annual Report* of Board of Domestic Missions, 1905, p. 8.

the white churches until 1911, and the superintendency of the Indian work until his death in 1913.

The names of the ministers of the Reformed Church in Oklahoma, who worked in white fields, were the following, as nearly as a careful examination of available records, and conversations or correspondence with living former workers in the state show. The dates of their service have been sought out with great care. The writer trusts there are no discrepancies:

Alf, Alfred—Gotebo, 1910
Brouwer, Jacob G.—Classical Missionary, 1910
Cheff, P. P.[8](S)—Gospel Wagon, 1900, '01; Gotebo, pastor 1901-'02
Clowe, C. W.—Thomas, 1907
Colby, H. E., M. D.—Gotebo, 1905-'07; Oklahoma City, 1907-'08
Conklin, M. T.—Arapaho, 1905-'07; Shawnee, 1907-'09
Furbeck, Howard (S)—Gospel Wagon, 1900-'01
Harper, R. H.—General Missionary, 1906; Shawnee, pastor, 1906-'07
Hoffman, J. J.—Buck Creek, Prairie Home, 1906-'07; Arapaho, 1908-'11
Hunter, James Boyd (S)—Tulsa, 1908
Korteling, George—Cordell, 1902; Clinton, 1904-'09; Fairview, 1909-'11
Kruizenga, Evert—(S)—Shawnee, 1906
Legters, L. L.—Arapaho, 1902-'05
Marsilje, Peter—Buck Creek, 1902-'03; Lawton 1903-'11
MacNeil, J. R.—(Supply)—Gotebo, 1909
Meengs, A. M.—Cordell, 1901-'02
Meengs, John (S)—Gospel Wagon, 1900-'01
Mulder, T.—(S)—Gospel Wagon, 1900-'01; Buck Creek, pastor, 1901-'02; Gotebo, 1902-'05
Poppen, Jacob, Ph. D.—Principal Cordell Academy, 1908-'10
Riepma, S. F.—Oklahoma City, 1909-'11
Roe, Walter C., D. D.—Superintendent of Missions, 1905-'11
Scudder, L. W.—Thomas, 1909-'11
Spaan, C. H.—(S) Arapaho, 1902-'03; pastor, Cordell, 1904-'11
Thompson, Elias W.—Superintendent of Missions, 1904-'05
Vandeburg, Sheldon—Cordell, 1903-'05; Shawnee, 1905-'06; Oklahoma City, 1907, Gotebo, 1908
Vander Meulen, John—Cordell, and Missionary at Large, 1901-'02
Waters, S. A.—Thomas, 1908
Whiteacre, H. W. (Supply)—Tulsa, 1908
Winter, J. P.—Clinton, 1910-'11
Worthington, Wm.—(S)—Clinton, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, 1908
Wright, Frank Hall, DD.—Evangelist, 1895-1922

A few of these men served as pastors of white churches and also of Indian churches, at different times.

The Rev. T. Mulder has the distinction of being, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, the only one of the original Reformed Church ministers who has remained in Oklahoma until the present. He is now a minister in the Presbyterian Church.

An interesting group to whom the Rev. Mr. Mulder preached sometimes, in the Holland language, was at Sandham Memorial Church, south of Norman. It seems not to have continued long.

When the Classis of Oklahoma was dissolved by the Particular Synod of New York, July 1, 1911, the ministers were transferred

[8] (S) Student worker.

to the denominations to which their churches went, or to other fields.

"Each Reformed Church was dismissed to the denomination of its choice, April 12, 1911; the churches of Arapaho, Clinton, Cordell, and Gotebo to the Southern Presbyterian Church, and the churches of Fairview and Thomas to the Presbyterian Church, North."[9] The Oklahoma City and Shawnee churches were disbanded. The Indian churches and missionaries were dismissed to the Classis of New York. The Southern Presbyterian Church bought the buildings at Arapaho, Clinton, Cordell, and Gotebo, while those at Fairview and Thomas were sold to the Northern Church. The Horton Memorial Church building at Shawnee was purchased by the St. John Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1916. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church bought the Oklahoma City edifice.

Flourishing churches of other denominations are now carrying on Christian work in places where the Reformed Church was the pioneer.

The Reverend T. Mulder, well acquainted with the work of the Reformed Church in Oklahoma from its beginning, says: "The work was a glorious success, for it filled a real need. It reached people and communities which otherwise would have been entirely neglected, or at least for several years been without established churches."[10]

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[9] *Annual Report* of Board of Domestic Missions, 1911, p. 16.

[10] The writer acknowledges indebtedness for important information and pictures to Drs. Frederick Zimmerman, Willard Dayton Brown, John A. Ingham, J. Harvey Murphy; Mrs. A. R. Ash, the Revs. T. Mulder, J. J. Hoffman, C. H. Spaan (deceased), L. L. Legters (deceased), Evert Kruizenga, and Edgar C. Buerger.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Edited by James W. Moffitt

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at the Pfister Hotel in Milwaukee, April 24-26, 1941. An interesting program had been arranged by O. Fritiof Ander, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois and the other members of the program committee. Among those appearing on the program were Ralph P. Bieber, Washington University; James G. Randall, University of Illinois; John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin; Colin B. Goodykoontz, University of Colorado; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; Grace Lee Nute, Minnesota Historical Society; Paul M. Angle, Illinois Historical Society; E. E. Dale, University of Oklahoma; George F. Howe, University of Cincinnati; Phillip D. Jordan, Miami University; Bayrd Still, Duke University.

Among those in attendance were Carl F. Wittke, Oberlin College, President of the Association; A. C. Cole, Western Reserve University, President elect; Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Secretary; Louis Pelzer, Iowa State University, Editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review;* Thomas P. Martin, Library of Congress; Clarence E. Carter, Editor, Department of State; William C. Binkley, Vanderbilt University; E. Merton Coulter, Georgia University, Editor of the *Georgia Historical Review;* Fremont P. Wirth, Peabody College, President of the National Council for the Social Studies; James Sellers, University of Nebraska; William D. Overman, Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Lester J. Cappon, Archivist, University of Virginia; Curtis Garrison, Executive Director, Hayes Memorial Library; Fred Harvey Harrington, University of Arkansas, Secretary-Treasurer, Arkansas Historical Association; Kenneth Colton, Iowa Department of Archives and History; Arthur J. Larsen, Superintendent, Minnesota Historical Society; Grace Smith, Wisconsin Historical Society; W. J. Peterson, State Historical Society of Iowa; E. P. Alexander, Executive Director, New York State Historical Association; Paul M. Angle, Librarian, Illinois Historical Society; Harold Larsen, The National Archives; James W. Moffitt, Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society.

One of the valuable features of this meeting was the helpful exchange of ideas and experiences with one's colleagues.

The Oklahoma Historical Society was the guest of the city of Lawton, May 12, 1941, for its annual meeting. Lawton has grown from a city of tents in 1901 with the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche Indian Reservation, until today it has a population of more than 18,000. It commemorates the name of a brave officer, General Henry W. Lawton, who was killed in the Philippine Insurrection.

Nearby is Oklahoma's largest junior college, Cameron Agricultural College with an enrollment of nearly 1,000 students. The Fort Sill Indian School is one mile to the northeast. Between Lawton and Fort Sill is a United States Field Station. Northeast of the Fort Sill Military Reservation is a fifty thousand acre United States Wildlife Refuge. To the northwest extends the rugged Wichita Mountain Range with Mount Scott standing out in relief. Attracting much interest is Fort Sill where the Society met the second day. Although this army post is today the home of the Field Artillery School, it has always been associated in the minds of many people with the old west, the frontier and the Indian.[1] Here is also located the Fort Sill Reception center.

The Society convened at two o'clock in the afternoon in the auditorium of the Cameron State College, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The meeting opened with several musical selections by the Cameron College band. The invocation was given by Dean Brown of the College.

Charles D. Campbell, President of the Lawton Chamber of Commerce, introduced Judge Robert L. Williams, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and he as the presiding officer introduced the Hon. John Thomas, Sr., of Lawton, who gave the address of welcome. Response to the address of welcome was given by Judge Thomas A. Edwards, of Cordell. An address, "Past, Present and Future of Fort Sill," was given by Captain John C. Hayden, of Fort Sill. Dr. E. E. Dale, head of the History Department of the University of Oklahoma, Norman, delivered an address, "The Opening of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation." [2]

Preceding the evening session the members of the Society were the guests of the Lawton Chamber of Commerce at a dinner in the Century Club rooms.

At eight o'clock in the evening, in the high school auditorium the meeting was opened with a musical program by the Lawton High School orchestra; prior to which a number of the members of the Society visited the museum in this building. Charles D. Campbell called the meeting to order and introduced Judge Robert L. Williams, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, who presided and introduced Dr. Grant Foreman, of Muskogee (substituting for Gov. Leon C. Phillips who was unable to be present), who gave an informal address on a trip he and Mrs. Foreman made to the country which is now known as Iraq.

Tuesday morning, May 13, a visit was made to the Fort Sill Indian School where a program was given in the Indian School auditorium by the school band and several colorful Indian dances

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[1] See W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: the Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937).

[2] Dr. Dale's address will be published in a subsequent issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

by some of the pupils. The beautiful Indian murals in the room enhanced the interest of the visitors. A song "Pale Moon" was sung by an Indian girl, accompanied by another pupil in the Indian sign language. Each number on the program was introduced by Albert Attocknie, Chairman of the Business Council. Others making brief remarks were Charles D. Campbell, Judge R. L. Williams, and the Principal of the school, C. B. Montgomery.

At the conclusion of the program, Yellowfish, the last survivor of the battle of Adobe Walls between the Indians and Whites, gave a talk in his native tongue which was interpreted by Albert Attocknie.

At nine o'clock a visit was made to the Field Artillery Museum located in the old Geronimo "Guardhouse." This building was erected seventy years ago when the Tenth Cavalry constituted the army at Fort Sill. The origin of this museum goes back to 1917 when Colonel William Bryden and Colonel Joseph W. Keller began a small museum in connection with the School of Fire. After the World War, this collection was stored in the basement of the old stone warehouse. It consisted mainly of projectiles, fuses, small arms, and old guns. The museum was revived by Captain Harry Larter, Field Artillery, who was its first curator. A number of the exhibits are devoted to the story of the Southwest Indian. There are also exhibits showing the history of the army, together with flags, pictures and other interesting relics.

At ten o'clock in the old Stone Church or Catholic Chapel, a brief business session was held with the President, Judge Robert L. Williams, presiding. At this time tribute was paid to the memory of the late Judge Samuel W. Hayes, Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson, and Judge William P. Thompson who, until their untimely decease, were valued members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

A motion was made that Jasper Sipes, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, and General Charles F. Barrett, members of the Board, being absent on account of illness, expressions of regret and sympathy be expressed and conveyed to the absent members with the hope of their speedy recovery. This motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

A resolution was unanimously passed thanking the citizens of Lawton and various organizations including the Chamber of Commerce and other civic orders, Cameron College, the High School, Fort Sill Indian School and the pupils for their entertainment, the Post Commandant of Fort Sill, Brigadier General G. R. Allin, Colonel William Spence, Executive Officer; Colonel L. A. Kurtz; Captain John C. Hayden; Lt. Carl Hagman and others at Fort Sill for their many courtesies and enjoyable hospitality extended to the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Tulsa, and H. L. Muldrow, Norman, were unanimously elected as members of the Board of Directors to fill out the unexpired terms respectively of the late Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson and the late Judge Samuel W. Hayes.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards presented an invitation from the Chamber of Commerce and the Mayor and City of Cordell for the Oklahoma Historical Society to hold its annual meeting there in 1942, to observe the fiftieth anniversary of the opening to settlement of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation, April 19, 1892. This gracious invitation was unanimously accepted.

The President, Judge Williams, presented and introduced Dr. Grant Foreman, who delivered an address on the "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation."[3]

A visit was made to the new chapel at Fort Sill by some of the visiting members. An enjoyable luncheon was served afterwards in the Officers' Club where Lt. Colonel William Spence introduced Major General Robert M. Danford, Chief of Artillery, and Brigadier General G. R. Allin, Commandant, who made brief but felicitious addresses. Lt. Carl Hagman, Public Relations Officer, after this delightful occasion, escorted the guests on an interesting sightseeing tour of Fort Sill. The highlight of this tour was the visit to the Reception Center where Colonel L. A. Kurtz gave an informing address and outlined the plans relating to our being shown through the Reception Center by the different officers detailed for that purpose. In a graphic manner the various steps through which the "selectee" goes were pointed out as the members moved through each building. Another point of great interest was the library. Here the capable and courteous Librarian, Sergeant Morris Swett took charge of the members and showed them the valuable collections of books housed in a modern building.

The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society came to an end with the members departing for their various homes with an appreciation for their entertainment.

The annual state meeting of the Oklahoma State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution was held at the Mayo Hotel in Tulsa on February 22, 1941. The State President, Charles W. Grimes, presided. The principal address was given by Hon. Jesse H. Hill on "What has become of our Liberties." The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: John R. Whitney, President; J. B. Milam, First Vice President; Dr. George Tabor, Second Vice President; William J. Crowe, Secretary-Treasurer; W. A. Jennings, Registrar; Rev. Robert Hannum, Chaplain; A. N. Leecraft, Historian; Charles W. Grimes, Trustee; J. Garfield Buell, and Paul P. Pinkerton, delegates to the National Convention. The membership of the society in the state, consisting of 103 members, was well represented. The meeting next year will be held at Ft. Gibson.

Mrs. Mabel D. Holt, James K. Hastings and John W. Hinkel, whose terms on the Payne County Historical Society Board of Trus-

[3] This address is printed in this issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* See pages 129-140.

tees expired this year, were re-elected April 20 when the society held its well attended annual meeting. "The History of the Sac and Fox Indians" was discussed by Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor, of Stillwater. The Pioneer Club, of Cushing which is located in what was a part of the Sac and Fox Reservation, was represented. Clarence Bassler, President, talked on "Ghost Post Offices in Payne County," pointing out that approximately twenty "ghost" post offices had been in the county. The Society is to meet again in about two months when Paul Boone, pioneer telephone man, is to talk on the "Installation of the First Telephone in Stillwater." The meeting moved also to call to the attention of the State Historical Society, the old home of Chief Keokuk, noted chief of the Sac and Fox Indians, located near Stroud. Officials of the society were encouraged by the growing interest in the preservation of Payne County History manifested as fifteen paid-up memberships were reported for the year 1941.[4]

On March 25, 1941, the recently organized Pontotoc County Historical Society with Professor G. M. Harrel as President, met at the Ada Public Library. Judge J. F. McKeel read a paper on "The Early History of Pontotoc County before Statehood." On April 25, John W. Beard presented an address on "The Building of a City or Ada's First Railroad." Possibilities for growth and interest are assured.

By-laws were adopted and officers were elected Sunday afternoon, April 6, 1941, at an organization meeting of the Grant County Historical Society at the office of Sam P. Ridings, when J. W. McCollom of Medford was elected President, and other officers named as follows: J. H. Asher, Pond Creek, Vice President; Miss Irene Sturm, Medford, Secretary and Treasurer; Mrs. Dadie Caldwell, Medford, Curator; Elmer W. Fink, Medford, Editor-in-chief; and George Streets, Pond Creek, Frank Nichols, Wakita and G. B. Dailey, Medford, members of the board of directors. The local Society is expected to work in conjunction with the State Historical Society and any person interested in the history of Grant County is eligible for membership. The object is to collect and preserve not only the past but also the current history of Grant County. Annual meetings will be held on the second Monday in January with general sessions and meetings of the board of directors subject to call. The Society was invited by the local museum to use its facilities in the exhibiting and preserving of historical data and articles of historical interest.[5]

The Society has outlined plans for a master yearbook to begin a permanent record of data pertinent to Grant County. The committee chairmen to help with the compiling of the yearbook include: membership and finance, George Streets, Pond Creek; education, James M.

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[4] Stillwater *Daily Press,* April 21, 1941.
[5] *Grant County Journal,* April 7, 1941.

Hannum, Medford; religion, Rev. W. Irving Smith, Medford; civic organizations, Maurice Gale, Pond Creek; public offices, W. S. Williams, Medford; service, G. H. Cowen, Lamont; family history, Mrs. Mabelle Flint, Medford; industry and business, Lee A. Card, Medford; archives, Mrs. Sadie Caldwell, Medford; historical records and pioneer history, G. B. Dailey, Medford; writers, Mrs. J. C. Pond, Medford; American Legion, Frank W. Postlewaid, Medford.[6]

The Okemah *Daily Leader,* April 17, 1941 issue sets forth an interesting program as planned for the Okemah pioneer celebration April 20, 21, 22, 1941.

The Pioneer Achievement edition of the Clinton *Daily News* for April 13, 1941, was devoted to the stirring accounts of the old times regarding the early days in Custer and Washita counties.

The El Reno *American* published by A. N. Nichols and H. M. Woods issued an interesting historical edition on April 17, 1941, for the Canadian County Pioneers celebration which took place at El Reno, May 19, 20, 21, 22, 1941. The attention of the state was focused upon the part which Canadian County has had in the development of the West. In this area were the old Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Agency at Darlington, the old Cheyenne School at Concho, Fort Reno, one of the starting points for the openings of 1889, 1892 and the big land registration and drawing of 1901. The curtains of time were rolled back, pioneer garments and equipment were in evidence and cowboys again took possession of the town which had such an important part in the frontier days of old Oklahoma.

Its womenfolk bedecked in garments of days long past, its bewhiskered men in derbies and ten-gallon hats, Miami began celebrating May 7, the fiftieth anniversary of the city's founding. Miami was founded in 1891 through the joint efforts of a Kansas stockman and an Indian chief, through an act of Congress. The Kansan, W. C. Lykins, enlisted the aid of Thomas P. Richardville, Chief of the Miami tribe of Indians. The act of Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to sell six hundred acres of land on behalf of the Ottawa tribe of Indians for the establishment of a townsite. The Miami Town Company was organized by Lykin, Richardville, and O. J. Nichols, then a Columbus, Kansas, merchant. Richardville prevailed upon the others to name the town "Miami" for his tribe. Sale of town lots was begun in May, 1891. Its growth was stimulated by the building of the Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis railroad (now a Frisco line) to Miami from Baxter Springs, Kansas, in 1896. Zinc and lead ore deposits were discovered nearby in 1905 and commercial development of these minerals followed on a moderate scale in 1907. With the outbreak of the World War, the mining developments soon reached boom proportions leading to a rapid increase in

[6] *The Daily Oklahoman,* April 27, 1941.

population, the inception of many new business enterprises and the construction of many buildings.[7]

The Guthrie *Daily Leader,* edited by Raymond Fields, celebrated the fifty-second anniversary of the "run" of 1889 by bringing out, on April 20, 1941, an issue containing numerous items of historical interest. The Guthrie High School history department is making use of the Eighty-Niner celebration each year by interviewing Eighty-Niners and making records of these interviews for historical purposes. Three hundred students are taking part in this project.[8]

At Guymon, on May 2, 1941, hardy sons of "No Man's Land," cheered by the greening fields, swung into their annual frontier day celebration. Large crowds gathered at noon to see the historical parade composed of covered wagons, ox teams, horses, cowboys, and floats depicting pioneer scenes.[9]

A historical spot, near Northwest Tenth Street and the North Canadian River, has been marked by the Oklahoma City chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the City Park Department. At ceremonies Tuesday, April 22, 1941, a bronze marker, set in stone, was dedicated, just east and north of the Northwest Tenth Street bridge. It commemorates the "Council Grove Historic Indian Council Ground." The plaque points out, that in 1858, Jesse Chisholm opened a trading post nearby, on the farm of Jimmy Young, whose grandson, Harold Shock, now lives there; in 1859, Col. B. L. E. Booneville and troops escorted Congressman J. S. Phelps there to meet leaders of the Comanches; in 1865, a council was called there between the Comanches, Kiowas and Confederate leaders; in 1884, a sawmill was set up and barracks built for troops detailed there to cut timber for Fort Reno; in 1889, it was part of the territory opened for settlement. The marker was presented by the D. A. R. and set up by the Park Department of Oklahoma City. The dedication was made by Mrs. S. I. Flournoy, 120 Northwest Twenty-seventh street. Mrs. John Lantz Hill was in charge of the program, attended by many '89ers.[10]

The Oklahoma Society is fortunate in having as a life member, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Tulsa, who has presented a bound file of eighteen volumes of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* to the national library of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington.

The library of the Oklahoma Historical Society has been enriched by the gift of fourteen volumes of clippings dealing principally with the history of Oklahoma by Reuel Haskell, of Oklahoma City.

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[7] *Oklahoma City Times,* May 7, 1941.
[8] *The Oklahoma Teacher* IX (1941), 33.
[9] *The Daily Oklahoman,* May 3, 1941.
[10] *The Daily Oklahoman,* April 27, 1941.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Pathfinder in the Southwest. By Grant Foreman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941. · Photographs, drawings, and a map. 298 pages.$3.00.)

Thanks again, Dr. Foreman! This time for editing with discriminating scholarship the journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple kept during his explorations for a railway—demanded by the goldseekers—from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in 1853-54. The old, long-forgotten account of that young topographical engineer's absorbing experiences could not have fallen into better hands for resurrecting.

In this book, as in the two Marcy journals of exploration he edited and made available to the general reader, Dr. Foreman has shown how deeply indebted we are for our western literary backgrounds to scientifically trained men, army engineers, botanists, surveyors, astronomical observers, and others. Of writing men and historians who ventured into the largely unmapped stretch from the Arkansas border to the Pacific following the fur traders we recall readily only Irving and Parkman—and except for his previously earned reputation, Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* would not have attracted more than passing comment. In fact, the Yankee Commissioner Ellsworth's account of the same experience is more vivid.

From July 14, 1853, to March 24 of the following year, from 153 camps stretching from Fort Smith to the vicinity of San Pedro, California, Whipple wrote of the intimate, every-day life of the expedition, of his contacts with Indians and whites, of the mishaps and good luck that befell him and his men. Almost incidentally, so far as this journal-narrative is concerned, he wrote of his main purpose, the survey of a practicable route for the railroad for which Senator Benton, Jefferson Davis, and others with statesman-like—and sectional—enthusiasm were clamoring. That part of the job, fortunately, was taken care of in the voluminous notes and reports made by Whipple's scientific staff.

In twenty pages of introduction, and in the running commentary of footnotes, Mr. Foreman has adequately set the scene of the exploration, identified it on modern maps, and pointed out its relation to previous surveys and expeditions. Particularly in the Oklahoma section, where Whipple had to "shake down" his outfit and where he was really pioneering, is the editor's work thorough and illuminating.

John Oskison

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Women Tell the Story of the Southwest. Compiled and edited by Mattie Lloyd Wooten. (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1940. XVII + 394 pp. $3.50.)

The folklore of the Southwest is well represented in Mattie Lloyd Wooten (comp. and ed.), *Women Tell the Story of the Southwest,*

sixty-four intriguing stories written by Southwestern Women. In these are found colorful details on every phase of border life, e.g. the Spanish Americans, travel, Indians, the cattle industry, home life of the Anglo-American pioneers, early courts, stagecoaching, border posts, and dudes of the last frontier. Some of these narratives are familiar folk-tales; others, such as Sister M. Lilliana Owens, "Our Lady of Light Academy, Santa Fe," and Lota M. Spell, "Music Teaching in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," are new, well documented, and reveal historical technique. All carry considerable reader interest.

The value of the book would have been enhanced by organization. A rough grouping of subject matter, such as Indian Relations, Early Life in Texas, etc., would have been better. Moreover, the glossary is hardly justified. The few words needing explanation could have been handled by parentheses; and others like Apaches, block house, cactus, cowpony, Jawhawkers (sic!), Jesuits, Mormon, and stampede are so commonplace as to make unnecessary their inclusion. But on the whole the book represents a worthy accomplishment, and its theme suggests a much needed study on the Southwestern border woman.

Carl Coke Rister

University of Oklahoma

Hot Irons. By Oren Arnold and John P. Hale. (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1940. VIII + 242 pp. $2.50.)

Arnold and Hale state their purpose in writing this book:

"1. To establish a reference work, an 'authority'.
2. To be entertaining about it."

No reader will question their achievement of the latter goal: even the chapter headings are diverting. Despite the fact that *Hot Irons* is not burdened with intrusive citations and lacks bibliography and index, the authors have labored to make this an accurate book and a reasonably comprehensive one. But if this is to be a reference work, an "authority," the casual reader would appreciate an index; the more serious reader, a bibliography; and a student of southwestern history, citations.

Those who have used or have seen used a branding iron may be wearied by some of the elementary and irrelevant reminiscences, but all will be entertained by the excellent writing that has caught the spirit of the ranch cattle industry.

The authors are residents of Arizona and devote a major portion of their narrative to that region. They trace the history of branding from its earliest beginnings and occasionally intersperse the story with tall, lusty tales of ranch life and happenings and origins: a particularly virile, robust fable that rival any of the *fabliaux* chanted by the *Jongleurs* of the thirteenth century appears at the beginning of chapter thirteen (pp. 204-206).

The Spaniards introduced ranching to the Southwest and with it the age-old art of branding. This heraldry of the range was de-

veloped and fashioned by their American successors and protected by state law and registration. Despite the expert and, incidentally, legal use of the running iron and the stamping iron, registered brands and registered ear-marks, ear tagging or tatooing, and the formation of protective stock associations, the authors assert that "in 1939 more range cattle were being stolen than at any other time in history" (p. 110). The use of small, pick-up trucks has replaced former rustling methods.

Interesting accounts are given of the great King ranch in Texas, the famous XIT brand, and the Terrazo *rancho grande.* But most of the narrative is about smaller, lesser known holdings centered in Texas and Arizona. The average Oklahoma reader will like the statement that the "best branded ranch in history perhaps was Miller Brothers' Outfit in Oklahoma" (p. 170); he will be intrigued by the description of the dogiron brand of this state's famous cowboy-humorist (p. 137); he will recognize at once the distinguished coat of arms of Barbecue Campbell (p. 133); he might question the statement that "a group of Oklahoma cowpunchers once branded a man. . ." (p. 71); he will certainly wish that more of the important personalities and significant brands well known in Indian Territory were mentioned.

The format of the book meets the usual high standards of the Macmillan Company. Illustrations of brands are as excellent as the context that explains them.

J. S. Clark

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

As Our Neighbors See Us: Readings in the Relations of the United States and Latin America, 1820-1940. Edited and compiled by Thomas Harrison Reynolds. (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Published by the editor. VIII + 317 pp. $2.50.)

This volume consists of a preface, table of contents, and sixty-three documents or selections. A little more than the first third of the book is devoted to the Monroe doctrine. The volume is a companion to Dr. Reynold's study on the *Economic Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine* which appeared in 1938.

The sixty-three documents or selections are nearly all translated from Hispanic-American sources, and show how our neighboring nations to the south have regarded Monroism, the "Big Stick" attitude of Theodore Roosevelt, the "Dollar Diplomacy" of Taft, and the "Good Neighbor" policy of the second Roosevelt. Some of the sources include official documents, technical and trade journals, books based on research, and official and private correspondence. One source is a letter of three pages from Homer Brett, American Consul General, Lima, Peru, to Dr. Reynolds setting forth the reaction of that country to the various aspects of the Good Neighbor policy, such as the Cordell Hull trade program.

Although the book is well prepared, some alterations can be suggested. Critics may complain that so many of the sources are of such recent origin that the first date in the sub-title is misleading; and a few slips may be found as evidenced by the name "Bushnell Hart" (p. 99).

This book brings not only to students of Latin-American History, but to laymen, a collection of primary sources which have been skillfully selected from divers places, and which are mainly translations showing how Uncle Sam has been regarded by his southern neighbors since the days of James Monroe. Thus to the specialist and layman Dr. Reynolds has rendered a valuable service in bringing into one volume and into the English language the prevailing attitudes of Latin America toward the United States. The publication of the volume is timely, appearing when our national authorities are trying to solidify the Western hemisphere against aggression by nations in the Eastern hemisphere.

One cannot listen to the sixty-three voices which Dr. Reynolds echoes from Latin America without realizing that the Monroe doctrine in its multitudinous shapes is and has been regarded primarily as a doctrine by and for the United States. In the interpretation of this doctrine Latin America has observed that the two bases thereof, absolutism in Europe and isolation of the United States, no longer exist; but that if the government of the United States finds itself forced to conclusions not pleasing to its policy, it reacts by forsaking former premises and adopting conclusions which seem best. To cooperate with nations of Latin America we must know how the United States has been regarded by those nations. *As Our Neighbors See Us* is recommended for economy of time and clarity of understanding.

Berlin B. Chapman

Exchange Professor, City College, New York.

Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783. By Alfred Barnaby Thomas. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941, XIII + 271 pages. Illustrations and Index. $3.00.)

Don Teodoro de Croix was indeed a "trouble shooter" for the Spanish King. On May 16, 1776, King Charles III appointed him as *comandante general* (commander general) over the border provinces of Mexico (known as the *Provincias Internas*) embracing Nueva Vizcaya, Sinaloa, Sonora, the Californias, Coahuila, New Mexico and Texas. Croix's orders were to unify and organize the northern frontier so that it would be saved from a threatened collapse. But in pursuit of these objectives, the commander general met with rebuff and criticism at the hands of Viceroy Bucareli and self-seeking Creoles. Still he was not daunted, in spite of the fact that the entire border was aflame with Indian wars. In the past, Apaches, Seris, Comanches and other marauders had devastated the provinces from Louisiana

to California and from Santa Fe to Durango. Shortly after Croix's arrival, a semblance of order appeared out of the chaos. The new administrator dismissed inefficient officers and appointed others of merit; he recruited, trained and adequately equipped presidial troops; he put a mobile patrol in operation between Texas and Arizona; and he revamped the whole scheme of border defense. In doing this, however, Croix had made enemies who finally succeeded in ousting him. Creole landowners, like the Marques da Aguayo and Don Lucas de Lasage, complained that their border haciendas were imperiled because of troop inactivity, and jealous neighboring officials made false representations. But Croix had laid a firm foundation upon which his successors builded.

This, indeed, is the absorbing story brought to us by Professor Thomas in his new book, *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783.* The book is divided into two sections. Part One is a scintillating, well written introduction of sixty-five pages and of three chapters ("Geography, Indians and Spaniards"; "The Administration of Teodoro de Croix, 1776-1780"; and" Disappointments and Achievements, 1781-1783"), revealing the short-comings of viceroyalty control of the frontier provinces, Croix's comprehensive reforms and his measure of success. Part Two, 202 pages, consists of Croix's reports (1781) on the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Sinaloa, Sonora, the Californias, Coahuila, New Mexico and Texas, documents made available to Southwestern students for the first time. Both parts of the study are excellently documented and the editorial work on the second leaves little to be desired. The volume should find a place on the shelf of every collector of Western Americana.

Again the University of Oklahoma Press has scored a hit in book craftsmanship. The paper is antique wove; the type is set in eleven point linotype Old Style, Number Seven; and the jacket design is beautifully appropriate. A good map, comprehensive tables, and three interesting half-tones are additional useful features.

Carl Coke Rister

University of Oklahoma

Western America: The Exploration Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi. By Leroy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941. XXIV + 689 pp. Illustrations and maps. $4.65.)

This scholarly and timely volume is a history of the exploration, settlement, development of the region beyond the Mississippi as its subtitle indicates. The authors have presented a comprehensive survey of the political, economic, and social growth of this important section. In these pages one finds the story of explorers, trappers, traders, farmers, miners, railroad builders, school teachers, and ministers. The casual reader may reach the conclusion that the history of Texas occupies a disproportionate amount of space, but a careful

reading will convince even the most skeptical that the other territories and states have been carefully and judiciously treated.

The treatment of Hafen and Rister leans toward the cultural and social. It is a good book and a considerable contribution to the literature in this field. This volume is adapted for use as a textbook as well as for a work of reference.

The reader is impressed with the encyclopaedic and sweeping treatment. Among the outstanding chapters are those entitled "Range Cattle and Sheep Industries" and "Evolution of Western Culture." The authors should be commended for their judicious inclusion of maps which throw light upon the accompanying text. A comprehensive index adds much to the usefulness of this work. The bibliography listed at the close of the different chapters should prove useful to the student, although here and there titles have been omitted which should have been listed. Greater use might have been made of the state historical journals published in certain of the states under review. The reviewer is gratified to note the references to the works of Foreman, Dale and Gittinger.

Here and there may be noted misspelled words which may be classified as typographical errors to be left out in later editions. The publishers have made a real contribution in providing an attractive format and pleasing typography.

James W. Moffitt

Oklahoma Historical Society

Zachary Taylor; Soldier of the Republic, by Holman Hamilton. (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941, XIV+ 335 pp. Frontispiece. $3.50.)

Readers of the *Chronicles* will be particularly interested in Mr. Hamilton's scholarly work because of the part that Taylor played in the history of Oklahoma.

During the interlude between wars in which Taylor was engaged, he was sent in 1841 to succeed Gen. Matthew Arbuckle in command of the Second Department of the Western Division, with headquarters at Fort Gibson. When Taylor reached his new post, he was so displeased with the run-down condition of the establishment that he returned down the river to Fort Smith and made his headquarters at that part of what is now the city of Fort Smith that then bore the name of Fort Belknap. From here he exercised the authority of his command over the present Oklahoma and contiguous territory.

He was responsible for the location and establishment of Fort Washita for the protection of the people in the Chickasaw Nation. After receiving the necessary authority from Washington, he left Fort Smith, September 25, 1841, with a military escort, and traveling by way of Fort Gibson and Fort Towson, ascended the Washita River to inspect a site previously recommended by Captain Ben-

jamin D. Moore, which General Taylor approved, and where Fort Washita was subsequently built.

Fort Wayne had been established in the Cherokee Nation near the Arkansas line, but as Taylor considered it of no military value, he ordered it abandoned. The garrison evacuated the place on May 26, 1842, and marched to a site on the Marmiton River where the soldiers located another establishment which was named Fort Scott. While this was a wise move, the people of neighboring Arkansas protested, and demanded that the garrison be returned. Taylor stood firm however, and prevented the bringing of the troops back to a neighborhood that was apparently interested only in selling whisky to them.

General Taylor, on May 15, 1842, attended the grand council, representing seventeen tribes, that convened near the site of Eufaula. Here a vast concourse of representative Indians was addressed by General Taylor and others, who gave good advice to the wild Indians at the meeting on the subjects of peace, and returning captives taken in Texas. From here he proceeded to Fort Washita to observe the construction of the new army post which was to be occupied by the Sixth Infantry.

The next year in June, Taylor attended the celebrated Grand Council at Tahlequah, where the Cherokees and representatives of many other tribes assembled to confer on subjects of common interest and benefit. During the same summer Taylor at his Fort Smith headquarters was called on to exercise his authority to restrain belligerent Cherokees engaged in disorders at polling places during an election for national officers. Soon after, in September 1843, he was engaged in trying to capture the notorious Starr gang of bandits who had recently committed an atrocious murder within what is now Sequoyah County.

In connection with Mr. Hamilton's scholarly account of Taylor's services to Oklahoma, he has introduced the reader to another interesting officer, Capt. William W. S. Bliss, also identified with Oklahoma history. Captain Bliss accompanied General Taylor as his aide at the Tahlequah Grand Council. "Courtly, accomplished, master of six languages, Bliss was one of the most brilliant scholars ever to grace the American Army. He had entered the Military Academy at West Point as a lad of thirteen, had been graduated at seventeen, and already his amazing range of information incorporated the philosophy of Kant with the poetry of Goethe, as well as the technicalities of military science and a first-hand study of the habits of the Cherokees. The captain was less than thirty years of age when he became aide to Taylor," to whom he rendered invaluable service.

War department records identify Bliss as Assistant Adjutant General of the Second Military Department, with headquarters at Fort Wayne, Indian Territory, in 1842. It is a singular historical

fact that Fort Wayne in eastern Delaware County, of which not a vestige now remains, was for a time the headquarters of a military department having jurisdiction over all the territory south of the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude from the Mississippi River to the frontier, and including the present states of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana and Southern Missouri. With the personal charm and magnetism attributed to Captain Bliss, it is small wonder that he won for his wife General Taylor's daughter, Mary Elizabeth ("Bettie"), while her father was stationed at Fort Smith, and who later presided as mistress of the White House.

In this connection the reader is further indebted to Mr. Hamilton for again exploding the myth that "Bettie" Taylor eloped from Fort Gibson with Jefferson Davis, who did indeed marry a daughter of Taylor, but it was not Bettie. Her name was Sarah Knox Taylor, and she never saw Fort Gibson. After Davis, a young lieutenant, resigned from the army in 1835, at the end of a brief service at this western post, he went to Kentucky where he was married to Sarah Knox Taylor, an older daughter of the general, at the home of her aunt.

Those who persist in believing the yarn about the imaginary elopement of Miss Taylor with Jefferson Davis may be interested in knowing that according to local tradition the same identical elopement took place at Fort Smith, also at Vincennes, Indiana, and local guides will point out the location in each of these places whence the young couple took their departure. If they still persist in cherishing this yarn, they would do well to read the true story of this romance as told by Mr. Hamilton, to whom the lovers of authentic history must be indebted for his honest efforts to put our history in its true light.

While this review emphasizes the connection of Zachary Taylor with Oklahoma history, Mr. Hamilton's book covers his full career in a manner never before attempted. It is a fascinating story, written in simple, graceful style, based upon a prodigious amount of research and study. Mr. Hamilton is an editorial writer on the Fort Wayne, Indiana, *Journal Gazette,* to which post he succeeded the historian, Claude G. Bowers, whose introduction to the book prepares the reader for the treat that is in store for him.

Grant Foreman.

Muskogee, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

May 12-13, 1941,

Lawton, Oklahoma

The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened May 12, 1941 at Lawton, Oklahoma at 2 o'clock P. M. in the auditorium of the Cameron State College, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The meeting opened with several musical selections by the Cameron College band. The invocation was given by Dean Brown of the College.

Mr. Charles D. Campbell, President of the Lawton Chamber of Commerce, introduced Judge Robert L. Williams, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and he as the presiding officer introduced the Hon. John Thomas, Sr., of Lawton, who gave the address of welcome. Response to the address of welcome was given by Judge Thomas A. Edwards, of Cordell. An address, "Past, Present and Future of Fort Sill," was given by Capt. John C. Hayden, of Fort Sill. Dr. E. E. Dale, head of the History Department of the University of Oklahoma, Norman, delivered an address, "The Opening of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation."

Preceding the evening session the members of the Society were the guests of the Lawton Chamber of Commerce at dinner in the Century Club rooms.

At 8 o'clock P. M., in the High School Auditorium, the meeting was opened with a musical program by the Lawton High School orchestra. Mr. Charles D. Campbell called the meeting to order and introduced Judge Robert L. Williams, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, who presided and introduced Dr. Grant Foreman, of Muskogee (substituting for Gov. Leon C. Phillips who was unable to be present) and gave an informal address on a trip he and Mrs. Foreman made to the country which is now known as Iraq, and told of some of the interesting places they saw which are now in the war zone.

Tuesday morning, May 13, a visit was made to the Fort Sill Indian School where a program was given in the Indian School auditorium by the school band and several colorful Indian dances by some of the pupils. A song "Pale Moon" was sung by an Indian girl, accompanied by another pupil in the Indian sign language. Each number on the program was introduced by Albert Attocknie, Chairman of the Business Council.

At the conclusion of the program, Yellowfish, the last survivor of the battle of Adobe Walls between the Indians and Whites, talked to the audience in his native tongue which was interpreted by Albert Attocknie.

At 9 o'clock A. M. a visit was made to the old Geronimo House and Fort Sill Museum.

At 10 o'clock A. M., in the Old Stone Church (Catholic Chapel), Fort Sill, the business session was called to order by the President, Judge Robert L. Williams, with the following Board members and several members of the Society present: Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Cordell; Dr. Grant Foreman, Muskogee; Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Edmond; Col. A. N. Leecraft, Durant; J. B. Milam, Chelsea; Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Oklahoma City, and James W. Moffitt, Secretary

The President stated that since our last annual meeting on May 9 and 10, 1940, death had taken from the membership of the Board of Directors some of its most useful members. Honorable William P. Thompson had passed away on October 28, 1940 and Mrs. Roberta C. Lawson, who at the last annual meeting opened same by leading in unison the other members present in the Lord's Prayer, had on December 31, 1940 taken her place in the spiritual world, and Honorable Samuel W. Hayes had on March 15,

1941 taken his station in another world's tribunal, and that after years of membership in the Society and on the Board of Directors, aiding in the upbuilding of the Society, they will no longer attend meetings with us except in spirit. (Such announcement having been made by the President, the members and audience stood at attention in silence and reverence to their memory.)

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that Mr. Jasper Sipes, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, and Gen. Chas. F. Barrett, members of the Board, being absent on account of illness expressions of regret and sympathy be expressed and conveyed to said members with the hope of their speedy recovery. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

On motion and second a resolution was passed thanking the citizens of Lawton and various organizations, including the Chamber of Commerce and other civic orders, Cameron College, the High School, Fort Sill Indian School and the pupils for their entertainments, the Post Commandant of Fort Sill, General G. R. Allin; Colonel William Spence, Executive Officer; Colonel L. A. Kurtz; Captain John C. Hayden; and Lt. Carl Hagman, and others at Fort Sill for their courtesies and their hospitable entertainment of the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion having been seconded, same was unanimously carried.

The following names were presented for membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society:

Life: Erle P. Halliburton, Duncan, and Robert S. Kerr, Oklahoma City.

Annual: Joe Aberson, Cordell; Mrs. Bert L. Adams, Oklahoma City; Glen Birckett, Cordell; Mrs. Lena S. Blakeney, Hugo; William L. Blessing, Shawnee; Hattie Cary Bradford, Oklahoma City; C. A. Breitung, Ada; Mrs. Gerald Brown, Enid; Mrs. W. C. Burnham, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ruth M. Chanaud, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Clarence C. Childers, Oklahoma City; Mrs. John P. Cook, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Anna M. Cullings, Tulsa; Ella Cummings, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ella Adell Davis, Oklahoma City; Kathleen DeGroot, Muskogee; Charles E. Dierker, Oklahoma City; C. H. Drew, Muskogee; Mrs. R. W. Ellis, Antlers; Mary L. Ewing, Fort Worth, Texas; G. A. Fleming, Cordell; R. E. Folsom, Mounds; Mrs. J. T. Foote, Durant; Mrs. Leta B. Gilkey, Norman; Prof. Elton J. Green, Tahlequah; Charles W. Grimes, Tulsa; Z. J. Harrison, Poteau; Mrs. A. F. Hatfield, Cushing; H. W. Hicks, Vinita; Prof. Louise S. Hornbeck, Ada; H. H. Huff, Anita, Iowa; Mrs. Nelle B. Ingram, Ada; Mrs. Golda H. Ivester, Sayre; Beulah Jeanette Johnson, Oklahoma City; Judge Hugh C. Jones, Hominy; Frank Kliewer, Cordell; Herman Klump, Bessie; Mrs. Kathleen Lindsey, Pauls Valley; Mrs. K. E. McAfee, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ollie J. McKeever, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Edwin R. McNeill, Pawnee; Mrs. J. R. McKnight, Oklahoma City; Homer Melton, Vinita; Prof. Maurice H. Merrill, Norman; Mrs. L. T. Miller, Ponca City; Harold L. Mueller, Oklahoma City; Karl H. Mueller, Fort Worth, Texas; Golda M. Patrick, Inola; W. J. Porter, Tonkawa; Ottelia Quindt, Oklahoma City; Dr. Ralph H. Records, Norman; Mrs. Norman E. Reynolds, Oklahoma City; Robert B. Rice, Oklahoma City; Mildred Riling, Durant; Mrs. Sue B. Rucker, Oklahoma City; Melcena Sampson, Oklahoma City; Zoe Sauerman, Lawton; Ben F. Saye, Duncan; Mrs. Bertha B. Schiefelbusch, Muskogee; Franklin J. Schuhmacher, Muskogee; William Self, Tulsa; Virgil P. Siler, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Carl W. Skogsberg, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Mamie Small, Lawton; Dr. Lovina M. Smith, Oklahoma City; Margaret Sprankle, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Martha A. Stephenson, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Frank F. Stevens, Oklahoma City; Mrs. S. E. Swinney, Durant; Harold Tacker, Norman; Mrs. Florence Hadley Tucker, Pawhuska; Walter Clark Tucker, Pawhuska; Lonnie Vanderveer, Cordell; Mrs. R. M. Vliet, Oklahoma City; Perry E. Waid, Waurika; Mrs. Grace Johnson Ward, Oklahoma City; Claude Weaver, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Claude Weaver, Oklahoma City; Fred L. Whittington, Yukon; Dr. Charles C. Williamson, New York City; R. H. Wills, Tulsa; Mrs. John H. Wright, Oklahoma City; Prof. C. C. Wyatt, Weatherford; Robert F. Wyly, Norman, and Thurman White, Norman.

Motion was made that they be elected and accepted for membership in the class indicated on the list. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman presented a copy of "Glimpses of the Past: Notes of Auguste Chouteau on Boundaries of Various Indian Nations," edited by Grant Foreman in the *Missouri Historical Society*, VII (October-December, 1940).

Mrs. Robert J. Ray presented to the historical society a volume entitled *'Neath August Sun* (by the Lawton Business and Professional Women's Club).

Mr. C. D. Campbell presented to the Society a copy of *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States* (Washington, 1931).

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that these gifts be accepted and each of the donors thanked therefor. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards moved that the President's report be published as a part of the minutes of the meeting. The motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that a special vote of thanks be extended to Mr. C. D. Campbell, President of the Lawton Chamber of Commerce, for his leadership in the entertainment of the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The President, Judge Williams, presented and introduced Dr. Grant Foreman, who delivered an address on the "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation."

Motion was made that the addresses of Dr. Foreman and Dr. Dale be published in future issues of the Chronicles of Oklahoma. Motion was seconded and carried.

The report of the President is as follows:

The Works Administration project No. 65-1-65-337, with the Oklahoma Historical Society as sponsor, engaged in cataloguing and indexing newspapers and other materials such as manuscripts, old letters, diaries, wills, etc., and in the preparation of a biographical index and in assembling records, expired. Under authority of resolution adopted by the Board of Directors at its regular meeting on October 24, 1940 application on the part of the historical society as sponsor was duly made by the President and Secretary for the continuance of such work under project 50283 in indexing news matters in Oklahoma newspapers and as to certain microfilms from the *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock, Arkansas)—Weekly—1821-1868, December 29 — November 17 (40 numbers missing) — exposures, 9542; and *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock, Arkansas) — Daily — 1865-1875 (66 numbers missing) exposures 14192; *Arkansas Intelligencer* (Van Buren, Ark), 1846-47, February 15—June 26 (288 pp.), 1857-1858, March 13—October 1 (128 pp.), exposures, 356; *Northern Standard* (Clarksville, Texas) 1842—October 15 (1 issue), 1848-1849, March 4—September 29, exposures, 232; and as to microfilms as to early papers in the Choctaw Nation; Doaksville *Choctaw Intelligencer* (published at Doaksville), 1850-1852 (missing 6 numbers), exposures 274; *Choctaw Telegraph* (Doaksville), 1849, May 3—December 20 (missing 2 numbers), exposures 100, total exposures, 24696, and documents and papers relating to Oklahoma Indians, that is, to Indians belonging to the various tribes located in what is now the bounds of Oklahoma, and other papers within its archives, and to complete the indexing of the last 20 volumes of the Indian and Pioneer project, which was approved in the Washington office, but with certain restrictions having thereafter been imposed which would seriously handicap the society in operating thereunder. Application has been made to the Oklahoma State WPA Administrator for the modification of same, which has been submitted to and is being considered by the Washington office.

Reasonable progress, with the cooperation of the Secretary, and the staff of employees, was made in the work of the Society, though handicapped on account of the decrease in available appropriations and funds for its use. During all that period we have endeavored to cooperate in the inaugurated economy program that the state budget may be balanced.

Reasonable efforts made to increase its membership have met with fair success.

Bulletin No. 3 of the Oklahoma Historical Society through its distribution has aided in bringing to the attention of the public the facilities and work of the historical society. Through its staff organization, questionnaires are being sent to the members so as to assemble in the archives of the library genealogical data. The Society is exercising every reasonable endeavor to collect and preserve books, maps, papers, manuscripts, and other materials, which illustrate the history of the state. The staff and all statutory employees are endeavoring to give factual information to the departments of state and counties and municipalities as well as to federal agencies, and where practicable the general public.

The custodian of the Newspaper department reports that "researchers express appreciation of the great value of our index" and the help which is rendered in securing material for dissertations, books, legal publications, etc., and that a number of workers from Washington and our state capital, Army Engineers' office at Tulsa, Oklahoma, Oklahoma State University, A. & M. College, and other schools in the state and many out of the state researchers have used our newspaper and index cards.

Oklahoma has recently received the National Safety Council's Award for the fourth consecutive year for outstanding accomplishments in the field of traffic safety during 1940.

At our last annual meeting (Vol. 18, June, 1940, p. 199) it was stated:

"The honor which came to Oklahoma as the first state in the Union to win the National Safety Council's Annual Award for the third time in succession on April 10, 1940, was due in large measure to the work done in the newspapers in our files by a group of employees from the Highway Commission, who, during the latter part of 1935, carefully checked the newspaper files in the Oklahoma Historical Society library of the preceding five years for reports of automobile accidents, and filled out cards showing causes of accidents, whether embankments, brush, weeds, unmarked blind roads, also type of car, driver's age, physical handicaps, etc. These cards having been so used, Oklahoma won the highest honors in the United States in the reduction of accidents during 1937, 1938 and 1939."

Same has been repeated in 1940 and 1941.

As to the Indian archives department, during the year from April 26, 1940 to April 29, 1941, 213 volumes embracing matters relating to the several tribes located within Oklahoma have been cross-indexed with 308 classifications, making a grand total of 923 classifications and 599 bound volumes cross-indexed. The greater part of the pencil slips covering the cross-index have been typed on 4x6 cards which have been alphabetically filed in card cases.

Documents written in the Creek language, numbering 787, have been translated into the English language during the year (April 26, 1940 to April 29, 1941) by a Creek Indian student supplied for that purpose under the WPA project, which had been sponsored by the Society. During said year inventory has been made of archives of the following Indian agencies, all of which are in the custody of the Society under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior by Act of Congress, March 27, 1934, 49 Stats. 501, 25 USCA, Section 199a, Title "Indians", p. 16, to-wit:

Cheyenne & Arapaho Indian Agency
Chilocco Indian School
Kiowa Indian Agency

Mekusukey Academy
Pawnee Indian Agency
Quapaw Indian Agency
Shawnee Indian Agency

and with the Indian archives owned by the Society make a total of 2,329,061 pages of manuscripts and 3175 bound volumes. The accumulations will cause such collection at Oklahoma City to constitute one of the greatest collections of such archives in the United States.

Dr. B. B. Chapman of Fairmont State Teachers' College, Fairmont, West Virginia, presented to the Society, in December, 1940 twenty-one pages of photostat copies of documents relative to the Cherokee or Jerome Commission. Also, the F. B. Severs' collection, an intermarried member of the Creek tribe, consisting of 256 bound volumes and several hundred manuscripts, the most of which collection has to do with his trading establishments in the Creek Nation located at Okmulgee and Muskogee, and the telephone company owned, installed and operated by himself and the late A. Z. English, his son-in-law, have become a part of our archives.

From time to time Dr. Grant Foreman in making research selected historical material for the historical society from various sources, and same was copied mostly in the form of typewritten copies, and placed in its archives, and in most instances has been bound and is now in its vaults and available for inspection and examination under rules and regulations of the society by interested persons, to-wit:

a. A volume of 402 typewritten pages of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington relating to the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, Delaware, Osage and Quapaw Indians, covering the period from 1831 to 1860, and identified as Volume 1, entitled "Miscellaneous files from Office of Indian Affairs."

b. A smaller volume of 315 typed pages identified as Volume 2 of "Miscellaneous files from Office of Indian Affairs", containing copies of manuscripts relating to the Creek, Chickasaw and Cherokee Indians.

c. Copies of early manuscripts comprising about 600 typewritten pages, a considerable part of which was acquired by Dr. Foreman from a party in Van Buren, Arkansas, the originals being from the wreckage of an old warehouse, including bills of lading for goods shipped up the Arkansas River from New Orleans and other points to merchants in the Indian Territory from 1858 to 1862, disclosing the names of many persons identified with the history of that period, the volume including copies of miscellaneous documents secured from offices in Washington, D. C. covering the period from 1845 to 1865.

d. A volume of 470 typed pages, copies of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C. relating to the Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw and other Indians, covering the period from 1830 to 1839.

e. A volume of 291 typed pages of manuscripts in the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to the Cherokee Indians from 1830 to 1840.

f. A volume of 381 typed pages of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to the Creek and Seminole Indians and covering the period from 1831 to 1840.

g. A volume of 342 pages of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to the Osage and Seminole Indians, the Western Superintendency, and relating to the general subject of schools among the Indians of Oklahoma, covering the period from 1829 to 1842.

h. A volume of 200 pages of original manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to the Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians and covering the period from 1839 to 1859.

i. A volume of 178 typewritten pages of manuscripts in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relating to treaties and litigation resulting from the claims of loyal citizens of the Indian Territory, entitled for "losses sustained during the Civil War," these papers bearing date from about 1865 to 1867.

j. A volume of 197 typewritten pages of original manuscripts in the office of the Adjutant General in Washington, D. C. in the files known as the "Old Records Division" and "Headquarters of the Army," covering the period from 1839 to 1849.

k. A photastatic copy extending to 245 pages of the "Fort Gibson Letter Book 1834-1836", the original of which is in the office of the Adjutant General at Washington.

l. A volume of 57 typewritten pages bearing the title "Extracts from 'The Diary of the Moravian Missions among the Cherokee Indians, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838'", and being copies of the archives in the Moravian Church at Winston-Salem, N. C., these being translated from the German and typed in the English language.

m. A compiled list of the records as contained in the War Department at Washington, D. C., of Indians and other persons who served in the Confederate Army from Indian Territory during the Civil War, contained in two volumes in the vault of the Oklahoma Historical Society, covering 700 pages and including more than 13,000 names.

n. A volume of 347 typed pages of manuscripts and newspaper articles contained in the State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, relating to the Creek Indians and covering the period from 1831 to 1915.

o. A volume of typed pages copied from the "George Gaines papers" now on deposit in the Department of Archives and History at Jackson, Mississippi.

p. A volume of 250 typed pages, being copies of original letters relating to the missionary activities of Rev. W. S. Robertson and Rev. S. A. Worcester, father and grandfather of Miss Alice Robertson, covering the period from 1838 to 1917, being letters made available by the late Mrs. N. B. Moore.

q. A volume of 250 pages, being additional copies of letters from the family of Miss Alice Robertson, and a body of material relating to John Ross, Chief of the Cherokee Nation, covering the period from 1836 to 1933.

r. A volume of 255 typed pages, copies of the journals of the International Indian Council held at Okmulgee in the Creek Nation in June, 1872, May, 1873, May, 1875, and September, 1875.

s. Two volumes comprising 1145 typed pages, being copies of letters written by and to the Rev. Cyrus Byington, missionary among the Choctaw Indians from 1820 to 1866.

t. A volume of 182 typewritten pages prepared by the late W. B. Alberty, Cherokee, of Westville, Oklahoma, entitled, "Cherokee Indians, Life and Customs."

u. Inventory of records of the Five Civilized Tribes, transferred from the office of the Superintendent at Muskogee to the Oklahoma Historical Society. As to the Seminoles and Chickasaws the catalog contains 384 typewritten pages, and as to the Creeks, 701 typewritten pages, and as to the Cherokees, 264 typewritten pages, and as to the Choctaws, 448 typewritten pages.

v. A file of the *Indian Advocate*, published by the Baptists at Louisville, Kentucky, from 1847 to 1855, containing a vast amount of descriptive correspondence from the Indian Territory, found by Dr. Foreman in the

library of Congress. A photostat copy was secured by him for our archives where it forms a valuable addition to our historical material relating to the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes.

w. A typed copy of an autobiography of Mary Ann Lilley, wife of John Lilley, missionary to the Creeks and Seminoles, in the vault of our historical society.

x. Interviews secured by Dr. Foreman and Mrs. Foreman from early pioneers in the Five Civilized Tribes regarding their recollections of facts and acts detailed to them by persons long since passed away, among whom were the following, to-wit: Mrs. Edith Walker, granddaughter of Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, Mrs. Frank Swift, Mrs. Sue Rogers, R. P. Vann, Clarence B. Turner, Mrs. N. B. Moore, sister of Miss Alice Robertson, W. H. Balentine of Tahlequah, Mrs. Carrie Breedlove of Muldrow, Oklahoma, and Capt. John West.

y. A picture secured by Dr. Foreman from Thomas Blair during his lifetime of the Sequoyah Home which had been secured by Thomas Blair's father from Sequoyah's widow, together with Blair's verified statement as to the facts identifying the house as Sequoyah's Home.

z. Notes of material found by Dr. Foreman in the Washington County (Arkansas) court house, relating to the Cherokee Indians and other settlers in the country adjacent to the state of Arkansas, and other miscellaneous notes and copies of diaries and other manuscripts are in the vault of the society.

This material was assembled by Dr. Foreman in his work in securing material and making research for the many books of which he is the author and without any compensation for his work in securing these copies other than any actual reimbursement from the historical society for copying. It was unselfishly rendered for its preservation and rendering it available to students and researchers.

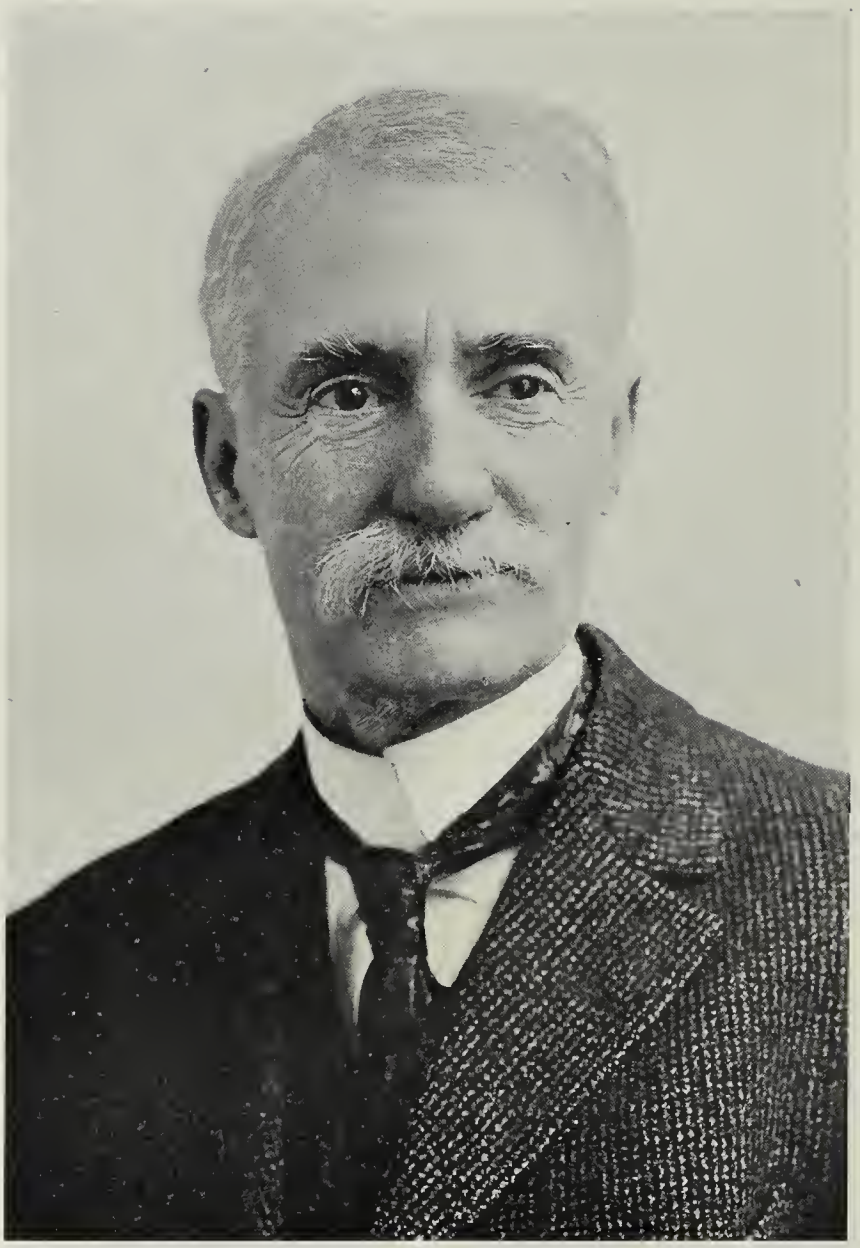
This data is set out in detail in this annual report to be published in *The Chronicles*, whose readers will find a guide in locating same.

All of the members of the staff and statutory employees of the historical society have duly made their reports and same are on file in the archives of the Historical Society available for examination, and are cooperating in bringing about efficient results.

The annual meeting was adjourned.

A visit was made to the new chapel at Fort Sill, and luncheon was served in the Officers' recreation center, followed by a sight-seeing tour of Fort Sill and other historic places and sites.

Robert L. Williams,
President.



TAMS BIXBY

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

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TAMS BIXBY

1855-1922

By Robert L. Williams

Tams Bixby, born on Dec. 12, 1855, at Staunton, Virginia, was the son of Bradford W. Bixby, who was born in Massachusetts, and his wife, Susan J. (Clarke) Bixby, who was born in Maine.

On April 27, 1886, he and Miss Clara Mues were married, who, with their three sons, Edson K., Joel H., and Tams, Jr., survived him. His widow and the sons, Edson K., and Joel H., have since passed away.

In 1857, the family removed to the Territory of Minnesota[1], and settled at Stillwater. After short residences there, and at St. Paul, and Hastings, they removed to Red Wing in the fall of 1862, where the father established a bakery shop and confectionery. There the son spent his boyhood and early manhood, receiving his education at the local parish school until he was 12 years old, and then at the public schools until 13 years of age. Beyond that, his educational advantages were such as a youth with an alert and active mind, and ambition, may derive through reading, application, observation and experience. With remarkable enterprise, he employed his abilities and talents in that pioneer field. In a business way he was engaged as storekeeper, news agent, baker, hotelkeeper, and publisher.

When the Young Men's Christian Association was in its infancy in the Northwest, he was instrumental in organizing a local association, being its first Secretary.

When 19 years of age, while in virtual charge of the business, his father died, the son continuing the same.

Having served a short apprenticeship in 1884 he embarked in the printing and newspaper business. He became editor and publisher of the Red Wing *Sun* (Goodhue County), a weekly paper, and also editor of the North Star, and for a time of the *Grange Advance,* official organ of the patrons of husbandry, precursor of the Farmers' Alliance. Later, with consolidation of papers he formed the Red Wing *Republican,* later a daily paper. With this venture he became active politically, his first official political position being chairman of the Republican County Central Committee. His party activity brought about his speedy advancement to the secretaryship of the

[1] Territorial government organized under Act of Mar. 3, 1849; Enabling Act, February 26, 1857; Act for Admission into the Union, May 11, 1858.

State Republican League, and then to Secretary, and in turn to Chairman, of the State Central Committee. His first remunerative public office was that of Secretary of the State Railroad and Warehouse Commission.

In the campaign of 1888, when the election of a Governor of the state and also a President of the United States was involved, he was chairman of the speakers' bureau of the Minnesota Republican Campaign Committee. In 1889, whilst Secretary of the State Central Committee, Governor William R. Merriam appointed him as his private secretary, and he was so continued after the Governor's re-election in 1890. In 1892 he was re-elected Secretary of the State Committee. The Honorable Knute Nelson being elected Governor in 1892, he appointed Mr. Bixby as his private secretary, who in 1894 was again re-elected as Chairman of the State Committee. Governor Knute Nelson having been re-elected in 1894, the incoming legislature elected him as United States Senator. Lieutenant-Governor David M. Clough then became Governor of the state and Mr. Bixby was again selected and continued as the Governor's private secretary.

In 1893, Mr. Bixby, who had given up his newspaper and publishing business, again acquired an interest in the Red Wing *Republican,* and retained same throughout his service as private secretary to Governors Nelson and Clough.

In 1897, Mr. Bixby, in recognition not only of his political services, and influence, but also of his eminent qualification, was tendered an appointment as a member of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory. He requested W. H. Angell, who was at that time Chief Clerk in the Governor's office and later head of the land office in Atoka, Indian Territory, to investigate as to the importance of the Commission, who reported that it had been created by Act of Congress of March 3, 1893, 27 Stat. 612, 645, section 16, providing for appointment of three Commissioners to enter into negotiations with each of the Five Civilized Tribes in contemplation of the subdivision of lands of each tribe and allotments in severalty to members thereof, at that time the holdings being in common with the right of occupancy only by individual members, and to treat with each of the tribes for the discontinuance of tribal government, and not only for the survey and appraisal of the lands and determination of the values thereof, but also for the enrollment of citizens belonging to each tribe, and to cause to be deeded to such member under rules and regulations, his or her appropriate share of the lands, as measured by value per acre.

The purging of the citizenship rolls in each tribe of names of persons not of the blood of the Tribe, or not members by adoption or intermarriage, and not entitled to be enrolled as such and to participate in the allotment of lands of the tribes, of which type many thousands of such claims were to be investigated and adjudicated, in

addition to other duties, occasioned a vast amount of work and responsibility—a monumental task.

As members of this Commission, the President appointed Henry L. Dawes[2] of Massachusetts, Meredith H. Kidd of Indiana, and Archibald S. McKennon of Arkansas, at which time the Five Civilized Tribes occupied about twenty million acres of land, to-wit:

Nation	*Acres*
Choctaw	6,953,048
Chickasaw	4,707,903
Cherokee	4,420,068
Creek	3,079,095
Seminole	365,852
	19,525,966

Land offices were established in each of the Five Civilized Tribes for filing allotment selections and contests, hearings, and awards subject to appeal, as follows: Chickasaw Nation, originally at Tishomingo but later at Ardmore; Choctaw Nation at Atoka; Cherokee Nation at Tahlequah; Seminole Nation at Wewoka; and Creek Nation at Muskogee.

During progress of allotment a number of fullbloods termed Snake Indians assumed an obstinate attitude against allotment and refused to file applications therefor, thereby causing arbitrary allotments to be made to them by the Commission in awarding allottee his or her part of the distributed landed estate, necessarily made after the more desirable lands had been voluntarily selected on the allottee's application. Oil and gas was afterwards discovered on such allotments, which developed into valuable holdings.

In making the citizenship rolls, it was essential to establish an extensive and competent legal department, through which to determine citizenship matters. Each enrolled citizen of the Five Civilized Tribes, with exceptions for which proper compensation was provided, received allotment of lands as follows:

	Average Allotment	*For Homestead*
Choctaws	320 acres	160 acres
Chickasaws	320 "	160 "
Cherokees	110 "	40 "
Creeks	160 "	40 "
Seminoles	120 "	40 "

In such distribution of allotments, intricate complications arose, occasioned among other things by locations and improvements, and contests arising as to prior improvements and occupancy rights.

During the year 1895 the Commission was increased to five members by appointment of Thomas B. Cabiness, of Georgia, and Alexander B. Montgomery, of Kentucky, and upon the resignation of

[2] Henry L. Dawes, a Representative and a Senator of the United States from March 4, 1857 to March 4, 1893, and for years a member of the Senate Indian Committee.

Commissioner Kidd, General Frank C. Armstrong was appointed as his successor. The commission vainly labored with the Indians without making successful progress toward the conclusion of the contemplated treaties.

In May, 1897, Tams Bixby, of Minnesota, Thomas B. Needles, of Illinois, and later Major Clifton R. Breckinridge, of Arkansas, were appointed members of the Commission as successors to Cabiness, Montgomery, and Armstrong.

The chairman of the Commission being of an advanced age, the duties of the chairmanship rested on Mr. Bixby as acting chairman, who was its leading and dominant spirit.

Mr. Bixby, taking up his initial work in an atmosphere of hostility, encountered not only stubborn opposition on the part of Indians by blood, but also the squaw man or intermarried citizen, the cattleman who had been using vast acres practically free for the grazing of his herds, and to a great extent the whites or non-citizens engaged in farming in a small way, were not pressing for any change. The principal sentiment for change was among the whites located in the towns and villages.[3]

His most difficult work was to effect tribal sentiment so as to bring the leading Indians of the respective tribes to such a frame of mind as to participate in negotiations. Patience, diplomacy, and personality gradually broke down the barriers with the result that what is known as the Atoka Treaty or Agreement was entered into with the Chickasaws and Choctaws on June 28, 1898 (30 Stat. 495), with a supplemental treaty, ratified and confirmed by the United States on July 1, 1902 (32 Stat. 500), and by the two tribes on September 25, 1902—and treaties with the Seminoles on July 1, 1898 (30 Stat. 567), and the Creeks and supplement thereto, and with the Cherokees on March 1, 1901 (31 Stat. 848). The treaty with the Creeks was ratified by Act of Congress of May 1, 1901, and by the Creek Council on May 25, 1901, with supplemental Creek treaty ratified by Congress on June 30, 1902 (32 Stat. 500), and by the Creek Council on July 26, 1902. The agreement with the Cherokee Nation was ratified by Congress on May 1, 1901, but rejected by the Cherokee Council. The Congress on July 1, 1902 passed an act providing for allotment of lands in the Cherokee Nation (32 Stat. 716), which was agreed to by the Cherokees on August 7, 1902.

In the early part of 1899 Mr. Bixby conferred with C. H. Fitch, at that time in charge of the Geological Survey, under whose supervision the sectionizing of the Indian Territory had been prosecuted and was about completed, with a desire of securing as employees of the Commission men who had been active in the survey of the Indian Territory and who were familiar with the conditions existing at that time.

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[3] Vol. 18, issue No. 2 (March, 1940) pp. 171, 181, and issue No. 3 (September 1940) pp. 248, 249, *Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Mr. Fitch recommended to Mr. Bixby some ten employees of the Geological Survey as men who had been particularly efficient in their work; among whom were W. O. Beall, W. J. Cook, Robert Muldrow, Rees Evans, Wyatt Hawkins, Henry Hackbush, and Joseph S. Gibson, all of whom, while not active in Democratic politics, were in fact Democrats.

Mr. Bixby accepted Mr. Fitch's recommendation, and later, about April 1, 1899, caused the appointment of the parties to various positions under the Commission. No mention was made in the conference between Fitch and Mr. Bixby as to political affiliations.

Mr. Bixby's standard of qualification for employment by the Commission was the efficiency of the man under consideration. During that period necessarily many recommendations were made by the chairmen of the Indian Committees in the United States House and the Senate for appointments in the various branches of the Commission's work. Mr. Bixby in instances was moved by these recommendations, but where the appointee did not measure up to and fulfil his ideal of efficiency such employee was dropped or resigned and in some cases discharged. In many instances vacancies thus created were filled by Democrats who met Mr. Bixby's standard of efficiency. Among these were such as Guy L. V. Emerson and Dave Yancey, who received appointments to responsible positions solely on their qualifications to fill the positions to which they were appointed.

Upon the retirement of A. L. Aylesworth as Secretary of the Commission in the latter part of 1903, W. O. Beall, upon the recommendation of Mr. Bixby, was appointed Secretary of the Commission, and served in that capacity until he resigned from government service on December 31, 1906. The salary of the Secretary of the Commission was probably the highest in the Indian Territory at that time outside of members of the United States judiciary and members of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes. Many Republicans in the Indian Territory considered that a position of such magnitude belonged to a Republican, and used their utmost endeavors to have Beall removed as Secretary and a Republican appointed in his place, but Mr. Bixby's reply was that he knew he came from a Maryland family of Democrats, and he assumed that he was a Democrat but that he had taken no active part in politics in the Indian Territory, and that whenever a Republican was presented to him who had the ability and was as conscientious in the performance of his duties as had been Mr. Beall, then he would consider the matter.

This built up a loyal and an efficient organization, the test and the qualification being fidelity and efficiency, with preference given to the men of his own party when they had equal qualification including efficiency. This brought about merit without an applied civil service rule under the administration of the Commissioner who recognized what was to be accomplished in winding up this great

Indian estate, and who wound same up with such faithful service to the Indian and such performance of duty to the government as that at the time of his death there was not a blot on his name.

The Congress of the United States recognized such fidelity and efficiency. Section 3 of Act of Congress, March 27, 1908, 35 Stat. 312, provides that:

"* * * the rolls of citizenship * * * of the Five Civilized Tribes * * * shall be conclusive evidence as to quantum of Indian blood of any enrolled citizen * * * and the enrollment records of the *Commissioner* of the Five Civilized Tribes shall hereafter be conclusive evidence as to the age of said citizen or freedman."

This work, diversified in character, affecting the five estates, with such a great number of allottees or heirs participating, was consummated without scandal, or suspicion, or injustice, and without abuse of power, showing the stature of Tams Bixby as an outstanding administrator for all time in the records of the United States government.

Facing the task of building such an organization for the great work in hand, his genius developed same, working with precision and with obstacles to success eliminated.

A large number of members of the Creeks, led by Chitto Harjo, rebellious against division of tribal properties, and many members of other tribes striving to impede the work on the part of the government, as well as swarms of human traffickers for gain following the meetings of the Indians and seeking to reap a harvest, yielded to his able, efficient, and honest administration.

In a trial in the United States District Court involving title to a Chickasaw allotment, in which an effort was being made to show a different paternity of the allottee, and to substitute an heir to what was thought to be a valuable oil property, the census card being introduced, it was disclosed that the notation thereon with reference to the father was in the handwriting of the late Tams Bixby, who at the time of said enrollment was acting Chairman of the Commission. Counsel on each side admitted that the notations on said card were in his handwriting and it was further disclosed that at the time the evidence was taken as to the enrollment, Tams Bixby was present in charge of the enrolling party. The evidence showed that his administration as to such enrollments was characterized by industry and efficiency and detail, and with thorough method. The claim set up on the part of the heir as to being the child of a Chickasaw father other than such as shown by the census card and the roll, faded. The attorney defending the title under the enrollment, upon his return to his home in another state, wrote to another party relative to his experience in the trial of the case and stated that from that time "the ghost of Tams Bixby marched along during the trial as an important witness in favor of his title."

It was under Tams Bixby's guidance that new treaties were negotiated by which their Tribal governments were discontinued, and they became citizens of a State and of the United States, each,

accepting his or her proportionate share of land. When his work was concluded, Indian Territory was considered as ready for admission into the union of states as a part of the state of Oklahoma.

In his early 20's Mr. Bixby was a railroad contractor, and before he was 25 years of age, had staunch friends among the most important railroad heads in Minnesota, including the late James J. Hill.

He was a dominant figure in Minnesota politics, for twelve years exercising a directing hand, and in 1897 when he came to the Indian Territory was a counsellor and advisor of the National Republican organization.

In 1906 he acquired the controlling interest in the Muskogee (Oklahoma) *Daily Phoenix,* later absorbing the *Times Democrat,* both of which are now controlled by his family. He was the guiding figure in establishment of the Oklahoma Free State Fair at Muskogee, the largest institution in the country, to which admission fees are not charged, and a leading participant in the organization of the Muskogee Town and Country Club. He was President of the Health Association and Anti-Tuberculosis League of the Red Cross Society in said city and county (Muskogee), and during the World War was Chairman of the County Council of Defense.

He passed away on January 17, 1922 at Kansas City, Missouri on his return trip from California, where he had gone seeking restoration of his health.

All three of his sons, to his delight, served with distinction in the World War, the youngest attaining the rank of Major in the Field Artillery. Tams Bixby, Sr., having volunteered for active service, it was declined on account of his age. Then he offered his service as a cook, as being qualified by his experience in a bakery as a boy, and that was declined evidently on the ground that his services were more valuable in an organizing capacity at home.

Whilst a partisan, he put country first. During the election in 1920, through his papers he supported the democratic nominee for United States Senator as against that of the Republicans on account of his support of Victor Berger in the contest over his seat in the United States Congress, and matters in connection therewith.

He was a builder and an administrator, with a proper consideration of the public welfare. He never permitted his personal business to become so absorbing as to stand in the way of his service to his community. His pride in civic development and his contribution to charity, without ostentation, were unexcelled. He supported the city (Muskogee) managerial form of government to promote efficiency and economy.

Having been appointed to the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes on May 2, 1897, he served as such until July 1, 1905, when the Commission by Act of Congress was succeeded by the office of Commissioner, which had been created in lieu thereof. He was

appointed such Commissioner and held the office until July 1, 1907, when he resigned and returned to Minnesota. There he and his associates acquired control of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* which was successfully operated under his management until during the year 1910 when such interest was disposed of to advantage and he returned to Muskogee, Oklahoma, and took charge of the Muskogee *Daily Phoenix,* becoming editor and publisher. In 1918 he also acquired the Muskogee *Times Democrat,* and until his death was publisher and editor of both papers.

He was founder of the city of Bemidji, Minnesota, and president of the Bemidji Townsite and Improvement Company at the time of his death. His administrative genius was demonstrated in both states.

His body was brought from Kansas City to Muskogee, where funeral services were held, before being taken to Red Wing, Minnesota for interment.

On January 19, 1922, the wheels of industry in Muskogee ceased revolving for an hour, and a solemn hush hung over the city, the silent tribute of a community to its greatest citizen, whose mortal remains lay upon the funeral bier. Hundreds braved the cold to attend the funeral at his home, which was conducted by the Rector of the Episcopal Church. A guard of Knight Templars escorted his body from the undertaking parlors, and a score of uniformed members of the American Legion bore their own wreath to the altar of death, and sat silently through the brief service when the crowd filed silently out and stood, heads bared, in the cold, awaiting to accompany the body to the station, uniformed ex-service men of the American Legion forming an open rank through which the pallbearers carried the casket to the hearse. The Legion men, with active and honorary pallbearers, also formed the last escort of the body as it was placed aboard the train to be carried for interment at Red Wing, where with the simple Episcopal grave ceremony it was laid to rest in a mausoleum, later to be removed to a family mausoleum erected in his memory.

Virtually every business house in the city closed from 2:30 o'clock to 3:30 o'clock in honor of his memory. The Federal Court adjourned its pressing session to honor his memory and for attendance upon the funeral. The United States Indian Agency closed during such period. The offices in the county court house and at the city hall also were closed.

He climbed the ladder to great achievements. For the Five Civilized Tribes, he put an immeasurable accomplishment with definite results in a short span of ten years. Following his governmental work, as a business man and publisher he was an outstanding figure.[4] His life should be, and is, an inspiration to every ambitious struggling boy.

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[4] *Memorial Volume to Tams Bixby* in Archives of Oklahoma Historical Society.

CHIEF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SMALLWOOD

CHIEF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SMALLWOOD AND CHIEF JEFFERSON GARDNER.

By John Bartlett Meserve.

The McCurtain family was highly influential in the political affairs of the Choctaw Nation during its concluding decades. This influence, having its inception in August, 1880 with the election of Jackson F. McCurtain as Principal Chief of the tribe continued until the independent status of the Choctaws was completely folded up. This political power was exerted through the Progressive Party, the policies and leadership of which the McCurtains controlled. Chief Jackson F. McCurtain served through two terms, being succeeded by Edmund McCurtain, his younger brother but who apparently declined a reelection. The Progressive Party again triumphed in the fall of 1886 through the election of Thompson McKinney. The McCurtains suffered a temporary defeat in August, 1888 when Benjamin F. Smallwood of the National Party defeated the Progressive candidate.

[1] Elijah Smallwood, an Englishman born in South Carolina, journeyed to the Choctaw country in Mississippi when a young man, where he married a Choctaw woman. His son William Smallwood was born in Mississippi and attended school at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. He married Mary Le Flore of French-Choctaw origin, who was a sister of Thomas Le Flore. William Smallwood with his family removed to the old Indian Territory with one of the numerous removal parties in the thirties of the last century and settled in Kiamichi County, Choctaw Nation and in what is today Choctaw County, Oklahoma, where he engaged in farming. He was a member of the Choctaw Council in 1863.

Benjamin Franklin Smallwood a son of William Smallwood and Mary Le Flore, his wife was born in the old Greenwood Le Flore District in the Choctaw country in Mississippi in 1829 and as a mere child came with his parents to the old Indian Territory. He attended school at Shawneetown on the Red River and later at Spencer Academy. After leaving school he aided his father in his farming operations and in 1847 embarked in farming and stock-raising for himself. Young Smallwood opened a mercantile store in Kiamichi County in 1862 but in the following year removed to the vicinity of Lehigh where he entered more extensively into the cattle business and enlarged his store. It was quite a uniform practice among the Indian cattle men during those days to operate a trading post where they assembled their herds by conveniently exchanging their merchandise for cattle. Money was a rare medium

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[1] The writer is indebted to Lee F. Harkins of Tulsa, a great grandson of Chief Smallwood, for much valuable assistance.

Indian Territory Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men by O'Beirne, p. 146.

of exchange among the Indians during those early days. B. F. Smallwood was shrewd in business, success rewarded his efforts and in due time he ranked among the wealthiest men in the Choctaw Nation.

The political career of B. F. Smallwood dates back to his early life when as a young man in 1847 he served as a ranger in Kiamichi County. When barely of age, he was chosen as a representative to the Choctaw Council, serving as speaker of the lower house upon four different occasions. In 1881 as speaker of the house he opposed the granting of a right of way to the Frisco Railway. From 1847 to 1890, save the years of his service in the Civil War, he functioned in an official capacity in the political life of the Choctaw Nation and made numerous trips to Washington as a delegate from the tribe. The range of his service vested him with much influence among his people. He entered the race for the chieftainship in the fall of 1886 as the candidate of the National Party but suffered defeat and Thompson McKinney of the Progressive Party was elected. He again was offered by the National Party as its candidate in August, 1888 in a campaign which was memorable for its bitterness. He was pitched against Wilson N. Jones of the Progressive Party. The popularity of Smallwood occasioned by his extended career in the house of representatives of the council, enabled him to defeat the McCurtain-Jones machine although the Progressives secured a majority in both houses of the Choctaw Council. This situation was to occasion him much embarrassment during his tenure as chief. Much feeling was engendered and in anticipation of trouble from the defeated faction, the new chief took the oath of office at the Roebuck Hotel in Tuskahoma rather than at the capitol where the adverse council was in session. The oath of office was administered by Supreme Court Judge Henry C. Harris.

Little was accomplished during his administration due in a measure to the cleavage between the Chief and his council. Initial steps were taken by the Chief in 1890 touching the sale of the so-called Leased District lands in the western part of the old Territory, to the Government. This movement has never terminated but the controversy over the question of the right of the tribes for compensation for these lands is still pending in the Court of Claims and before the Congress. The Choctaw country was growing rapidly. Towns were springing up but because of no express provisions of Choctaw law, all rights of corporate capacity for local self-government were denied these communities. These towns were enabled to make no provision for water, sewer or fire protection because of a denial by Chief Smallwood of such permission due to the absence of specific provisions. The Chief evidently believed in the letter of the law and that no inherent common law principles obtained among the Indians. During his administration an effort was made to vest ownership of

THE HOME OF CHIEF B. F. SMALLWOOD

the coal mines in the Nation but was defeated by the veto of Chief Smallwood.

The Net Proceeds Claim which had its inception back in 1853 still remained a controversial issue. Numerous profligate engagements had been made through the years with the delegations which had been sent to Washington to induce the Government to liquidate the claim. Many corrupt practices were indulged and as the possibility of a pay-off by the Government seemed to appear, aspiring Choctaw politicians evidenced a manifest interest in the disbursement of the monies. The matter became a paramount issue in the fall of 1888 when Chief Smallwood was elected, because the Government had declared its purpose to pay certain of the monies over to the Nation for its disbursement. Although the Net Proceeds matter was not fully adjusted until 1896, a payment was made to the Nation during the administration of Chief Smallwood and a distribution was undertaken. The Chief called a special session of the Council to authorize a distribution of the monies to be made without an audit by the Net Proceeds Commission. For this rather unseemly action, it appears that the Chief was paid the sum of $5,500 from the monies so received. The collection and disbursement of this old claim constitutes one of the dark pages in Choctaw history and bears heavily upon the integrity and efficiency of the political life of the Choctaw Nation.

The Chief evidenced a marked interest in the extension of educational advantages and upon this question addressed the Council at length upon numerous occasions. He was of the conservative element among the Choctaws and manifestly jealous of the hereditary rights of the Indian to regulate his own tribal affairs without reference of matters to the United States Government. To him, the Choctaw Nation was not a mere gesture. In his message to the Council on October 9, 1889, he offers this thought;—

[2] "The law authorizing an appeal to the United States authority in cases where the matter of citizenship in the Choctaw Nation has been passed upon by the authorities of this Nation, should receive your attention. As it now stands it appears that any action by this Nation is useless because it determines nothing, but allows the claimant to set aside the findings arrived at and appeal the case to another tribunal. The action of the Choctaw Nation should be declared a finality in the matter. Interference with this right to determine the question of citizenship for our people cannot be safely conceded to any other authority."

Two strenuous years of executive administration had cooled the ardor of Chief Smallwood for another term although he became the rather passive candidate of the National Party for reelection in the fall of 1890. The Progressives again backed the candidacy of Wilson N. Jones who waged a spectacular campaign and was elected. The biennial elections in the Choctaw Nation were bitterly contested. There were no dividing issues to provoke discussion and so the controversy became largely one of personal vili-

[2] *Indian Citizen*, October 12, 1889.

fication of the opposing candidates. Each campaign became an arena of fierce controversy in which many sordid and illogical things were said and done. Appeals were made to passion and prejudice by the use of buncomb and whispered slander. Politics in the Choctaw Nation were rotten to the core. With the election of Jones the McCurtains resumed their leadership.

Upon his retirement from Office, Chief Smallwood retired to his farm west of Lehigh in what is today Coal County, Oklahoma where he passed away on December 15, 1891 and where he is buried in a family burying ground. His grave is suitably marked. The home where the Hon. Patrick J. Hurley was born is about 500 feet distant from the old home of Chief Smallwood.

Chief Smallwood married Annie Burney in 1849. She was a Chickasaw Indian woman of the house of Ima-te-po of the family of Okla-pa-nubbii and died during the Civil War. The governor later married Abbie James. The chief served as a captain in the 2nd Choctaw regiment in the Confederate army in the Civil War. He enjoyed the favor and acquaintance of Gov. Throckmorton of Texas with whom he engaged in occasional hunting expeditions. Chief Smallwood was slightly above the average in stature and evidenced a strong physical appearance. He was well educated and an evenly balanced character. He joined with the Rev. J. S. Morrow in locating the site of the present cemetery at Tishomingo. Rev. Morrow conducted the funeral rites of Chief Smallwood. The chief assembled his own personal affairs in a most capable manner and had he received the support of his official circle, his program for the enlargement of the educational facilities of the Choctaws would have been realized. His recommendations were repeatedly ignored by the council but under the succeeding administration, the council and the new chief carried out his recommendations in matters affecting education but Chief Smallwood was excluded from the credit which was his due.[2a]

[3] Jefferson Gardner became the Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation in October, 1894 succeeding Chief Wilson N. Jones. He was a son of Noel and Hannah Gardner and was born near Wheelock, Choctaw Nation on July 12, 1847.[4] His parents were both mixed blood Choctaws and natives of Mississippi. The father of Jefferson Gardner had been a student at Choctaw Academy, Kentucky and was, at one time, an interpreter for the missionaries. Farming and stockraising were his gainful pursuits. The young lad was placed in Norfolk School in old Towson County in the fall

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2-a Mrs Annie Harkins of Tulsa and Mrs Lizzie Nash of Antlers are surviving granddaughters of Chief Smallwood.

[3] He was known and addressed in his business and political career, more intimately as Jeff Gardner and so usually signed public documents when acting as Chief. He appears upon the Choctaw Rolls of the Dawes Commission enrolled in 1902 opposite Roll Number 1243 as shown by Census Card Number 560 as Jefferson Gardner and the inscription upon his tombstone bears the same name.

[4] Date of birth is taken from his tombstone.

(Courtesy of Rosebud Bryce, Tishomingo)

MARKER AT THE GRAVE OF CHIEF B. F. SMALLWOOD

CHIEF JEFFERSON GARDNER

of 1855 and in the succeeding year entered Spencer Academy where he remained for two years. He married Lucy James in 1862 who survived but for a brief period. She died at Wheelock. He removed to Eagletown and in 1864, married Lucy Christy, a daughter of Joseph Christy. Upon her death he married Julia, a sister of his second wife who survived him.

[5] The public career of Jefferson Gardner had its inception in his early life. In 1864 he was appointed county clerk of Eagle County and in the following year became district clerk. He was chosen in 1873 to represent Eagle and Wolf (Norashaba) Counties in the tribal senate. He engaged in farming and stockraising quite extensively upon lands along the Mountain Fork (Nani-hutcha) in the immediate vicinity of Eagletown and in what is today the southeastern part of McCurtain County, Oklahoma. The old farm home of Jefferson Gardner still remains, is in good repair and occupied. It is situated about 200 yards from the famous big cypress tree upon his farm and which is reputed to be the largest tree in the State of Oklahoma. In 1878 he embarked in the mercantile business at Eagletown serving as postmaster[6] at the same time which position he occupied for many years. He enlarged his store in 1884 and also at the same time conducted stores at Sulphur Springs (Alikashi) and at Bon-ton on the Red River. He operated a cotton gin at Eagletown in connection with his other business activities. Jefferson Gardner became treasurer of the Choctaw Nation in 1884 and in 1888 was chosen circuit judge of the 2nd judicial district and served until the fall of 1894. He rendered material service in the Federal census of the Choctaw Nation[7] which was taken in 1890. His business engagements were very successful and in his political ventures he evidenced the highest integrity.

The span of years accorded to Jefferson Gardner were spent amid environs which are of historic moment. The extreme southeastern segment of the State of Oklahoma is a Land of Memories. Here, early caravans of the immigrating Choctaws came finally to repose but there are few peek-holes left through which we may vision them during those struggling years. Doaksville, Wheelock, Armstrong Academy, Pine Ridge, Spencer Academy[8] and others are today but ghost towns and linger only in legends of a most interesting long ago. Eagletown, the home of Jefferson Gardner still survives. Associated with those landmarks are memories of

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[5] *Indian Territory Chiefs, Leaders and Leading Men* by O'Beirne, p. 174. The writer acknowledges much assistance by Hon. V. M. Locke, Jr. of Oklahoma City. Mr. Locke is a former chief of the Choctaws.

[6] The postoffice was established at Eagletown on June 4, 1887, with Jefferson Gardner as postmaster.

[7] *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, by Angie Debo, p. 222.

[8] Spencer Academy was built in 1844. The Choctaw Academy in Kentucky was closed in 1842 and the money which theretofore had been appropriated for that institution thereafter was used in the construction and maintenance of Spencer Academy.

the early missionaries who labored during those pristine years and brought an intimacy of the Christian faith to these people, influencing their secular as well as their spiritual lives. The years have canonized these historic souls in the hearts of the thoughtful Choctaws.

[9] Jefferson Gardner was elected Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation in August, 1894 as the candidate of the Progressive Party defeating Jacob B. Jackson[10] of the National Party. Many of his administrative efforts were postponed through the unfriendly attitude of the General Council, a majority of whom were of the opposing political party. The government of which he assumed charge was a minority government in as much as the Federal census of 1890 had disclosed that the Choctaws constituted only about one-fourth of the population. This situation was not so alarming as was that disclosed among the Chickasaws where only about nine per cent of the population of the Chickasaw Nation were Chickasaws. The immigration of the whites continued rapidly after 1890. The Dawes Commission and the allotment of the tribal domain in severalty absorbed the interest of the Choctaws when Gardner assumed the reins of office but were not issues in the campaign which resulted in his election. The Choctaws with few exceptions were vigorously opposed to allotment and the consequent destruction of their autonomous government. Chief Gardner shared this vision with them. He evidenced a sense of the collection destiny of his people insisting that they be permitted to pursue their established habits of life.

In his first message delivered to the General Council on October 5, 1894, Chief Gardner expressed himself:—

"* * * your attention is invited to the fact under all of our treaties with the United States Government, * * * forever secures and guarantees the lands embraced within the limits as described * * * to the members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes, their heirs and successors, to be held in common. * * * But, as has been expressed by an almost unanimous vote or expression of the people, we do not desire any change in the tenure of our lands or any change in our tribal government. Therefore let me impress upon you that it is your duty that you act in accordance with the wishes and desires of the people whom you represent in which was fully shown in the protest against any change whatever. I suggest that you carefully consider this matter as it is of grave importance to our people. Knowing that at this time a change of any kind would be detrimental to our people, I earnestly ask that if a change must come, let us stand firm and plead for that which our people have elected us to do. Plead for a continuance of our present government on which depends the happiness of our people. Therefore with all candor and courtesy to the Dawes Commission, I am opposed to a change, *knowing that our people are not prepared for it* and that a consent will never be given, I beg that this embarrassing proposition be withdrawn and that you make haste in business."[11]

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[9] "Recollections of Peter Hudson," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, p. 509 *et seq.*

[10] See sketch of Jacob B. Jackson in "Chief Wilson Nathaniel Jones," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XIV, 428.

[11] *Indian Citizen,* October 11, 1894.

MARKER AT THE GRAVE OF CHIEF JEFFERSON GARDNER

[12] Sentiments favorable to allotment began to crystalize among the Choctaws in 1895-6 under the active leadership of Green McCurtain'[13] supported by Dr. E. N. Wright,[14] A. R. Durant and other outstanding leaders. The expressions offered by Mrs. Jackson F. McCurtain before the Dawes Commission at Tuskahoma in June, 1896 fairly epitomize the growing sentiments among the thoughtful Choctaws,

"I am glad the Commission has been appointed and I want to see the land allotted and the United States protect us before it is too late. If we could live in quiet and peace and have our affairs administered as it was originally intended and as we did in the early days, I would prefer that; but there has been a change and allotment and United States citizenship must come and tribal relations cease."[15]

Chief Gardner withdrew to his home at Eagletown and assumed a passive posture toward the efforts of the Dawes Commission to contact him, by ignoring its correspondence. He not only declined to summon a special session of the council in March, 1896, but stubbornly refused to initiate any action whatever. He failed to meet the members of the Commission at Tuskahoma on July 27th when they sought a personal interview and declined to furnish the Commission with a copy of the tribal rolls. Concretely, he sought to carry out the sentiments expressed by the Choctaw electorate in August, 1894 and refused to acknowledge the change in sentiment. He declined to be persuaded that the Choctaws were prepared for the drastic change.

The tribal election held in August, 1896 was bitterly contested. The forces opposing allotment were divided into three parties each of which presented a candidate for the chieftainship and although the combined vote of these three candidates cast a majority, Green McCurtain who favored allotment was elected and in the ensuing October qualified as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation. Chief Gardner was among the defeated candidates.

Chief Gardner accepted the result as a vindication of the efforts of the Dawes Commission and immediately summoned the council in special session to meet on September 8th to arrange for the taking of a census of the tribe to supply that body with a citizenship roll and employed counsel to represent the tribe before the Commission.

During his two years as Chief, the financial affairs of Jefferson Gardner had suffered heavy losses. He resumed his residence at Eagletown, but his business ventures had been liquidated and passed into the hands of white men. He accepted a position as a postal clerk under Postmaster Pinckett at Eagletown. In April, 1906 the old chief attended court at Antlers where he contracted pneumonia and hastened toward home. Becoming severely ill, he

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[12] *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic,* by Angie Debo, pp. 259 *et seq.*

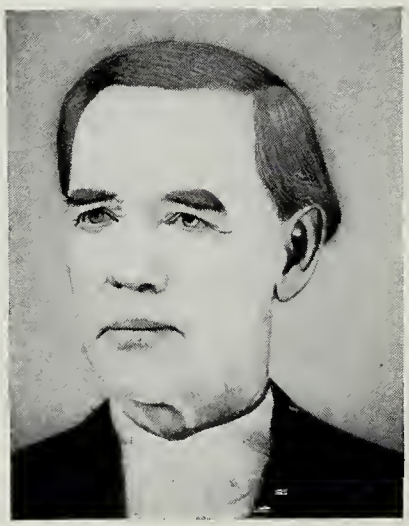
[13] "The McCurtains," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XIII, pp. 297 *et seq.*

[14] "The Life of Dr. Eliphalet Nott Wright," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, pp. 267 *et seq.*

[15] "The Dawes Commission and the Five Civilized Tribes," p. 20.

was taken from the train at Idabel where he passed away on April 6th. His remains rest in the old Joe Christy cemetery about three miles southeast of Eagletown where his grave marker bears the inscription, "Jefferson, the Husband of Judy Gardner. Born July 12, 1847. Died April 6, 1906."

Chief Gardner, a man standing about five feet, six inches and bald headed, was a Choctaw of the one-half blood but had the vision of the full blood in tribal affairs. He lingered from an age which was rapidly departing, being the last chief of the old regime. His opposition to allotment may have been somewhat awkward and in defiance of modern progress but it is barely possible that that policy was undertaken somewhat prematurely. At least the full blood Choctaws enjoyed the prerogative of protest. Gardner may have been a political misfit during the years of his tenure as chief in so far as the allotment controversy was involved, but be it said to his credit, he stood adamant in his support of the age-old traditions of his people as he understood them. He indulged no wild-eyed reforms. He was vigorously assailed through the press and from the rostrum by public speakers of the mixed blood, intermarried white and intruder classes because of his policy, but many of his detractors bore resemblance to the pot that maligned the kettle. The honesty and integrity of Jefferson Gardner are salvaged from that hectic period.



REV. JOHN S. NOBLE
Missionary to Choctaws

GEORGE B. NOBLE

ALBERT G. NOBLE

GEORGE BUCHANAN NOBLE

1866-1940

By Robert L. Williams

George Buchanan Noble, born in Collin County, Texas on September 26, 1866, was a son of John Shackelford Noble (who was born in Kentucky on May 27, 1813 and died at Pilot Point, Texas on May 25, 1886), and his wife, Lucy Taylor Willock (who was born June 4, 1830 in Missouri, where her father and mother died when she was four years old, being taken to an uncle in Kentucky with whom she lived until her marriage on January 26, 1848, and died at Leonard, Texas on February 24, 1909). Immediately after said marriage he was transferred from the Louisville (Kentucky) Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the Indian Mission Conference, and with his bride he at once removed to Fort Towson, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, arriving in February, 1848, where as a member of said Conference he became superintendent of the Robeson Choctaw Indian School, name later changed to the Choctaw Academy for Indian boys and girls, of which he was superintendent for over five years.

His wife, in addition to the ordinary primary educational courses, taught the Indian girls cooking, sewing, dressmaking, and other domestic arts. In addition to such primary courses and instruction and as to religious matters, he taught the Indian boys agriculture, carpentry, and mechanics. On account of his health, at his request he was relieved of assignment for work for the year 1853.[1] In the latter part of 1854 he was transferred to the East Texas Conference, and at the Conference held at Marshall, Texas, in October, 1855, on account of his health he was granted a location. He then acquired a farm in Collin County, Texas, near Allen, where he settled and remained the greater part of his life,[2] continuing religious work as a local Methodist preacher, and engaging in farming.

Three children were born at Fort Towson, Choctaw Nation,[3] and ten in Collin County, Texas, three of whom settled in the

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[1] *History of Methodism in Oklahoma*, Vol. 1, by Babcock and Bryce, pp. 320, 333, and *Minutes of Indian Mission Conference*, pp. 59, 65, 73 (Archives of Oklahoma Historical Society).

[2] *History of Methodism in Texas*, by Phelan, p. 371.

[3] Margaret L. Noble, born Feb. 15, 1849, and married George Buchanan on June 6, 1866, and died at Leonard, Texas, on April 8, 1928; Mary E. Noble, born on June 19, 1850, and married James S. Newman in May, 1868, and died in Collin County in August, 1894; John A. Noble, born April 14, 1852, and died in Crosby County, Texas on March 10, 1939.

Indian Territory.[4] One located at Nashville, Tennessee, where he held a judgeship,[5] and six remained in Texas.[6]

In 1880 the family moved to Pilot Point, Texas that the children might have better educational advantages in attending what was then called the Dr. Franklin Academy, where George Buchanan Noble applied himself studiously and diligently.

In 1888 he secured a position in a drug store at Denison, Texas, where he remained until going to South Canadian in 1889 and securing employment in a drug store. He continued in that capacity until Dr. R. I. Bond (its proprietor) became a surgeon at Hartshorne for the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company, which was being constructed eastward across the Choctaw Nation from a point on the M. K. & T. Railroad line at McAlester. In March, 1892, at Cameron, I. T. he took charge of a drug store for Dr. Bond, later purchasing same from him. In November, 1896 F. W. Bird purchased an interest in said drug store, the business continuing under the firm name of Noble and Bird at that point until in 1899 when it was by them removed to Poteau, I. T. Bird and Noble remained partners in such business until the partnership was dissolved in 1910.

With the passage of Act of Congress of March 1, 1889 "to establish a United States Court in the Indian Territory," from the surrounding states persons began to settle in its towns and villages and surrounding country, expecting an early opening of the Territory for statehood. At Cameron in 1892 George B. Noble organized a "Cleveland Democratic Club" with about 500 members.

On March 9, 1892 at a convention organized in response to a call issued to the Democrats of the Indian Territory to meet at a schoolhouse at South McAlester to select delegates to the National Democratic Convention which was to meet at Chicago, Illinois to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, George B. Noble of Hartshorne acted as a Secretary. At a convention of Democrats held on October 5, 1892 at South McAlester for the purpose of naming a National Committeeman for the Indian Territory,

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[4] Emily W. Noble, born on Feb. 25, 1854 and married Frank M. Michael in June, 1870, and died on Nov. 2, 1935, at Paoli, Garvin County, Oklahoma; Albert Gallatin Noble, born on June 10, 1856, operated a store at Preston in Grayson County, Texas, and then at Kingston and also resided at Ardmore in the Chickasaw Nation, and later removed to Shattuck, Oklahoma, where he died on October 23, 1930. He was married three times, his wives being as follows: (1) Nannie Stelzer, (2) Sallie Wilson, and (3) Mrs. Nina Minor, who survived him.[a]

[a] *Ellis County News,* (Thursday), Nov. 6, 1930.

[5] William S. Noble, born on August 15, 1864 (still living).

[6] Ellen V. Noble, born March 25, 1858, and died on Aug. 30, 1870; Laura J. Noble, born Feb. 2, 1860, and married J. Granville Mullens (Dallas, Texas); James R. Noble, born on March 25, 1862, and died on Oct. 15, 1881; Florence B. Noble, born Sept. 24, 1868, and married George D. Galloway June 30, 1891 and died Sept. 6, 1927 at Dallas, Texas; Allie S. Noble born Sept. 22, 1872, and married Annie Steele, Dec. 25, 1892 (Jefferson, Texas); Lou Ermine Noble, born Nov. 1, 1876, and married Dr. J. J. Pendergrass, Mar. 28, 1899 (Wharton, Texas).

George B. Noble was a delegate from Cameron and through all the years until the date of his death except when he was prevented on account of infirmity of body, he was active in the Democratic Party, and attended as a delegate all district, territorial, county and state conventions.

In the early part of March, 1895, having been duly appointed, he qualified as United States Deputy Marshal for the Central District of the Indian Territory with headquarters at Cameron and served in that capacity as an exemplary, efficient, and brave officer until March, 1898, when he was succeeded by an appointee under the then Republican National Administration.

On organization of public schools at Poteau prior to statehood he was elected as a member of the first school board.

He was married on December 3, 1896 to Miss Memora Stalcup, and to this union three children came, all of whom are living, to-wit: two sons, Bird Noble, Poteau, and William S. Noble, Houston, Texas, and one daughter, Mrs. Marshall Miltimore, West Palm Beach, Florida. George B. Noble died at Poteau on September 4, 1940, funeral held at the First Methodist Church on Thursday, September 5, 1940 at 2:30 P. M., the pastor, Rev. J. O. Whitmore, officiating, the memorial address being delivered by his long time friend, Judge Malcolm E. Rosser of Muskogee; interment in the Oakland Cemetery at Poteau.

After passage of the Enabling Act on June 16, 1906 (34 Stats. 267) he took an active and effective part in the election of delegates to the Convention to frame a Constitution for the proposed state of Oklahoma, which met at Guthrie on November 20, 1906, and at the election on its ratification on September 17, 1906, he was elected as sheriff of Leflore County, and qualified on November 20, 1906, and at the general election in November, 1910 he was re-elected and held the office until the term expired in January, 1913, during which terms he was a brave, faithful, honest, wise and efficient officer.

In January, 1915 he was appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate as Commissioner of the State Game and Fish Department, and efficiently continued in that capacity until he was appointed and qualified as Commissioner of Highways.

Under Act of March 15, 1915, Session Laws of Oklahoma, 1915 "creating a Department of Highways and Relating to Roads", the office of Commissioner of Highways was created and he was appointed to said office by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate and qualified on July 1, 1915 and continued in such capacity until the early part of 1919. At the beginning of his administration a highway engineer was appointed and the work of locating and designating state highways and the construction of permanent culverts and bridges and roads was inaugurated.

From 1919 to 1931 he served in different important capacities at the state capital, except the period when he was a receiver in an

important case in the United States Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma. Retiring on account of failing health, he returned to Poteau in 1934 to live in such retirement.

Not only was his father a missionary to the Choctaw Indians, but also for seven years an itinerant Methodist minister in Kentucky and for one year an active itinerant minister in the East Texas Conference, and upon his location whilst engaged in farming was active as a local Methodist preacher. Another brother of George B. Noble was Albert Gallatin Noble also an ordained local Methodist preacher, who performed the marriage ceremony when George B. Noble and his wife, Memora Stalcup, were married.

In the county of Leflore before his retirement, George B. Noble was active in the leadership of his party for the promotion of the public welfare.

At his funeral in Poteau on September 5, 1940 were assembled many old timers, their locks whitened with many winters, who had been his associates and long time friends beginning with the early pioneer days.

Devoted and faithful to family and home, to friends and associates—loyal to country and party—with sterling honesty and faithful performance of duty in every line of endeavor—he will be remembered.

GENERAL BENNET RILEY

Commandant at Fort Gibson and Governor of California

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman.

No greater contrast in lineage can be imagined that that between Bennet Riley and Richard Barnes Mason. Riley was born of obscure parents while General Mason was descended from one of the most distinguished families of Virginia, yet both served their country in the United States Army in several wars; fought on the western frontier; commanded the post at Fort Gibson; became Governor of California, and left reputations as brave soldiers and distinguished executives.

Riley claimed Virginia as his native state but authorities differ as to his birthplace; both Alexandria, Virginia and St. Mary's County, Maryland are named in biographical dictionaries. These sources agree that he was born November 27, 1787, although a sketch of the officer prepared in the Adjutant General's Office gives 1790 as the date of his birth.[1]

Among the archives in the Georgetown University are the Catholic parish records of St. Mary's County, Maryland, which contain the register of the marriage of Bennet Reiley (*sic*) to Susanna Drury, August 16, 1784. There can be little doubt that these were the parents of Bennet Riley who served in the United States Army. The records of the United States Pension Office show that Riley's widow spelled her name "Reilly" and "Riley".

Riley, before the War of 1812, was a foreman in a shoe shop; he was next employed as a sailor aboard a privateer but the ship was unsuccessful in making captures and the crew gained no prize money.[2]

Appointed to the military service from Maryland as an ensign rifleman January 19, 1812,[3] he was promoted to third lieutenant on March 12 and saw active service at Sacket's Harbor, New York, during the War of 1812.

After the evacuation and burning of Fort Madison in November, 1813, there was great alarm in the settlements below; in consequence of which a new post was built on a high promontory of the Mississippi, opposite the middle fork of the Des Moines River; the work of building the post which was named Fort Johnston, was done by the Rangers and some regular troops; W. S. Harney and Bennet

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[1] *American State Papers*, "Military Affairs," vol. VII, p. 957; *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. V, p. 254; *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, 1935, Vol. XV, pp. 608-09; Capt. Harry E. Mitchell, "History of Jefferson Barracks, August, 1921." A typed copy of this history is preserved in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.

[2] Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[3] The regiment of riflemen was organized under the Act of April 12, 1810 (Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, Washington, 1903, Vol. I, p. 141).

Riley were among the officers stationed there. As at Fort Madison, the contractor failed to supply the garrison with needed provision and Fort Johnston was abandoned and burned the spring after it was built.[4]

Under the Act of February 10, 1814, three new regiments of riflemen were organized and Riley's was designated the First; he became a second lieutenant on April 15 of that year. The four regiments were consolidated May 17, 1815 and Bennet Riley served as adjutant from December, 1816 to July, 1817. He had become a first lieutenant the last of March, 1817, and reached the grade of captain August 6, 1818.[5]

On the previous March 16, 1818, Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, had ordered Col. Thomas A. Smith to establish a permanent post high up the Missouri River at the mouth of the Yellowstone; preparations were made which resulted in the expedition, commanded by Col. Talbot Chambers, getting away from Belle Fontaine Barracks on August 30. The detail was made up of riflemen who traveled in six keel boats under the command of Captains Bennet Riley, Matthew I. Magee and Wyly Martin. After the boats had been towed for about sixty days they arrived at Cow Island (Isle au Vache) eighty miles above Fort Osage. Provisions had given out and ice formed in the river so that further progress was impossible until spring; a group of log houses was built and Captain Martin was left in command when Colonel Chambers returned to Missouri. The post was called Cantonment Martin in honor of the senior captain but it must have been an empty honor since the riflemen were hard put to keep from starving. They relied on game they killed until the arrival of Maj. Stephen H. Long late in July, 1819.[6]

Captain Riley was transferred to the Sixth Infantry October 3, 1821 and in 1823 he fought with Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth and William H. Ashley in the second battle with the Arikara Indians who had attacked the boat of a trader where thirteen men were killed and others wounded; this fight brought on a conflict with the United States; Riley who led one wing of the expedition was reported as serving with gallantry as he was an adept in campaigning on the plains.[7]

An amusing story, characteristic of the times, was related in the personal recollections of a pioneer, regarding Captain Riley

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[4] "Shaw's Narrative" by Col. John Shaw, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 212.

[5] Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 831; *Niles' Register*, May 3, 1817, p. 160.

[6] Henry Putney Beers, *The Western Military Frontier* 1815-1846, Philadelphia, 1935, pp. 40-42; *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, "Isle au Vache," by George J. Remburg, Vol. VIII, pp. 438-39; *Missouri Historical Society*, Stella M. Drumm (ed.), "Glimpses of the Past," Letters of William Carr Lane 1819-1831, vol. VII, numbers 7-9, p. 58, note 9, 66.

[7] Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Commerce of the Prairies* by Josiah Gregg, Cleveland, 1905, p. 185, note 25; W. J. Ghent, *The Early Far West*, New York, 1931, p. 242.

" . . . who fought with so much bravery all through the Mexican war." He and Captain Thomas F. Smith were descending the Mississippi River in two keel boats, each in command of one hundred men; for company the two officers were riding in the same boat and as she descended the stream they saw a dead tree with the roots embedded in the mud at the bottom of the river. Captain Smith remarked to Captain Riley: "There is a sawyer." To which Riley replied, "I say it's a snag." Captain Smith immediately retorted: "I say it's a sawyer; do you mean to dispute my word?" Riley answered, "And I say it's a snag; do you mean to dispute my word?" Captain Smith directed the non-commissioned officer commanding the vessel, "Round the boat to, sergeant—No man shall dispute my word. . ." The two captains went ashore, and in the presence of the enlisted men under their command, took a shot at each other with pistols; the officers had been imbibing a little and neither was hit by the exchange of shots.[7-a]

Riley was brevetted major August 6, 1828, for ten years faithful service in one grade. When Lieutenant Jefferson Davis reported at Jefferson Barracks in 1829, he arrayed himself in full regimentals to call at headquarters to pay his respects to the commandant. The ranking officers were absent and Davis was directed to the quarters of the commissary where he found "Major Riley alone, seated at a table with a pack of cards before him, intently occupied with a game of solitaire. . ."[8]

In 1828, the bold depredations of the prairie Indians had become so troublesome that the Santa Fe traders petitioned the government to furnish an escort of United States troops. In the spring of 1829, three companies of the Sixth Infantry and one of riflemen at Jefferson Barracks were ordered to be filled up with officers and men specially selected for this new and unusual duty in guarding the annual caravan going and returning from the borders of western Missouri to the boundary of the United States.[9]

The year 1829 was important in the career of Major Riley as it brought him into prominence by his participation in this expedition which has been recorded by numerous historians. The detail embarked on the Mississippi River May 4, 1829, and in ten days was landed at Cantonment Leavenworth which had been established two years before. This was the fastest time ever made between the two posts. Leavenworth had proved most unhealthful and had been abandoned by the Third Infantry after the regiment had lost many men through illness and death. The riflemen spent a week or two

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[7-a] John F. Darby, *Personal Recollections*, St. Louis, 1880, p. 290.

[8] Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

[9] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, Cleveland, 1926, p. 300; *ibid.*, *Indians and Pioneers*, New Haven, 1930, p. 279; Philip St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army . . .* Philadelphia, 1857, p. 39; Josiah Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

at this post before marching fifty miles west to "Round Grove" agreed upon as the rendezvous with the traders.[10]

It is probable that Riley and his force were the first to make use of Leavenworth as a point of departure for the international boundary and he is reported to have been the first to make use of oxen to carry his supplies; his men being on foot were unable to overtake and capture the wild Indians mounted on fleet ponies. Riley's orders were to halt at Chouteau's Island in the Arkansas River, where the trail crossed into Mexico; this was a serious limitation of his usefulness to the caravan as the most precarious part of the whole journey began after the border was passed.[11]

According to the historian Edwin L. Sabin[12] "Bennet Riley was an illiterate man and I have read the statement that he could not read or write.

"He probably picked up a smattering of reading and writing for use in middle life. . ." The same author describing Kit Carson wrote: "His lack of education did not rank him below a number of officers in those days when Colonel Bennet Riley, of enunciation impeded by a hair lip, prated of his beginnings as an illiterate cobbler."[13]

However uneducated Major Riley may have been he managed to make a report to General Leavenworth that is well worth reading for its clear and picturesque account of the expedition to the West. The report, dated November 22, 1829, recites that he had returned to Cantonment Leavenworth on November 8 with

"all well and in good spirits, but rather thinly clad for the season. The command left this place on the 3rd of June, and the opposite side of the river on the 4th . . . we had little or no trouble, except with the oxen, they being of different ages, some old and some young, and not used to be put together, and the teamsters not accustomed to drive them . . . but after five or six days we had no trouble.

"Nothing occurred worthy of notice until the 11th, when a cart . . . broke down, and . . . we found that the inside of the hubs was entirely decayed . . . it could not be repaired . . . I directed my assistant quartermaster, Lieutenant Brooke, to have it left behind . . . On the same day we fell in with the company of traders, at a place called Round Grove, consisting of about 79 men and 38 wagons, which we took under our protection, and on the 12th left the Grove. . .

"On the 20th we left Council Grove. After going some miles we found a piece of bark stuck up in the road, which had written on it, 'The Kansas have been attacked a few days since by the Pawnee Picks, and one of them has been killed.' We saw several of their camps as we passed along, but after this we saw but one, which we took to be the camp of some other nation of Indians, and concluded that they had gone back; but on

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[10] *Niles' Weekly Register*, May 16, 1829, p. 182, col. 1; Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth*, 1827-1927, Fort Leavenworth, 1926, p. 27; Frederick L. Paxon, *History of the American Frontier*, Boston, 1924, p. 328.

[11] R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail, London*, New York & Toronto, 1930, pp. 118-19.

[12] Mitchell, *op. cit.*, "Errata and Addenda, as noted by Edwin L. Sabin."

[13] Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days* 1809-1868, "Adventures in the Path of Empire," New York, 1935, Vol. 2, p. 600.

our return we learned that they had pushed ahead and waited for me at Cow Creek, the place where we saw the last Indian camp, where they had stayed two or three days, and then, being out of provisions, had crossed the Arkansas lower down . . . and had gone low down on the Semirone, (Cimarron) so that we missed them altogether.

"I had followed your instructions inviting the Kansas, Ioways, and Shawnese, to accompany the expedition without pay or rations . . . but received no answer from either of them; if I had, I should have sent a runner ahead to inform them that my command was at hand. In a few days after that we lost six horses belonging to individuals, and some of the traders reported that they had seen signs of Indians, which determined me to abandon the idea of sending an express after we should have left Turkey creek, which you will see was for the good of the service.

"On the 9th of July we arrived at Chouteau's island, where the traders determined to cross the river . . . They crossed the river on the 10th, and on the 11th I went across to see them, and at about one o'clock they started.

"I had given them my views and advice of the manner they should proceed, and they promised to adhere to it, but it was soon forgotten. I told them they must stick together, and not leave their wagons more than one hundred yards . . . but it had no effect; for at about half-past six of the same evening an express arrived from them, stating that Mr. Lamme, a merchant from Liberty, was killed, and they were only six miles off, and the Indians were all around them, and if I did not go to their assistance that they expected to be killed and scalped. I could not hesitate, but struck my tents immediately and commenced crossing; But, unfortunately for my oxen, the river had risen about two feet during the day, so that we had some difficulty in getting across, but eventually succeeded. I reached them with the first division, composed of companies A and B, with the six-pounder and ammunition wagon, at about eleven o'clock at night, and the second division under the command of Captain Wickliffe[14] in about an hour after, with companies F. and H, and the rest of the baggage and wagons. We found them in a very dangerous situation, surrounded by very high sand hills, with deep ravines running in every direction . . . As soon as I arrived I selected the best position I could, and remained under arms all night, but saw no Indians.

"At reveille some of the traders gave an alarm, and said they saw the Indians in great numbers, but we could see nothing of them. They expressed a wish that I go further with them. I consented to travel with them two days, or until they should reach the Semirone; they appeared to be very well satisfied, and after burying Mr. Lamme, about ten o'clock a. m. (*sic*) we took up our line of march. The next day, the 13th, we reached a little creek, where there was good grass and water, which was very fortunate for us, for thirteen yokes of oxen had given out that day. We rested on the 14th, and the traders stayed with us . . . We parted on the next day and I arrived at Chauteau's (*sic*) island on the 16th, after a fatiguing march of five days since we left the river. We encamped on the Mexican side for six or eight days, during which time we found it necessary to have the oxen unyoked and herded in good grass. We re-crossed at the expiration of the time above named and encamped a little above, opposite Chauteau's island. . . We had to encamp there for the purpose of giving our cattle a chance of gaining strength and spirits, there being good grass and wood there. We remained quiet until the 31st of July, when four discharged soldiers, Simmons, Fry, Colvin, and Gordon, started for the settlements. They had . . . . asked my advice about going in. I told them that they ought not to think of such

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[14] William N. Wickliffe, appointed to the army from his native Kentucky, became a captain in the Sixth Infantry February 15, 1826.

a thing . . . . but added that they were citizens, and to do as they pleased; but if they wished to stay they should have something to eat. All this had no effect; they wanted to go.

" . . . . At night of that day three of them only got back to camp, and I think it very doubtful, if it had not been for a hunting party under the command of Lieutenant Searight,[15] whether any of them would have got back or not. They stated that they had not gone more than eight or ten miles when they discovered about thirty Indians riding across the river. They landed and soon galloped up to them, when one of the men made a sign of peace, which they returned, and the parties shook hands. Then the Indians made a sign for them to go across the river, which they declined, and started on their journey, the Indians still making signs for them to cross the river. George Gordon looked back and said they were all friends, and that he would go back and shake hands again; the others told him not, but in the act of shaking hands a second time he was killed by another Indian with a gun. The other three immediately took off their packs and prepared to defend themselves. The Indians began to ride round and cut capers on their horses; the three men fired one at a time at them, and retreated towards my camp, and met Lieutenant Searight's party. They said they killed one of the Indians.

"The next day, 1st August, I sent Captain Wickliffe, with about forty or fifty men, and one of the discharged men, in search of the body of Gordon", but the discharged soldier was so terrified that he could not locate the place and the party had to return without effecting their object. On the third Major Riley sent out another party under Adjutant Izard[16] with forty men and two of the discharged soldiers, to make a search and bury the bones if found. While this detail was away the Indians made a desperate attack on horseback on the cattle and their guard, about four or five hundred yards from the camp. A fight took place on perfectly level ground; Riley ordered Captain Pentlend,[17] commanding "light company B" which was armed with rifles, to advance and skirmish with the Indians until he could form a line. Lieut. Philip St. George Cook[18] "with his guard, was also ordered to that point, for the cattle guard was in great danger; but the promptness of the movement checked the charge of the enemy. . . .

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[15] Joseph Donaldson Searight, of Maryland was appointed to West Point from Pennsylvania; he was graduated July 1, 1826, assigned to the Sixth Infantry the same day as a second lieutenant; he became a first lieutenant April 18, 1835; captain December 25, 1837. He resigned November 7, 1845 and died January 22, 1885.

[16] James Farley Izard, born in Pennsylvania and appointed to the Military Academy from the same state, was graduated in 1824; he became a second lieutenant of infantry July, 1828. He later served in the First Dragoons and died of wounds received in battle against the Seminoles, February 28, 1836.

[17] Joseph Pentland, Pennsylvania, was graduated from West Point July 1, 1821. After serving as second and first lieutenant in the Sixth Infantry he was made regimental adjutant November 1, 1823 and held that position until July 17, 1825; he reached the grade of captain October 31, 1827 and was dismissed from the army April 22, 1830 (Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 783).

[18] Cooke of Virginia was a student at the Military Academy from 1823 to 1827. He joined the Sixth Infantry and served in garrisons at Jefferson Barracks and Fort Snelling before going with the expedition to the Upper Arkansas in 1829. He had a distinguished career in the army, participating in the Black Hawk War, Indian campaigns on the Western frontier, the Mexican War and the Civil War (George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, New York, 1868, Vol. I, pp. 317-18).

"In the meantime I had formed company H, commanded by Lieutenant Waters,[19] and company F, commanded by Captain Wickliffe, and marched them forward at a double quick time towards the thickest of the enemy; and when about one hundred and fifty yards fired a volly. At that moment I discovered that the Indians were around my camp. Lieutenant Searight was playing away with a six-pounder with good effect, and changing his position as circumstances required. I gave the command of the two companies to Captain Wickliffe, and went to the right flank, where I directed grenadier company A, commanded by Lieutenant Van Swearingen[20] to protect it, which was properly executed. In the mean time Captain Wickliffe, with great presence of mind, had crossed his company to the island to protect the rear, and opened fire on the enemy.

"The Indians, seeing that we were well guarded on every side, began to gallop around and to move off. Our cattle and horses had taken fright at the first onset, but a part of them had been stopped by the company in the rear . . . . By this time the enemy was retiring after a loss of eight killed and one wounded. Our loss, one man wounded, who died in a few hours after, fifty-four oxen, ten public horses, ten private horses, and a few public mules. Think what our feelings must have been to see them going off with our cattle and horses, when, if we had been mounted, we could have beaten them to pieces; but we were obliged to content ourselves with whipping them from our camp. We did not get any of the killed or wounded, but we saw the next day where they had dragged them off. They have said since that our fire from the big gun killed five or six. Lieutenant Brooke, (21) my assistant quartermaster and commissary, seeing that there was very little to do in the staff, shouldered his rifle, marched out with the companies, and fought with them. . . .

"I have never seen officers and men more anxious to have a good fight. Every officer appeared to vie with each other who should do most for his country. After all was over I had the men formed and gave them an extra gill, and signified my satisfaction at their conduct. The Indians were about three hundred strong, well mounted, and with guns, bows, and spears; our force about one hundred and thirty or forty. Lieutenant Izard being absent with his command, about forty men.

"The nation or nations we could not tell, but I have reason to believe that there was a part of the Camanchies, Arapahoes, and Hiaways, [Kioways] as one of my men's tin pans was found with some of these three

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[19] George Washington Waters, born in Massachusetts, was appointed to the Military Academy June 24, 1819; on his graduation he was assigned to the Sixth Infantry. He saw service at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1823-25; on the Missouri expedition in 1825. After the expedition of 1829 he served at Fort Jesup and Camp Sabine, Louisiana; Waters resigned from the army in 1837 (Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 246; Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 1008).

[20] Joseph Van Swearingen of Maryland, was assigned to the First Infantry upon his graduation from West Point July 1, 1824, but the same day he was sent to the Sixth Infantry at Fort Atkinson, Iowa; he took part in the Black Hawk War, and the Seminole War where he lost his life in the Battle of Okee-cho-bee, December 25, 1837, at the age of thirty-eight.

[21] Francis J. Brooke, born in Virginia, was appointed from that state to West Point in 1822 and was graduated July 1, 1826; he became second lieutenant in the Sixth Infantry. "Served: on frontier duty at Fort Jesup, La. 1827, —Fort Towson, I. T., 1827, —Fort Jesup, La., 1827, —and in opening Military Road to Fort Towson, I. T., 1827-28; in garrison at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., 1828-29; in the 'Black Hawk' War against the Sac Indians, 1832, being engaged in the Battle of Bad Axe River, Aug. 2, 1832; First Lieutenant . . . May 6, 1835 and in Florida War against the Seminole Indians, 1837, being engaged in the Battle of Okee-cho-bee, where he was killed, Dec. 25, 1837: Aged 35" (Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 302; Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 248).

nations that attacked the traders on their return, as also King's powder horn, that was recognized by some of my men when they showed things they had taken from the men killed in battle.

"We moved down the river in three or four days after this affair. On the 10th Corporal Astor came to us and informed us that he and Nation had been sent with an express, and that on the 23rd July they were attacked by about fifteen Indians, who succeeded in getting the mail and horses and wounding them both, Nation dangerously, by a spear in the breast, and him slightly in the wrist by an arrow."

Nation was lying ill from his wound, about ten miles away, and Corporal Astor had been wandering about since the fight on the twenty-third hoping to find the command. He reported that they had eaten snakes and frogs part of the time. Near Council Grove they had seen Indians who seemed hostile but they had not attacked them.

Major Riley at once ordered Lieutenant Van Swearingen with a force of forty men to take a cart and bring in Nation. "He returned at about nine or ten o'clock at night with him; he was very low; he reports that his joy, at seeing the party, was beyond expression; he shed tears, ..." On the eleventh of August the soldiers saw some Indians about two miles and a half from the camp; they were leading horses and some of them were going in and out of a ravine; at times they would come up the river and then go down again, evidently with the hope of decoying the soldiers from their camp. Mason had sent three or four men across the river to hide under the bank for the purpose of killing buffalo; this project had been carried out with great success every day. When the Indians appeared Riley had the recall sounded and when the soldiers returned they reported they had killed three buffaloes. After the Red Men disappeared the Major detailed a party of sixteen men, with Captain Pentland and Bugler King of Company A to take a wagon and bring in the buffaloes that had been killed. King was sent along in order to locate the game since he had been in the party when the buffaloes were killed. Riley ordered the officer to keep his party together as they had seen Indians that morning and that in case he was attacked he must fight; he would be supported in a short time. After going across the river King saw a buffalo crossing the stream and obtained permission from Captain Pentland to go after him to try to shoot him. The camp had been attacked in the meantime by about one hundred fifty Indians; the command was called out, formed in a square with a company on a side but the savages did not come within musket shot.

The six-pounder was brought into service by Lieutenant Searight and Captain Wickliffe marched in the direction of Pentland's force but when he reached the river he discovered that the party had crossed to a sand bank near the side of the river and that King had been killed; when the Major learned of this state of affairs he immediately ordered his adjutant, Lieutenant Izard, to direct Captain Wickliffe to cross the river to rescue King's body,

"Thinking that they had in the skirmish no time to take his scalp. . . As Wickliffe crossed the river he was fired at by about fifteen or twenty Indians, and he returned the fire from his company. He then saw the wagon and team running down the river. He directed Captain Pentland to recover the body of King and he would with his company recover his wagon and team, after exchanging several fires with the enemy.

"In the mean time Captain Pentland had recovered the body and brought it into camp."

Riley, at the first shots had directed Lieutenant Sevier[22] in command of company B, to support Captain Wickliffe; he reached the point of support in a few minutes. When Wickliffe saw that the enemy had dispersed he had the buffaloes cut up and taken into camp. The soldiers reported there were not more than fifteen or twenty Indians on his side of the Arkansas; as soon as they were discovered in pursuit Pentland ordered his detail to retreat.

"There are two instances in this report in support of my opinion, that in the case of discharged soldiers, when four were attacked by thirty, they got off safe, after they showed resistance, and the case of Arter Nation, two attacked by fifteen, and when a show of resistance was made they went off . . . Nation was killed . . . in the act of giving tobacco. I am thus particular to show the government that I have done the best in my powere, and that my arrangements in this case were as good as they could be, but unfortunately they were not carried into effect . . . The loss on both sides was equal in number . . ."

Riley enclosed a written report which he had ordered Pentland to make. The Captain claimed he had been attacked but Riley asserted that he had not been fired upon by the Indians nor had he shot at them so it could not rightly be called an attack. Pentland reported there were forty-six or fifty Indians against his detail. "Admit there were ..... in the name of God, cannot twenty Americans whip fifty Indians? I answer yes, that they can whip one hundred such as we came in contact with in that country . . ."

The force kept on the march every day to hunt buffalo, on which the men fattened although the beasts were not fat, and to get grass for their stock. The soldiers had as much game as they could eat and in addition a half ration of flour and salt throughout the whole expedition. Nothing of importance happened between August 11 and October 11, except the death of Nation. During the last part of September and the first days of October the force was occupied in overhauling their wagons and carts; a board of officers condemned five wagons and three carts which were entirely unfit for service. They were ordered burned and the iron cached in a safe place. The outfit remained a day longer than had been planned and it did not

[22] Robert Sevier of Tennessee, received an appointment to the Military Academy from that state. On his graduation he was assigned to the Sixth Infantry, July 1, 1828; he served in the Black Hawk War in 1832; after frontier duty at several posts he became regimental adjutant August 1, 1836, took part in the Florida War and resigned from the service October 31, 1837. (Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 330; Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 874.

go forward until October 11. The transportation had been put in as good condition as possible

"with fifteen days' full ration of pork, beans, salt, vinegar, soap, candles, and about twenty-eight days' of flour and bread, with about thirty-two .....of dried buffalo meat, . . . On my arrival at Chauteau's island on the 9th of July, I had directed the company to lay by fifteen days' full rations, in order that, if at any time we were obliged to abandon the expedition, we should have plenty to eat."

Soon after the departure of the force an express was received from the traders reporting that they were only a day's march from them; they had a Spanish force with them under command of Lieutenant Colonel [Joseph Anthony] Viscarra. Major Riley at once order a halt. Tents were pitched and the Americans awaited the arrival of the caravan which reached their camp the following day.

"When the colonel got nearly across the river, I had my line formed parallel to it, and received him with presented arms. I sent my adjutant, on his landing, to escort him down the line. After he had passed I dismissed the battalion, and received and welcomed him to the territory of the United States, and invited him and the secretary of state of Santa Fe to my tent, where we exchanged civilities . . . That evening he visited some of the officers and appeared to be pleased."

The American commander, eager to display his force to the foreigners, ordered a short battalion drill and later one by a company of light infantry; both Spaniards appeared pleased with the demonstration. As a return courtesy Colonel Viscarra had his troops formed and took the American officers down the line; the Mexicans presented arms and fired several times with a brass 4-pounder. They were next entertained at the colonel's marquee with excellent chocolate and other refreshments. The Mexican commander was particularly pleased with the American cannon, the carriage and implements which were quite unlike his.

"The next morning (13th) we parted, he for Santa Fe, and I for this place . . . The caravan I received from the detachment amounted to about two hundred thousand dollars worth, probably of different kinds. One Spanish family, eight or ten other Spaniards, who were punished by their laws for having been born in old Spain, all of which, in my humble opinion, would have been destroyed and the people killed if it had not been for the Mexican escort. They were attacked, as it was, near the Semirone spring on their return, but the colonel, with his troops and Indians, beat them off. He lost one captain and two privates killed . . . The traders say they killed eight Indians; but there are several stories about it . . . We traveled on with them under our protection until we parted, which was at the Little Arkansas.

"On the fifth or sixth day after we started our oxen began to fail, and we were obliged to leave some on the road almost every day until we got in. I cannot account for it, unless it was that hard night's drive across the Arkansas, or after the attack of the 3d of August, for we had to keep them yoked and tied to the wagon wheels every night until our return; and another thing is, that we had to diminish the extent of range . . . in fact it was impossible to protect them any distance from camp. We only got in with twenty-four yokes, and the most of them could not have drawn another day. One strong ground for the above reasons being correct is,

that I let Mr. [Charles] Bent[23] have a yoke on the 10th of July . . . and he writes in that he went through to Santa Fe better than the mules; . . . . I let Mr. Bent have them to try whether Oxen in future, if we could get them, would answer, they are so much cheaper. One team of three yokes of oxen will not cost more than two mules. On the 8th of November, at night, got to the end of our journey at Cantonment Leavenworth . . . B. RILEY, *Major United States Army, commanding.*"[24]

A readable description of the 1829 expedition was given by Lieut. Philip St. George Cooke[25] who wrote more informally than his commander; his accounts of the scenery, the traders and of his delight in buffalo hunting are most colorful. The force marched 130 miles in sight of the Arkansas River and Cooke noted the lack of trees and the mirages which were frequently observed. The trader who was was killed was "a Mr. Lamb (Lamme), the largest capitalist, and owner of the company." He states that Bugler King, after being wounded, was deserted by Penland although his cries were repeatedly heard. "He was an old soldier, and a favorite." A remarkable feature of this tour was that the personnel returned in excellent health due to the care given the men by the commander.[26]

Another historian wrote that when the Indians attacked "Riley did not pause to unravel red tape, but broke camp and marched with all speed to the rescue . . . perhaps the first time an American force had entered Mexican territory."[27] Riley's position on the Arkansas was one of serious danger; the speed of his movements when he reached the harrassed caravan astonished the traders beyond measure.[28] "The veteran trader, William Waldo, citing a hard battle with the Comanches in which he and other traders took part under Charles Bent, in the Cimarron Desert, during the spring of 1829, asserts:

"We had sixty men. The Famous Ewing Young[29] heard of our situation, and also that two thousand warriors of various tribes had combined,

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[23] Charles Bent, a prominent trapper along the upper Arkansas in the early days was in partnership with his brother William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain; they had trapped that region in 1824, and in 1826; it is probable they had engaged in the Santa Fe trade. "In 1828, with laborers brought up from New Mexico, they began the erection of a fortified post which should serve as a center of trading operations both with Santa Fe and with the Missouri settlements. The site chosen was on the north bank of the Arkansas, about eight miles northeast of the present LaJunta . . . it was known generally from the beginning as Bent's Fort." Gov. Charles Bent was killed in the Indian uprising at Taos on January 19, 1847 (W. J. Ghent, *The Early Far West*, New York, 1931, pp. 40-42, 364).

[24] *American State Papers*, "Military Affairs," Washington, 1860, Vol. LV, pp. 277-80.

[25] *Op. cit.*, pp. 39-62.

[26] Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 35. This author states that Riley succeeded Gen. Henry Leavenworth in command at Cantonment Leavenworth in 1829 and continued in 1830. He was also commandant from 1832 to 1833 and from 1834 to some period of that year (Appendix A., p. 223).

[27] Duffus, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[28] Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[29] Young, a native of Tennessee, was a leader and a man of strong character (Blanche C. Grant (ed.) *Kit Carson's Own Story of his Life*, Taos, N. M., 1926, p. 11, n. 5; Ghent *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 221, 305).

and had taken a position in the mountains, which we could not avoid. He first attempted to come to our assistance, but was attacked and driven back. Here the boy Kit Carson gained his first laurels . . . Captain Waldo supports this story by linking it with the escort duty of Major Bennet Riley, who . . . guarded this caravan of the spring of 1829 to the Arkansas . . . and, by reason of Indian threats, for a day's march beyond."[30]

Major Riley returned to Jefferson Barracks with his command of four companies of the Sixth Infantry, from Fort Leavenworth in 1831.[31]

On March 3, 1831, congress appropriated $210 to be paid to Major Riley, Lieut. F. J. Brook and Lieut. J. D. Seawright for the loss of three horses, captured from them in action with the Comanches and other Indians, on the Santa Fe trace, in the summer of 1829, while convoying traders to the Mexican border under the orders of the President of the United States.[32]

During a period that Major Riley spent on recruiting duty at Rochester, New York, interested people would gather around him at the dinner table to hear him recount tales of his service on the plains. On one occasion he was telling about the countless multitudes of buffaloes he saw while on his march to protect the Santa Fe traders when a man asked him how many of the beasts he had ever seen in one herd. The Major dropped his knife and fork, thought gravely for a minute and answered, "Ten Millions."

This astounding reply was received in silence and incredulity until the man who had made the inquiry said: "Well, Major, as you say so I'm bound to believe it, but damned if I would had I seen it myself."[32-A]

Trouble had been brewing for several years with Sauks and Fox Indians who resented the invasion of white miners and farmers in their territory and this finally provoked Black Hawk, the chief, to cross the Mississippi to Rock Island, April 6, 1832, with hundreds of warriors, women and children; the Sixth Infantry was hurried from Jefferson Barracks and engaged in a battle near the junction of the Bad Axe and the Mississippi on August 2, 1832, in which Riley and the young officers who had accompanied him on his western expedition participated.[33] Riley was also at Dixon's Ferry in the Black Hawk campaign. Major Riley received $576.45 in pay from October 1, 1832, to September 30, 1833. He was paid $480.80 for subsistence; $232.00 for forage; and he was allowed pay, subsistence and a clothing allowance for a servant. Figures were slightly higher for the following year when his own salary was $616.12.[34]

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[30] Sabin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 36.

[31] Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[32] *United States Statutes at Large*, Twenty-first Congress, second session, Boston, 1848, p. 466.

[32a] *The Iowa Historical Record* (Iowa City), October, 1890, "Early Explorations in Iowa," by Albert Miller Lea, p. 536.

[33] Beers, *op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 43; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, pp. 168, 170.

[34] *American State Papers*, "Military Affairs," Vol. 6, p. 348.

Maximilian, Prince of Wied, in his travels in America, on April 22, 1833,

" . . . came to a place where most of the trees were cut down, and we were not a little surprised at the sight of a sentinel. It was the landing-place of the cantonment Leavenworth . . . where four companies of the sixth infantry of the line, about 120 men, under Major Ryley, were stationed to protect the Indian boundary."[35]

The Sixth Regiment of Infantry, under command of Major Riley, left Jefferson Barracks Monday, February 29, 1836, in transports for Fort Jesup, Louisiana.[36] Late in the summer or early autumn, Riley, with three companies of his regiment, conveyed a warning to the Caddoes from General Gaines to beware of hostile demonstrations against the whites. *The Army and Navy Chronicle* reported November 3, 1836, that Riley had been sent to a position near the Sabine, about ninety miles northwest of Camp Sabine, Louisiana. This frontier was said to be perfectly quiet; the few Indians were pursuing their own business and no disturbances were likely to occur.

A report was sent December 23, 1836, from Fort Jesup, Louisiana, that Captain Wheeler of the Third Infantry with his company (H), had left there for the Caddo station, where Major Riley, with three companies of the Sixth had been stationed since October. Riley and his force were expected at Jesup on their way to Florida.[37]

On January 12, 1837, Major Riley with six other officers and three companies of troops arrived at New Orleans aboard the steamer *John Linton* from Natchitoches. It was thought these companies were on the way to Florida but a news item from Fort Jesup, February 17, stated that Riley had been as far as New Orleans and returned with his three companies to Camp Sabine; a meeting of officers was held at the camp August 10 at which resolutions of regret were passed regarding the death of Capt. M. W. Bateman of the Sixth Infantry. Riley presided and his name heads the list of signers.[38]

From Camp Sabine, August 28, 1837, Riley wrote his friend Senator Lewis F. Linn of Missouri an account of his peregrinations since leaving Missouri. A large part of this letter is reproduced as it gives details of this officer's service not otherwise found; it settles the question of his birthplace; discloses his disappointment at non-recognition of his gallantry and the touching reference to his son[39]

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[35] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, "Travels in the Interior of North America" by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, Cleveland, 1906, p. 253.

[36] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Mar. 24, 1836, p. 189, col. 2, from *St. Louis Republic*.

[37] *Ibid.*, January 19, 1837, p. 44, col. 1.

[38] *Ibid.*, September 7, 1837, p. 156, col. 2.

[39] Edward B. D. Riley, born in Indian Territory and appointed to the Military Academy from New York, July 1, 1855; graduated in 1860 he was assigned to his father's old regiment, the Sixth Infantry. He was later in the Fourth Infantry where he served on frontier duty at Fort Mojave, N. M. until he resigned June 13, 1861, when he "Joined in the Rebellion of 1861-66 against the United States." After the war he was inspector of improvements of Cleveland Harbor, Ohio from 1874-75. His residence was at Buffalo, New York (George W. Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 516; vol. 3, p. 286; Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 831.

and his hope that he would be proud of his father's record.

" . . . I have been removed from Jefferson Barracks to Natchitoches, in this State, from thence to Fort Jesup, from Fort Jesup to this place, and from this place back to Jesup, and from thence to the Caddo Indians, and from thence to New Orleans, and from thence back to this place, where we have remained until this time, but how much longer I am unable to say. . . I would rather be in Missouri than any other State in the Union that I have been in, not excepting old Virginia, the place of my birth. . . We have been here nearly two years, and for what purpose I am unable to say, for there has been no invasion or threatened invasion, that I know of. There are no Indians nearer than eighty or one hundred miles of us, and we are fifty or sixty miles from those large planters who have so large a number of negroes that it would require a garrison near to prevent their negroes rising. . . We have temporary quarters built at this place, which is about two miles and a half from the river Sabine, on a straight line, and about four by the road.

"It is my opinion that we could be of more use to the service if we were on the frontier of Missouri or Arkansas. There we could be a check on the Indians; for if we do not establish a line of posts around that frontier soon, the enormous body of Indians which the government is sending among you will become dissatisfied, and will rise and use you up before we can help you . . . the sooner it is done, the less it will cost the government, and the less blood will be spilt.

" . . . two wars have shown us that riflemen are the most efficient troops that ever were employed in our country. Where can you find troops more efficient than . . . Forsyth's riflemen of the last war with Great Britain? I served with Forsyth's riflemen during the whole of the late war, up to the reduction of the army in 1821, and I have been in the infantry since. . .

"I have served my country honestly and faithfully for near twenty-five years, and have commanded detachments, companies, battalions, regiments, and brigades, and have been on some important expeditions, and have had the good fortune to have the approbation of my commanding officer and the government . . . At the close of the last war, Mr. Dallas, then Secretary of War, promised me the brevet rank of major; but unfortunately he died. . .

"I made repeated applications after the war for leave to visit Washington, but without effect until the fall of 1820, which was the first opportunity I had of laying my claims before the President and Secretary of War, which I did, but I was told I was too late by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Calhoun; but they both, if I understood them, agreed that my claim was just.

"Again in 1826, I had my claim before Mr. Adams and Mr. Barbour, and had no better success. I claimed brevets for the following actions: The battle of La Cole's mill—General Wilkinson told me, for my gallant conduct, that he would remember me. In the summer of 1814, on the day the gallant Forsyth[40] fell, I, with fifteen riflemen, led the enemy's force, of about seven or eight hundred strong, into an ambuscade, in such a manner than, if Forsyth had obeyed his orders, not a man of them would have escaped to have told the story; for which General T. A. Smith sent for me, and offered me brevet rank, which I declined. A few weeks after I dispersed a party of the enemy of more than my number, killed their advanced guard, and wounded and took prisoner . . . an Indian chief by the name of Malaun. He was a celebrated chief; and to show you how

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[40] Benjamin Forsyth of North Carolina was appointed a lieutenant in the Sixth Infantry April 24, 1800; he was a captain of riflemen in 1808, a major in 1813; for distinguished service he was brevetted a lieutenant colonel February 6, 1813 and was killed in action at Odelltown, N. Y., June 28, 1814.

much the British thought of him, they asked his body of General Smith, and had it buried in splendid style; for this General Smith sent for me again, and offered me brevet rank again; which I again declined.

"Well, sir, for the battle of Plattsburg I respectfully refer you to Major General Macomb [and also to a letter from Macomb to him written in 1826 on file in War Dept.] For these few battles I was promised brevet rank. Since then, in 1823, at the battle of the Arickarees, General Leavenworth recommended me to be brevetted to a major. Again on the Santa Fe road, August 3, 1829, when I defeated eight hundred Indians with one hundred and fifty, and killed and wounded forty of them; and again defeated them on the 10th of November.

"Sir, if I had received brevets for all of these actions only, I should have been a colonel by brevet, September 11, 1834. . . . I had a talk with General Jackson in 1831. . . [about brevets].

"I am more anxious at this time than I was heretofore, for I wish my son, when he grows up, to see and hear that his father has served his country honestly and faithfully, by gallantry. My services are well known; but I wish my name to be on the records of my country for gallant services;

"On the 4th of March last, about twelve o'clock, we gave Matty and old Tecumseh twenty-six roarers. . .

B. Riley, *Major United States Army*."[41]

After years as a brevet major, Riley on September 26, 1837, was made a full major and assigned to the Fourth Infantry. A month later he was ordered to join his regiment in Florida.[42] On June 1, 1838, Major Riley arrived at Savannah aboard the *Charleston* from Garey's Ferry, with other officers and two companies of troops.[43] He reached Fort Gibson November 7, 1838, and on December 22, was present at a meeting held in the post when resolutions were adopted expressing regret at the death of Capt. John Stuart of the Seventh Infantry at Fort Wayne. Three days later Col. A. P. Chouteau died at his plantation, Grand Saline; the commandant at Fort Gibson directed that his body be interred with all the honors of war since he was a graduate of West Point and formerly an officer in the army. The escort consisted of twelve companies of infantry and Dragoons with bands; Major Riley was one of the pall bearers.[44]

The Fourth Infantry arrived at Fort Gibson February 6, 1839, and took possession of the works the following day, relieving Col. William Whistler and the Seventh Infantry under orders for Florida.[45]

The commanding general caused Major Riley, Aide de Camp and Assistant Adjutant General to be notified July 23, 1839, that no further labor be expended on a contemplated encampment, as he

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[41] *American State Papers*, "Military Affairs," Vol. VII, p. 957-58.

[42] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, November 2, 1837, p. 287, col. 2; *ibid.*, November 9, 1837, p. 303, col. 2; *ibid.*, January 4, 1838, p. 15, col. 2.

[43] *Ibid.*, June 14, 1838, p. 379. col. 2.

[44] *Ibid.*, January 31, 1839, p. 75, col. 2; *ibid.*, pp. 77, col. 2, 78, col. 1.

[45] *Ibid.*, March 14, 1839, p. 175, col. 1; *Arkansas Gazette*, February 30, 1839.

planned to have part of the troops at Fort Gibson, encamp on the hill, or at some other point, in an attempt to benefit their health, so soon as the difficulties in the Cherokee Nation were settled.[46]

Major Riley was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Second Infantry December 1, 1839; within three days all of the field officers of the Fourth regiment were changed by resignation, promotion and death—"a remarkable event, that may not occur once in twenty or thirty years in time of peace."[47]

Colonel Riley entered upon very active service when he joined his regiment in Florida. A report from Black Creek, East Florida, May 28, 1840, to the editor of the *Savannah Georgian* stated that Lieutenant Martin of the Second had been wounded three times by the Indians and Lieut. James S. Sanderson of the Seventh, and five soldiers had been killed May 19, near Micanopy. An express from Wakahosta brought news that the post was surrounded by Seminoles and Colonel Riley and his command went in pursuit. When they discovered the body of Sanderson and his men they found the savages had cut off his fingers and stuffed them in his mouth.[48]

Riley was scouting and fighting with his command along the Withlacooche River where they captured small bodies of Indians and destroyed their crops; on June 2, 1840, he moved his troops

"to the old ford of the Withlacoocha, about 20 miles below Fort Dade, where I parted from the wagons, left a guard of fifty men for their protection . . . and proceeded to the Cho-co-chatta savanna, where I surprised an Indian camp, killed three warriors, and took three warriors. It was a source of much regret to me that I have to report one squaw among the killed. She was taken for a warrior by one of the volunteers . . . fired upon by him, as she was endeavoring to make her escape." Fifteen or twenty acres corn and peas were destroyed.

"On the 3d inst. I came upon another camp, in Cho-co-chatte region, of considerable extent, from which forty or fifty Indians had escaped, several hours before; destroying their huts, ten or twelve hogs, some packs, and thirty acres of fine corn, peas, pumpkins, and melons, just ripening. I retraced my steps to the wagons, and having convinced myself that there were no other camps in that region, and taking three days' provision from them, I next proceeded in the direction of the Annattee Sega hammock, and scoured it in different directions, going as far west as the Fort Clinch road, capturing a squaw, her child, and two ponies, and destroying a small field of corn, &c.

"Finding that most of the trails in that region were running south, and several weeks old, I deemed it a waste of time and labor to remain out any longer . . . returned to my wagons, put the command in motion, and arrived here [Fort King] this morning" May 30, 1840.[49]

On June 2, 1840, Riley was brevetted colonel for his bravery and good conduct at the battle of Chokachatta, Florida where he particularly distinguished himself; also for long meritorious and

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[46] Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division, Letter Book 6, 89. Maj. B. Riley from S. G. Simmons.

[47] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, December 12, 1839, p. 378, col. 1.

[48] *Ibid.*, June 4, 1840, p. 364, col. 2.

[49] *Ibid.*, July 2, 1840, p. 12, col. 1.

gallant service.[50] Riley was actively on the pursuit of Indians all through the month of June; with Colonel Worth and troops of the Second and Eighth Infantry, on June 8 he took up the trail to surprise and capture Halleck-Tustenuggee. With Negro guides the command moved from Fort King to Fort McClure and thence to the neighborhood of Lake Fanee Sufekee where the green corn dances and councils were held by the Indians. After a hard march of forty-four miles on June 10 the troops were confronted by the swamp. The night was spent in crossing this morass filled with cold water where the soldiers carried only muskets and ammunition and the officers rifles or swords; the night was black under the gloomy cypress trees and halts were frequently made to extricate officers or men from the mud. At dawn the huts of the enemy could be seen through the scrub and the soldiers, on hands and knees crawled through the undergrowth to within a few yards of them. When a shot was fired to arouse the Indians not a soul emerged from the huts. Large fields adjoining showed that this had been the stronghold of a numerous band. The soldiers disappointed and chagrined at their failure took up their return; they cautioned all posts to be on the alert not knowing where the fierce warriors would strike now that they were on the war path.[51]

On June 25, Riley marched from Fort King with two hundred men to examine the cove of the Withlacooche to Camp Izard. With other commands he received orders to penetrate the strongholds; to capture and destroy everything that would contribute to the strength of the enemy. Later Riley with some of his troops ascended the Withlacooche in boats.[52]

The last of July the commanding officer of these forces in reporting to the adjutant general of the army testified to the zeal and activity of his officers, calling particular attention to Lieutenant Colonel Riley among several others.[53]

Riley was next reported as president of a court martial at Palatka, Florida, where soldiers were being tried for mutinous conduct at that post. Colonel Whistler and Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, who had served at Fort Gibson, were also members of the court.[54] In September, Colonel Riley, commanding the Second Infantry and a subdistrict, was stationed at Fort King. Two months later the regiment "under the gallant Riley" was operating south of that fort.[55]

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[50] Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 831.

[51] John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, New York, 1848, pp. 276-77.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

[54] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, July 30, 1840, p. 74, col. 2.

[55] *Ibid.*, September 17, 1840, p. 191, col. 1; *ibid.*, December 17, 1840, p. 395, col. 1.

Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock noted in his diary that in a conversation with Colonel Riley at Fort King, November 4, 1840, the officer approved of leaving the Indians in Florida, saying 100,000 men would be required to remove them from their homes. He suggested a belt of neutral ground should be established between the Indians and whites on which neither should be permitted to live. Hitchcock wrote on November 13 that an express had come in the day before whereupon General W. R. Armistead summoned the field officers Colonel W. J. Worth, Colonel Riley, Colonel Clarke and himself to hold a council of war. General Armistead produced a letter from Secretary of War Joel Roberts Poinsett who urged the removal of the Indians in compliance with the treaty of 1832;[56] if this was not practicable they were to be allowed to remain for an "indefinite period" below Tampa Bay.

On November 24, 1840, Colonel Riley marched south on the Tampa Bay road with about 160 men; he had orders to cross the big Withlacooche and proceed to the west. Provided with rations for fourteen days he had been directed to go into Tampa Bay if supplies were needed. On the return to Fort King Riley passed Hitchcock's command at Camp Withlacooche on November 28 and reported he had not seen an Indian nor a sign of one in any direction. The officers and men had long beards, they were dirty and black from fire smoke.[57] At Tampa, December 8, 1840, Hitchcock wrote:

"An express came from Fort King in 20 hours . . . arriving this morning with a report from Col. Riley that 3 Indians had come in with a white flag. That he had no interpreter & could only understand that a large number of Indians would be in in six days, but that agreeably to the General's orders he had detained the 3 Indians as prisoners."

The second regiment of infantry began active duty in Florida in June, 1837; the officers and men participated with fortitude in the hardships of the campaigns, losing two officers and 131 non-commissioned officers and privates, victims to enemy fire and the climate. The regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Riley, embarked at Palatka May 27, 1842, for Savannah to proceed to the Niagara frontier.[58]

Brigadier General W. J. Worth in his recommendations for brevets reported that Riley "has rendered much faithful and energetic service in this territory; is an old battle-officer in the war of 1812, of indisputable gallantry, much and unrequited service in that contest; has risen step by step to his present grade; recommended for the brevet of colonel."[59]

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[56] This was the treaty of Payne's Landing which was signed by most of the chiefs but provided only that a delegation of the Indians should visit the Indian Territory to report upon the situation there before the matter of emigration was taken up by the nation; however, agents of the United States concluded a treaty with the unaccredited delegates which the Seminoles refused to accept (J. Fred Rippy, *Joel R. Poinsett, Versatile American*, Durham, North Carolina, 1935, p. 188).

[57] Unpublished Diary of Lieutenant Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock in Florida, 1840.

[58] Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

[59] *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 554.

The most treasured relic of the Second Infantry is a drum major's baton presented to the regiment by Colonel Riley in 1843. On the silver knob was engraved "Noli me tangre".[60]

Colonel Riley made a most distinguishable record in the Mexican War; he commanded the Second Infantry under General Scott and the Second Brigade of General Twiggs division in the valley of Mexico. He was brevetted a brigadier general for gallantry at Cerro Gordo April 18, 1847, and at Contreras he is said to have made a handsome movement with his brigade; Gen. Persifer Frazer Smith in his official report said Riley displayed gallantry, skill and energy; in a charge "he planted his colors upon the farthest works". On August 20, 1847, Riley was awarded the brevet of Major general for gallantry and General Scott assured him, after one of his engagements, that his bravery had secured a victory for the American army. General Scott publicly asserted that much of his success at Monterrey and Cerro Gordo was due to Riley's valor.[61]

Early in the Mexican War Jefferson Davis met Riley who greeted him with: "Well, my son here we are again; good luck to you my boy, as for me six feet of Mexican soil or a yellow sash." Fortunately for him and the service he won the yellow sash which he is reported to have called a "thath" owing to his lisp.[62] After the war General Riley was on duty in Louisiana and Missouri where the state legislature presented him with a sword because of his splendid record; of him it was said that "he was incapable of a mean action and never tolerated it in another."[63]

General Riley commanded the Tenth Military District from August, 1849 to July, 1850, during which time he was ex-officio provincial governor of California.[64] He arrived at Monterey on April 12 or 13, 1849, aboard the *Iowa*; relieved Col. Richard B. Mason of his command and became governor of California.

When Congress adjourned in March, 1849, without taking any action regarding California there was deep concern about the civil status of the colony; President Taylor sent a confidential agent to California soon after his inauguration, advising the mining camps to draw up a constitution and make application immediately for admission to statehood. General Riley was directed to cooperate with this movement which the immigrants were ready to support.[65]

Governor Riley called a constitutional convention at Monterey

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[60] Mitchell, *op. cit.*,

[61] *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, New York, 1888, vol. V, p. 254; W. A. Croffut, Ph.D. (ed.), *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, Diary of Major-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, New York and London, 1907, p. 277; *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, 1935, vol. XV, pp. 608-09; Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[62] Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and Addenda by Edwin L. Sabin.

[63] *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. XV, pp. 608-09; Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

[64] The National Archives, Washington, D. C., February 1, 1941.

[65] Frederick L. Paxon, *History of the American Frontier*, 1763-1893, Boston, 1924, p. 377.

in September, 1849. This body drew up a constitution for the state which was submitted to the people "who languidly adopted it . . . Nov. 13, 1849.[66] In Riley's opinion "he could not authorize the actual formation of a sovereign state, nor properly recognize it in advance of a congressional recognition. Yet just this he did, surrendering his powers to the new state government months before the admission of the State."[67]

Riley made a reputation as a capable administrator; he was well liked, particularly outside of San Francisco where citizens opposed some of his acts. Esteem for him increased as the good results of his program were observed. "This popularity was signalized by testimonials of popular respect."[68] A farewell dinner was given in his honor at Monterey July 24, 1850; on that occasion he was presented a golden chain and a medal bearing the arms of the city.[69]

On January 31, 1850; Riley was promoted to colonel of the First Infantry and ordered to join his regiment on the Rio Grande; because of disability from cancer he could not comply with the order. He settled in Buffalo, New York, where he died June 7, 1853, leaving Arabella Riley, his widow, and five children.[70]

The pension records in the National Archives show that Mrs. Riley, or "Arabella Reilly" was granted a pension by special act of Congress. This was approved and she received the pension until her death on February 12, 1894. The only child mentioned in the Riley file was E. B. D. Riley who was living at 146 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York in 1894.[71]

Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy, in 1852, recommended abandoning Fort Leavenworth, Fort Scott and several other posts and the establishment of a new fort to the west; his plan was not entirely followed but a post was built in 1853, four miles from Junction City, under the name of Camp Center as it was in the geographical center of the United States. Later in the year the name was changed to Fort Riley in honor of the gallant officer who led the first military escort across the plains to guard a caravan. Fort Riley, close to areas of Indian troubles, assumed the work of mounted expeditions against hostile Red Men and it has since become a famous Army school for the training of officers.[72]

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[66] Josiah Royce, *California* . . . , Boston and New York, 1892, p. 270.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

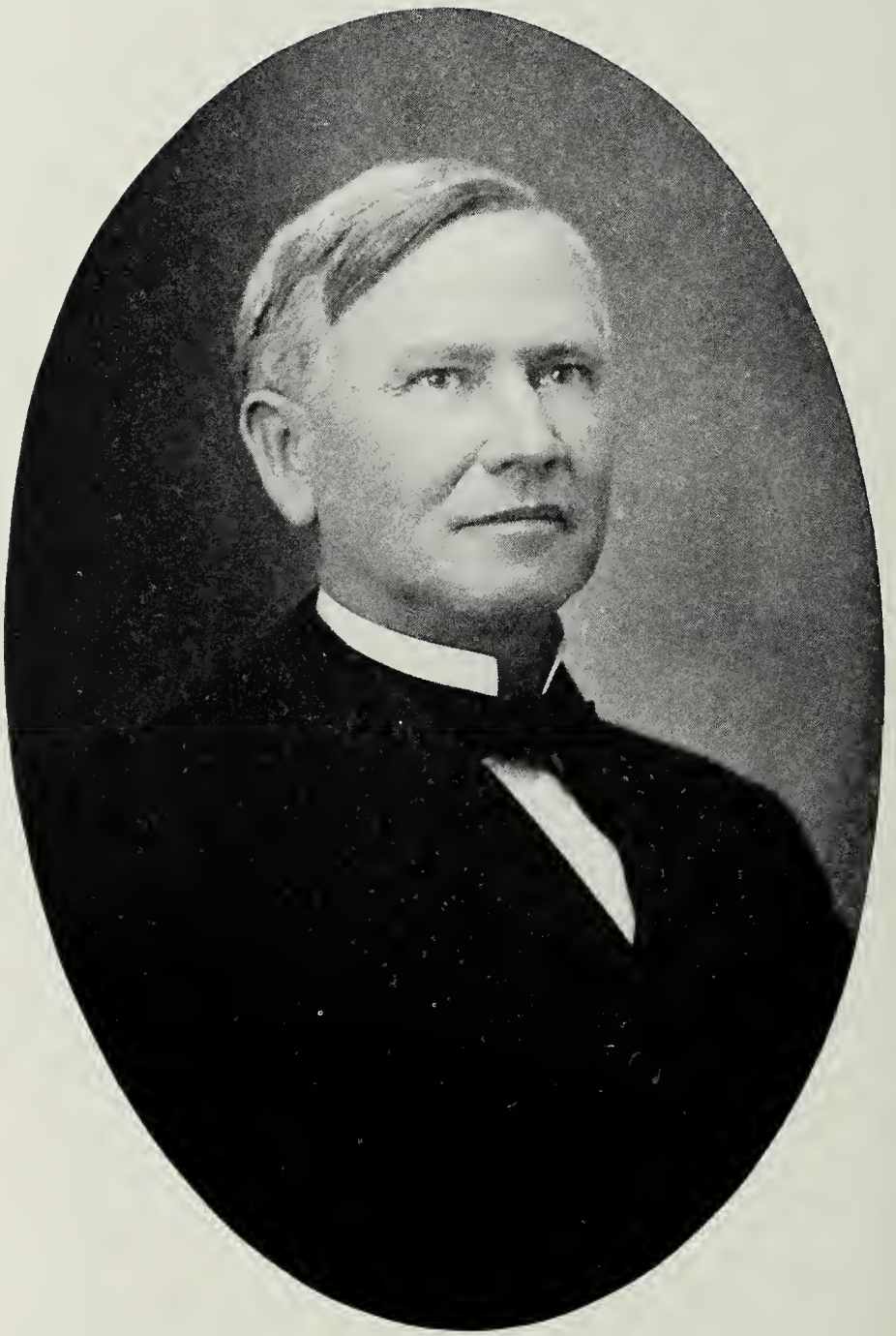
[68] Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[69] A full page account of this dinner was published in the San Jose *Pioneer*, April 20, 1878, p. 1.

[70] *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. XV, pp. 608-09.

[71] The National Archives, Washington, D. C., February 12, 1941.

[72] Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 93; Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 538; *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History*, New York, 1902, vol. VII, p. 440. The writer of this sketch wishes to thank Mr. P. M. Hamer, Chief Division of Reference of the National Archives, Washington, D. C., and Miss Mabel R. Gillis, State Librarian, California State Library, Sacramento, California, for valuable material concerning General Riley.



JAMES JONES QUARLES

JAMES JONES QUARLES

1862-1921

By Robert L. Williams

James Jones Quarles, son of James Jones Quarles,[1] and his wife, Sarah Eunice Quarles, nee Buford,[2] who were married December 23, 1851, was born at College Hill in Lafayette County, Mississippi May 5, 1862, and died at Pawhuska, Oklahoma February 10, 1941, interment at Fairfax, Oklahoma February 11, 1941.

An early record of a Quarles in Virginia is that of Ellen Quarles at Upper Norfolk in 1638, probably the sister of Richard Quarles, whose name appears of record at same place in 1639, and at Charles City in 1640, who were probably immigrants from England. This Richard Quarles had several children, among whom was one named John, who settled in King William County, Va. about 1702, who had several children, among whom was Roger Quarles, born about 1695.[3]

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[1] Born Feb. 8, 1830, graduated in the first class at the University of Mississippi in 1851 with first honors, his diploma being the first issued by that institution, which was founded in 1844, and it bears the signatures of A. B. Longstreet, its president, and L. Q. C. Lamar, at that time a professor in its faculty, afterwards member of the Congress and Senate of the United States, and a member of the Secession Convention of Mississippi and during the Civil War served in the Confederate States army and its diplomatic service, Secretary of the Interior in President Cleveland's cabinet and at the time of his death a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and by Jacob Thompson, a professor in the faculty, and afterwards a Representative in the United States Congress, and Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Buchanan and also an Inspector General in the Confederate army and a confidential agent of the Confederacy, and by Henry M. Clayton, a member of the Supreme Court of Mississippi. The said James Jones Quarles afterwards held a chair in the faculty of his Alma Mater. On February 15, 1862 at Oxford, Mississippi he enlisted in the Confederate States military service for a period of three years and served as sergeant in Co. B, 30th Regiment, Mississippi Infantry, and from wounds received in the service died in a hospital at Atlanta, Georgia, October 5, 1863. The company muster roll shows him "absent, Hospital, by order of Surgeon, August 16, 1863." (Confederate records in Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington, D. C.; Quarles, et al. records, by John Oscar Blakeney, published Little Rock, Ark. 1928, p. 27).

[2] Born as the fifth child July 4, 1830 in Maurey County, Tennessee, and died at College Hill, Lafayette County, Mississippi on July 6, 1887, and was a daughter of Goodloe Warren Buford, who was born in York District, South Carolina, September 16, 1794, and his wife, Selina Grace Stephenson, who was born August 26, 1803 in Williamsburg District, South Carolina, to whom he was married on January 2, 1823 in Green County, Alabama, the said Goodloe Warren Buford being the son of Phileman Buford. To this union of Goodloe Warren Buford and the said Selina Grace Stephenson eight children came, the first born in Green County, Alabama, and the next four in Maurey County, Tennessee, and the last three in Lafayette County, Mississippi. The Quarles and Buford families took the lead in establishing Zion Presbyterian Church near Columbia, Tennessee and also the Presbyterian Church at College Hill, Mississippi, both of which have been in existence for over 100 years.

[3] His (Roger Quarles) will was proved April 12, 1751 in Caroline County, Virginia, with his wife Jane and son John, executors.

Roger Quarles' son, Richard Quarles, who was born about 1736, and who married Frances Powell about 1757, moved to Amelia County, Virginia, and to that union came a son named James Quarles, born in 1760 and died in 1812. They also had a son named Robert Gilliam Quarles, born August 16, 1805 and died August 17, 1843, who married Mary Elizabeth Robertson (born in 1811, and died in 1851) on November 25, 1828.[4]

Said James Quarles (born in 1760) ran away from his home in Amelia County, Virginia when between 16 and 17 years of age, and enlisted on March 17, 1777 in Capt. John Henington's Company, Wm. Thomas, Colonel, 3rd South Carolina Regiment, on the side of the Colonies, and served until his discharge on February 20, 1780, when he returned to his home in Amelia County, Virginia, and afterwards married Sarah Belcher, daughter of Robert and Susannah Belcher, in 1791, and probably influenced his father to migrate to South Carolina.

The subject of this article was educated at College Hill, in Lafayette County, Mississippi, and on November 6, 1884 married Miss Jimmie Blanch Orr, who died in Osage County, Oklahoma on November 5th, 1902. To this marriage came four children: Frank Orr Quarles, and James Jones Quarles, both now of Fairfax, Oklahoma, Mrs. Alleen Quarles Winters, now of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Laura Gray Quarles, deceased.

After the death of his first wife he married Mrs. Ella Todd Gravett on April 5, 1905, who had two children, by a former marriage, to-wit, Mrs. Gertrude Gravett Walters and Mrs. Jean Gravett Brunhoff.

From 1888 to 1899 he was engaged according to the order as herein indicated in the (1) mercantile business and (2) with the Bank of Oxford, Mississippi, and (3) later chief of police and ex-officio tax collector of the city of Oxford (Mississippi), when in 1892 he removed to Hominy, Osage Nation, Oklahoma Territory, and (4) became connected with the general trading store of Price and Price, where he remained until 1899, and then engaged in business in said Nation at Gray Horse (5) from 1899 to 1903, and at Fairfax (6) from 1903 to 1916, and again at Gray Horse (7) from 1916 to 1921, and at Pawhuska (8) from 1921 to 1926, and again at Fairfax (9) from 1926 to 1931, when beginning with February in 1931 until the early part of 1935 (10) he was Superintendent of the Oklahoma Boys' Training School at Pauls Valley.

He was connected with and president of the first civic organization in Fairfax, and in every organized or associated effort for the upbuilding and uplift of the community. He was a charter member of the First Presbyterian Church at Fairfax, and so continuing until the time of his death, the funeral services for his interment being held from said church. He caused to be established the first Protes-

[4] *Virginia Historical Magazine*, XX 205; Quarles Family, p. 20.

tant Sunday School in Osage County and aided in its support, his children and grandchildren still contributing thereto, and took the lead in the establishment of the first important independent public school district in the county.

He was a member of the Board of Regents of the Oklahoma Preparatory School at Tonkawa from 1907 to 1911 and of the State Board of Public Affairs from January 11, 1910 until in January, 1911.

As a member of the Constitutional Convention to frame a Constitution for the State of Oklahoma, elected from District 56, he served on the following committees: (1) Executive Department, (2) Education, (3) Municipal Corporations, (4) Public Roads and Highways, (5) Banks and Banking, etc., (6) Schedule, and introduced the following proposals (1) Ordinance concerning the Osage Nation, (2) Education of deaf, (3) convicts and convict labor, (4) capital punishment, (5) exemptions, (6) executive department, (7) qualifications of governor, and (8) other state officers, (9) their terms of office, (10) railroad commission and (11) their term of office.

His services in the Constitutional Convention were able and creditable, characterized by consideration and application to accomplish results.

He worked with the Boy Scouts organization, becoming their elder brother. While others were building for material things, he aided in building a state and developing character to support it. Another has well said of him that as he was approaching the eightieth milepost of life still his cry was "forward, actually fainting by the wayside." We could ill afford to spare him from this life's activities as he passed to a well deserved rest and reward.

GEORGE RAINEY

1866-1940

By Isaac Newton McCash

George Rainey was distinguished in that group of pioneers who settled in Oklahoma and merits historic recognition. He was born the son of Samuel and Frances (Mathis) Rainey, the fourth child in a family of ten, near Gentryville, Gentry County, Missouri, January 2, 1866.[1] His father was a Union soldier and served three years in the Civil War. His maternal grandfather, Littleton Mathis, was a private in the first regiment of Dragoons which served in the Leavenworth-Dodge expedition, across Oklahoma, in the summer of 1834. It was a happy coincidence that fifty-five years later a grandson should choose that region for his home.

Born of patriotic ancestry, the boy imbibed ideas of loyalty, courage, duty, and honor which characterized George Rainey through life. He attended country school until advanced far enough to enter Albany High School and the Normal Teachers College at Stansberry, Missouri, where he was graduated in June, 1889. He migrated September 24 of that year, from his native state, to a new country to establish a home and business. His trip from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Orlando, Oklahoma, was on a Santa Fe train, so crowded with passengers he had to stand all the way. He filed on a 160 acre claim about eight miles east of Hennessey on which he lived one year. He sold his claim and invested the money in a general merchandise stock, and a store building made of native lumber which he operated for four years. He then sold the store.

Rainey's education stood him in hand when Governor A. J. Seay, in 1892, appointed him county clerk of "C" County which he named Blaine. The fees of his office supplemented his income from the store.

He married Miss Lauretta Gilbert, a college mate of Stansberry, Missouri, who survives. To them was born one child, Tom, who also survives.

He and Mrs. Rainey were lovers of horses and showed great skill in training them in saddle-gaits and trick performances for fairs and stock shows, where they won awards.

In the field of education George Rainey served nine years as superintendent of public instruction in Garfield County. He went from that position to the principalship of Franklin School, Pawhuska, where he served, and Mrs. Rainey taught English in high school, from 1913 to 1916. He organized the Junior High School there and returned to Enid for his permanent residence. Here he substituted in an emergency as principal of a ward school and taught history two summer sessions in the Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma. In his college experience he saw the need

[1] *Who Is Who in Oklahoma*, 409.

GEORGE RAINEY

and felt the impulse to prepare a history of Oklahoma for the schools of the state and to preserve in permanent form his knowledge of events and incidents in the state. His first book was Frank Wyatt and George Rainey, *Oklahoma School History.* It was supposed to be a product of collaboration but the manuscript was prepared by Rainey while his associate was in France. This history was made the official text for all public schools of the state.

His *Civil Government, National and State* was published in 1922 and eleven years later *The Cherokee Strip.* His third and last book, *No Man's Land,* was issued in October, 1937. Supplementary to his historical works he prepared a series of Oklahoma historical maps conveniently mounted for schoolroom use. These are widely used by the schools of the Commonwealth.

George Rainey was an enterprising citizen and regardless of position or personal interest in economic, industrial, social, or political undertakings, he was cooperative and dependable. Politically he was a Republican and, as a recognition of his party fealty, he held the position of Enid postmaster under Presidents Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover, a total of twelve years. He expanded rural route service and improved the postal efficiency of the city.

Rainey was a member of the Enid Writers Club and cultivated an interest in the writers in Oklahoma, their style and reliability.

George Rainey was socially minded and had a friendly, brotherly and fraternal relationship with many people. He faithfully maintained his church relationship with the Christian Church from the time of his arrival in Oklahoma till his death. He was a charter member of a congregation of Disciples of Christ in Sheridan, believed to be the first in Oklahoma. Both village and church have disappeared. He was an elder and faithfully performed the functions of that office for many years in the Central Christian Church of Enid where his funeral rites were held. He was a Mason with a record of being master of two lodges, Grand Patron of the Eastern Star, a Thirty-Second Degree Scottish Rite, a Royal-Arch, a Knight-Templar, and a member of the Council. He was also a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. Rainey was in heartiest accord with her husband. She through her activities became president of the Federated Clubs of Women of Oklahoma, and, on retirement from that position, was elected a national counselor of that organization.

George Rainey's life covered a span of almost three-quarters of a century—January 2, 1866—May 30, 1940. He pursued his career, earnestly and conscientiously, making a contribution to the unprecedented growth and stability of our state. He was a good man with a strong will; his mental acumen was clear; his patriotism unquestioned and his contribution to our generation noble and priceless.

WILLIAM SAMUEL KERR

1868-1940

By Laura M. Messenbaugh

William Samuel Kerr was born near Bakersfield, Missouri, January 13, 1868, the son of William Kerr and Margaret Fore Kerr. His youth was spent in southern Missouri and Milford, Texas, where he farmed and taught school.

In 1886 he married Miss Maggie E. Wright. He moved with his family to Pontotoc County, Indian Territory, in February, 1894, living on a farm near Pecan Grove School until 1897, when he moved into the then small town of Ada. The cabin in which he and his family lived on the farm is still standing there.

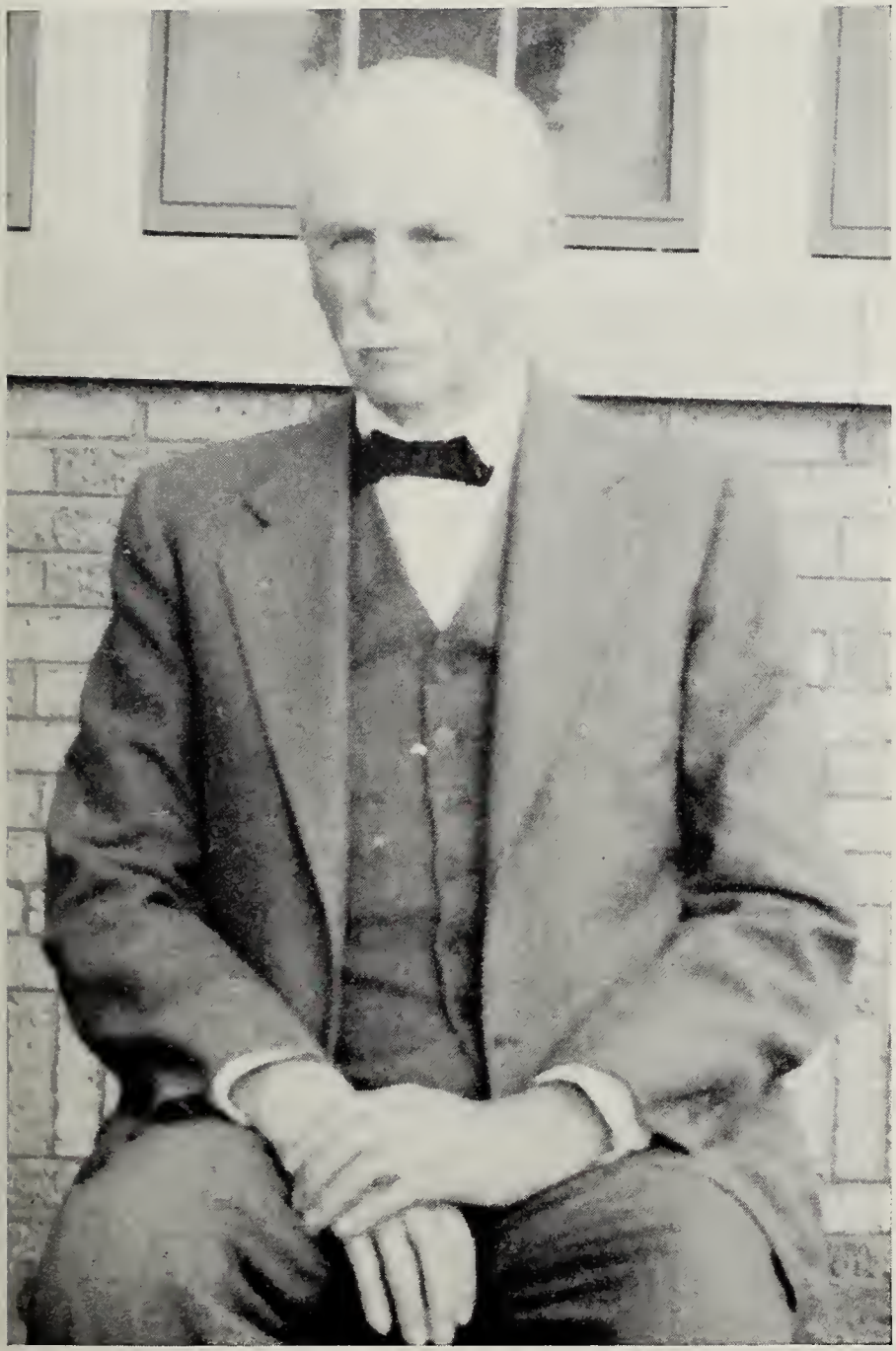
Kerr helped to organize the first school district and was the first teacher employed in the Ada schools after a building was erected in 1897. He returned to the farm in 1899 and back to Ada in 1901, where he was a leading citizen and a real town-builder. A history of Ada would not be complete without recognition of the place occupied by Sam Kerr, as he was generally called, who always stood firmly for right and justice. After the Frisco Railroad was built through Ada in 1900, Mr. Kerr was very active in the affairs of the thriving town.

Something of the place occupied by Kerr in the early organization years of Ada and Pontotoc County is evident in the following list of activities: hauled the first load of wheat to the Ada mill; was the first bookkeeper of the First National Bank; was the first cotton buyer in Ada; the first teacher employed when a school was organized and the building was erected in 1897 to succeed early subscription school; helped bring the first telephone line to Ada from Pauls Valley; helped build the first bridge in the county on old Ada-Center route across Sandy west of Ada, in 1902; helped lay off old cemetery; was a member of the first school board; helped organize the public schools; was on the first city council; helped organize the city government; was on city council that installed first waterworks; was on the school board that built the first high school building in Ada; was on the committee that passed through the legislature the bill establishing East Central State Normal, now College; and after statehood was the first county clerk.[1]

Later Kerr, known generally as Sam Kerr, set out and for years managed a large truck, fruit, and small fruits place on the southwest edge of the city.

About nine years ago a heart condition developed that forced his retirement from active participation in affairs, but this did

[1] Ada *Evening News*, October 8, 1940.



WILLIAM SAMUEL KERR

not diminish his keen interest and analytical opinions on current affairs. He died October 7, 1940, at Ada, Oklahoma.

Funeral services were held in the First Baptist Church at Ada, where Kerr had taught a men's class for many years. His name was synonymous with personal and official integrity, and his passing was the occasion for deep sorrow in the hearts of the many who knew him. Dr. W. R. White, formerly pastor of the First Baptist Church of Oklahoma City, now president of Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, Texas, officiated. Burial was in Rosedale Cemetery.

Kerr is survived by his widow, Mrs. Kerr, Ada; two daughters, Mrs. Lois Wimberly of Oklahoma City, and Mrs. Mildred Anderson of Roswell, New Mexico; four sons, Robert S. Kerr, Oklahoma City oil man and attorney, now Oklahoma member of the national democratic committee; Aubrey M. Kerr, Ada attorney, formerly member of the house of representatives in the state legislature; Travis M. Kerr of Oklahoma City; Billy B. Kerr, Oklahoma City attorney and representative in the state house of representatives from Oklahoma County.

"FRIENDS" AMONG THE SEMINOLE

By Alexander Spoehr

Among the tribes which formerly lived on the plains of the United States, it was not uncommon for two men to become "friends." This type of friendship entailed obligations greater than that which we ordinarily associate with the term. Depending on the tribe, "friends" were bound to assist each other in ceremonial matters, on the warpath, and in routine affairs connected with daily life. However, except for a very few scattered references this institution has not been noted among the tribes which lived in the southeastern part of the country. For this reason the following information is of interest.

In the course of ethnological field work among the Oklahoma Seminole, I found that in the old days they also had a type of formally recognized friendship. Two men who had known and liked each other for a long time might decide to become *anhissi lakko,* or "big friends." There are none of these living today, but I was told that "big friends" treated each other "better than brothers." They were very respectful and did not joke or make fun of each other. They were always helpful, in small matters as well as in those of greater importance. A man who had just returned from hunting would go out of his way to give a cut of meat to his "big friend." If one partner were ill, the other took special care to see that he was well attended. "Big friends" went to war together, and should one be killed the other was pledged to fight by the body till the end. Men who had entered into this type of relationship did not belong necessarily to the same clan or town, but might live a considerable distance apart. The native attitude is well expressed by the comment of an elderly Seminole:

> By no means did all men have "big friends." It was a very serious thing. "You must be very careful in making *anhissi lakko,*" parents would tell their son. Sometimes a man would want to be friendly with another because he wished to marry the other's sister; that was the opposite of this kind of friendship. Sometimes women would become "big friends" also. When that happened they exchanged gifts precious to themselves. But because two men were "big friends," their wives didn't have to be too.

The Seminole and various Plains tribes have lived in Oklahoma for a long time, and one cannot ignore the possibility that the Seminole might have borrowed the institution from one of the Plains groups. However, there is evidence to the contrary, for in 1880 MacCauley found that the isolated Florida Seminole also had the institution of formal fellowhood, though he gave no details about the custom.[1] Today it is still remembered by the older Florida Indians, though no longer practiced. As the Florida Seminole have not been in sustained close contact with Plains tribes, nor even with their Oklahoma brethren until quite recently, formal friendship was apparently characteristic of the Seminole prior to the removal west of the main body of the tribe. The institution may consequently be considered a Southeastern as well as a Plains culture trait.

[1] *Fifth Annual Report,* Bureau of American Ethnology, 1883-84, p. 508.

THE RED RIVER RAFT

By Norman W. Caldwell

One of the most fascinating chapters in the history of river transportation and its relation to the western regions is that which deals with the Red River raft. This great log jam, extending many miles along the course of the stream, was long an effective barrier to the navigation of the river and hence a formidable obstacle to the development of the Red River country. The purpose of this article is to discuss the origin of the raft and to give in summarized form the story of its conquest. Lack of space will necessitate that certain broader phases of the subject such as political implications be minimized.

The raft was undoubtedly of great age. A casual search of the records relating to the period of French occupancy reveals little mention of it.[1] We may assume that at that time it had already retreated above Natchitoches. The Spanish found the river clear at least that far north. The raft, evidently starting at the mouth of the river, as will be explained below, had progressed up stream until by 1833 its lower end was some four hundred miles from the Mississippi. As the obstruction grew and progressed up the river, it rotted away at its lower end and disintegrated, the river thus becoming clear again.[2] The raft was thus like a great serpent, always crawling upstream and forcing the river into new lateral channels.

In 1805 the obstruction is described as being about one hundred miles in length as measured by the course of the river. It was not a solid jam all the way, some places being comparatively free of drift.[3] The great age of the older parts of the drift had given rise to considerable vegetable growth, so that even large trees might be found growing on the raft, and in places one might even pass over the river itself without being aware of its presence.[4] There is some disagreement among writers as to the size of the raft. Farnham says it was only some forty miles long as against Dr. Sibley's esti-

[1] I have relied mostly upon maps in this case. A map by J. F. Broutin, dated probably in 1722, locates a small "Embaras Darbres" at Natchitoches, but indicates nothing below this point. Photostat in Karpinski Collection, Newberry Library, from original in the Bibliotheque de Service Hydrographique (No. C 4044-50) in Paris.

[2] *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 437-438. Due to the fact that it accumulated at the head faster than it disintegrated below, the raft actually became longer each year.

[3] Dr. John Sibley to General Henry Dearborn, April 10, 1805, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 728.

[4] Dunbar and Hunter in *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 740. See also Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826), 331; Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies*, (London, 1843), volume I, as printed in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XXVIII, 114-115; *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 437. The latter source estimates the raft as being 400 years old. These sources all give good descriptions of the appearance of the raft. Dr. Grant Foreman's article entitled "River Navigation in the Early Southwest," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XV, 34-35, gives a good secondary sketch.

mation of one hundred miles.[5] The government engineers estimated its length in 1833 at about one hundred and thirty miles.[6] The foot of the raft was then at Loggy Bayou, one hundred miles above Natchitoches, and the head at Hurricane Bluffs, fifty miles above Shreveport. The rate of growth of the raft is indicated by the fact that between 1843 and 1855 it is said to have advanced at its head some thirty miles.[7]

Concerning the origin of the raft, it seems generally agreed that the drift formations began at the mouth of the river as a result of a higher stage of water in the Mississippi, the waters of the lower Red River being at such times quiet or "backed up". Below Alexandria the Red River is naturally meandering and of slow current. Drift wood floating in such quiet water would accumulate into obstructions, such formations tending to "tighten" as the waters receded. Once established the raft continued to grow, the average yearly accumulations amounting to about one and a half miles of drift.[8] Since the Red River once emptied into the Gulf through the Atchafalaya, conditions were not always so favorable for drift accumulations on its lower course.[9] The phenomenal accumulation of drift can be explained in part by the fact that the river is subject to such rapid rises. One writer tells of experiencing a rain lasting thirty-one hours which caused the river to rise within that same period an equal number of feet! Such freshets naturally bring down much timber and drift.[10] As the raft grew the river was forced to seek new lateral channels, thus in time making a chain of lakes or bayous alongside that part of the river congested by the raft.[11]

That the raft was a formidable impediment to the navigation of the river cannot be doubted. The Long Expedition traversed the length of the raft only " 'after fourteen days of incessant fatigue, toil and danger, doubt and uncertainty. . .' "[12] At that time the steamboat was making its appearance on western rivers, but the waters of Red River above the foot of the raft were considered

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[5] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, 114-115. Farnham's estimation was of course only a conjecture.

[6] Extract from report of the Chief of Topographical Engineers to the Secretary of War, November 1, 1845, 29th. Cong., 1st. sess., Senate Documents, vol. iii, no. 26, p. 6; *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 438-439.

[7] *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 438-439.

[8] *Ibid.* See also *ibid.*, XXI, 280-281.

[9] *Ibid.* See also Dr. Joseph Paxton to Hon. A. H. Sevier, August 1, 1828, as quoted in the *Arkansas Gazette*, September 9, 1828. This writer estimated the age of the raft at 300 years, this assuming that the Red River had sought its present course into the Mississippi about that long ago.

[10] *Niles's Weekly Register*, July 12, 1817, XII, 320. The nature of the *hinterland* is also a factor, the heaviest rises being caused by freshets in the upper country which is less protected by vegetation.

[11] See Randolph B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in 1852*, (Washington, 1854), 91.

[12] James's Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820, as printed in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XVII, 70.

navigable only " 'for boats of three or four tons burthen.' "[13] Only small boats could be successfully moved through the raft area or around it by way of the almost equally difficult lateral bayous. The steamboat did, however, soon appear on the lower Red River. In 1820 the *Beaver* from New Orleans reached Natchitoches, and by 1825 there were seven steamboats in the lower Red River trade.[14] At this time it was hardly expected that steamboat navigation would ever be established through the raft.[15]

Nevertheless, it was inevitable that men's attention should be turned to the raft barrier. With the successful establishment of the Republic of Mexico, some began to wonder as to how effective the Red River might be as a barrier against a possible "powerful enemy" to the southward. That part of the river above the raft would certainly be a very poor line of defense.[16] The establishment of such military posts as Fort Jesup and Fort Towson gave needed protection to the Red River line, but at the same time, the problem of transportation to and from these posts became important. The War Department accordingly ordered a survey of the raft region in 1824,[17] and in the autumn of 1825 the Arkansas Territorial Legislature petitioned Congress to remove the raft "so that boats might ascend to the Kiamichi and the newly established Fort Towson."[18] At the same time General Thomas S. Jesup, the Quartermaster General, recommended the building of a road from Natchitoches to Fort Towson and thence to Fort Gibson on the Arkansas. Nevertheless, the General writes that he considered "the improvement of the navigation of the Red River a matter of first importance." He thought this work might be undertaken by the regular army troops at a small expense.[19] The attack upon the raft had begun.

Early in 1826 army engineers from Fort Jesup spent two months examining the raft. These gentlemen concluded that the raft could only be removed at great expense and advocated the clearing of a

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[13] *Texas State Republican,* October 5, 1819, as quoted by Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The First Texas Newspaper," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XXXVI, 32.

[14] Foreman, *op. cit.,* 47. The first steamer on the Red River is said to have had her steam exhaust pipe leading out through the bow and terminating in the form of a serpent's head. As the boat progressed up the river under full steam, it was appropriately named *pinelore* or "the fire canoe" by the Choctaw Indians. Flagg's note in Thwaites, *op. cit.,* XXVI, 64, n. 18.

[15] *Arkansas Gazette,* November 25, 1820. In this article the possibilities of the Red River lands are extolled, though no mention of the raft barrier is made. Some of the lands were already surveyed and the Editor writes that large settlements "are already formed upon it, within the limits of our territory." Fulton, Arkansas, was laid out about this time as an evidence of this optimism. Fulton lots were advertised for sale in the *Arkansas Gazette* for December 25, 1819.

[16] *Arkansas Gazette,* January 20, 1821, quoting the *Knoxville Register.*

[17] *Arkansas Gazette,* May 1, 1827.

[18] Foreman, *op. cit.,* 48.

[19] Brigadier General Thomas S. Jesup to Honorable James Barbour, Secretary of War, November 26, 1825, 19th. Cong., 1st. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 2, B, p. 14.

navigable route through Soda Lake and the Bayou Pierre outlet, thus circumventing the raft.[20] The War Department after consideration of this report asked for an appropriation of $25,000 to begin the work.[21] At the same time Congress authorized the construction of a military road from Fort Smith to Fort Towson and thence to Fort Jesup.[22]

Interest in the removal of the raft grew rapidly. One proposal from Arkansas would have constructed an artificial jam "at some suitable place near the back line of this Territory" to stop the growth of the raft below so that it could be removed and navigation made safe.[23] Another would have burned all the drift which was accessible at low water and in the dry season, thus reducing future accumulations.[24] The people grew impatient with a Congress which was slow to undertake the destruction of the monster.[25] Some of the merchants and farmers even took the matter into their own hands, employing "an intelligent and respectable young man" named Richard H. Finn to explore the raft and clear out a passage for boats. Several hundred dollars were spent by Finn and his men, who, however, made little impression on the raft.[26]

The army did some work on the raft in 1829-1830 after a second examination of the region, but the failure of Congress to continue appropriations brought operations to a standstill.[27] In the spring of 1831 the government moved considerable supplies to Fort Towson by flat boat in connection with the Choctaw immigration.[28] The expense and trouble involved in this undertaking were so great that interest in improving the Red River route grew. This is particularly

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[20] *Arkansas Gazette*, April 11, 1826, quoting the *Natchitoches Courier*.

[21] Major General Alexander Macomb to Honorable James Barbour, January 3, 1827, in *Arkansas Gazette*, May 1, 1827.

[22] Quartermaster General's Report, October 31, 1827, 20th. Cong., 1st. sess., House Executive Documents, no. 2, C, vol. i, p. 74.

[23] Paxton to Sevier, August 1, 1828, in *Arkansas Gazette*, September 9, 1828.

[24] *Arkansas Gazette*, November 22, 1827, quoting the *Natchitoches Courier*.

[25] Dr. Paxton writes: "It must not be forgotten that the raft is not standing still, but it is gradually progressing upwards, like a destroying angel, spreading desolation over a most lovely country. . ." Paxton to Sevier, August 1, 1828 in the *Arkansas Gazette*, September 16, 1828. In 1828 Congress did appropriate $25,000 for the Red River project. Statement of Appropriations, December 21, 1846, 29th. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. ii, no. 44, p. 14.

[26] *Arkansas Gazette*, December 16, 1828.

[27] General C. Gratiot to Honorable John H. Eaton, November 18, 1828, 21st. Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., no. 1, vol. i, p. 76; Report of the Chief Engineer, November 4, 1831, 22nd. Cong., 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 2, vol. i, p. 83. The latter report indicates all work was suspended on account of lack of funds. Some fifty miles of the river had been improved, however. The suspension of work by the government caused a renewed impatience on the part of the Red River people, who even feared that the Red River might leave the Mississippi outlet entirely and resume its old route down the Atchafalaya. See Lois Garver, "Benjamin Rush Milam," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII, no. 2, 120.

[28] Muriel H. Wright, "Early Navigation and Commerce Along the Arkansas and Red Rivers in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VIII, 77.

related to the general program of Indian removal which the government was then undertaking.[29] Benjamin Rush Milam's feat of bringing the first steamboat through the raft in 1831 also did much to quicken interest in overcoming the barrier.[30]

Beginning with the $20,000 appropriated in 1832, the federal government became formally committed to the removal of the raft and was to spend upon the project by 1841 the sum of $425,800.[31] At first work had consisted only of trying to improve routes around the raft through the bayous. This plan was now abandoned, and an attempt was made to remove the raft itself. Experience gained by the engineers in work done on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers as well as improvement in the construction of "snag boats" seems to have prompted the change of policy. An advantage in removing the raft itself was to be found in that much waste land occupied by the bayous and lateral passes could be reclaimed.[32]

On April 11, 1833 Captain Henry M. Shreve of the army engineers arrived at the foot of the raft with four boats (including the snag boat *Archimedes*) and a force of 159 men. Work began at once, the process consisting of pulling the logs and stumps out of the raft, sawing them into sections, and floating them down the river. At first the current was so slight as to necessitate removing the debris to the banks or placing it in the bayous, but it soon increased sufficiently to carry away the timber. By the time the funds became exhausted, Shreve had cleared a path through seventy-one miles of the raft, or half its estimated length. The monster had been dealt a mighty blow, and despite the fact that the obstruction became more recent and accordingly more solid as one went up stream, the enterprising Shreve thought an additional sum of $100,000 would

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[29] Foreman, *op. cit.*, 49-50.

[30] Garver, *op. cit.*, 120-121; Foreman, *op. cit.*, 50. Two years later another small boat succeeded in accomplishing the feat.

[31] The appropriations for the raft work for the period from 1828 to 1841 are as follows:

1828	$25,000
1832	$20,000
1834	$50,000
1835	$50,000
1836	$70,800
1837	$65,000
1838	$70,000
1841	$75,000
Total	$425,800

Statement of Appropriations, December 26, 1846, 29th. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. ii, no. 44, p. 14. Total federal appropriations for internal improvements rose from $48,400 in 1806 to $2,087,044.16 in 1838 and declined sharply for the next few years, amounting to only $50,000 in 1845. The decline was due to the panic conditions existing after 1837 and to the political reaction under the Whigs. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[32] Report of the Chief Engineer, November 13, 1832, 22nd. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 2, no. 3, vol. i, pp. 95-96.

suffice to complete the job.[33] The failure of Congress in 1833 to make another appropriation halted the work for a while, but upon the resumption of appropriations Shreve was able to return to the Red River in October, 1834.[34] Some work had to be done over the ground covered in 1833, but such rapid progress was made that by the spring of 1836 only nine miles of the raft remained. The work had now become so difficult, however, that Captain Shreve estimated four times as much labor was required to remove a mile of the obstruction as at first. A great part of the area cleared "had more the appearance of a forest than of a river." The fact was that Shreve's difficulties were so great that he foresaw the need of still larger sums of money in order to complete the work.[35]

Despite lurking dangers steamboats followed in the wake of Captain Shreve's snag boats, eager to exploit the trade of the upper region. By the spring of 1836 trips were being made as far up as Coates's Bluff, some 110 miles above the original foot of the raft. As early as 1834, 42,500 bales of cotton reached New Orleans from the Red River region, and in 1835 Fulton, Arkansas, made another bid for the future by advertising lots.[36]

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[33] Report of Henry M. Shreve to General Gratiot, Chief Engineer, June 27, 1833, 23rd. Cong., 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 98. Shreve also made a map of the raft at this time. *Ibid.* See also *Arkansas Gazette,* June 19, 1833, quoting *Alexandria* (La.) *Gazette,* May 29, 1833.

[34] Annual report of operations from 1st. October, 1833 to 30th. October, 1834, 23rd. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, p. 165.

[35] Low water was blamed for slow progress in 1835. *Arkansas Advocate,* May 15, 1835, quoting the *Arkansas Gazette.* In 1836 Shreve reported as follows: " 'The fact is, . . . the work is of such a nature as to make it almost impossible to judge of the amount of labor required to perform any portion of it until after it is done.' " *Niles's Register,* July 16, 1836, XL, 333. He also complained in 1836 of rising prices due to the inflation then existing. Then, too, much time was lost due to sickness, many of the men falling ill from working in the blazing sun, or exposure to mosquitoes. Shreve blamed the decaying vegetation for much of the illness. Report of July 6, 1836, 24th. Cong., Sen. Ex. Doc., vol. ii, no. 2, pp. 272-274. To the people of the Red River region Captain Shreve quickly became a hero. Shreve seems to have been eager to popularize his work. In 1834, for instance, he sent the snag boat *Archimedes* to Little Rock where she was inspected by the people at large, and where she gave a demonstration "of her astonishing powers, by grappling with and removing a large cottonwood tree, which has been lying nearly buried in the mud . . . near the shore." *Arkansas Gazette,* February 18, 1834. G. W. Featherstonehaugh, the English geologist, who was then visiting Arkansas, lauds the work of Captain Shreve in very high terms. Featherstonehaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States* (2 vols., London, 1844), II, 194-198. See also the praises of Edmund Flagg, *The Far West* (New York, 1838) as quoted in Thwaites, *op. cit.,* XXVI, 93-94.

[36] *Arkansas Gazette,* October 13, 1834, quoting *Natchitoches* (La.) *Republican; Arkansas Gazette,* March 31, 1835. It would be an unjustified diversion to discuss here the dangers of early steamboat navigation, though something might be said on that subject. The worst Red River disaster in the early days was that of the *Lioness* which exploded on May 18, 1833 as she was proceeding to Natchitoches with a load of gunpowder, killing fifteen and injuring thirteen. James T. Lloyd, *Steamboat Directory and Disasters on Western Waters,* (Cincinnati, 1856), 85-87. Shreve mentions many others which were grounded or lost on snags. This was of course not a condition peculiar to the Red River alone, but was common to river

In anticipation of the opening of the raft immigrants poured into the region, their number being so great as to occasion an excessive rise in prices of provisions.[37] In the meantime the work of removing the rest of the raft progressed and in the spring of 1838 Captain Shreve was able to announce that he had cleared a way completely through the raft.[38] With the establishment of steamer traffic through the raft, contracts were offered for the carrying of the mails by boat. The raft was thus officially assumed to be dead.[39]

But the raft was not so easily conquered. By August, 1838, freshets had closed the route with new drifts and steamboat traffic above Shreveport was interrupted.[40] Captain Shreve himself had foreseen the necessity of greater improvements before the navigation of the river could be assured. In the report of 1838 he asked for and received a larger appropriation including a considerable sum

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transportation in general. Count Francesco Arese, an Italian nobleman who traveled on the Mississippi and other rivers in 1837, writes: "'It is rather remarkable that from Louisville to St. Louis, a distance of five or six hundred miles, I saw at least 25 abandoned hulks. . . I was told that as a general rule forty or so ships every year strand themselves, burn, or blow up—an awful proportion of ten percent out of the 400 or 500 boats in the West. Most of them are stranded in shallows or pierced by what the Americans call snags—the French Chicots. . .'" Quoted in Romualdo Bonfadini, *Vita di Francesco Arese* (Turin, 1894), as printed in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XX, 381-399, document edited by Lynn M. Case. That this condition grew no better is indicated by the fact that a decade later in one year (1845-1846) 120 boats were lost on western rivers, of which 46 were snagged, 38 were sunk, 16 exploded (boiler explosions), 15 were rammed, 13 were burned, 10 were wrecked, and 7 were damaged by ice. 310 people were killed in such accidents throughout the country that year. *Niles's National Register*, September 11, 1847, LXXIII (Ser. 5, v. 23), 24. In the period from 1853-1860, 3,001 people were killed and 1,090 were injured in 242 steamboat accidents. *De Bow's Review*, XXX, 377. The Act of Congress dated August 30, 1852 forced inspection of boilers and ordered better construction thus eliminating many boiler accidents. *Ibid.*, XIX, 466. The great number of accidents in the 1840's was said to be due in large part to the failure of the federal government to improve the waterways, appropriations for internal improvements being then at a minimum. At one time the number of losses sustained was said to have mounted to as high as one fifth of the boats engaged in the western river trade. See Resolution of the General Assembly of Illinois on subject of neglect of rivers, February 24, 1843, 27th. Cong. 3rd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. iv, no. 216. Many other such memorials from state legislatures, towns, and so on, could be cited.

[37] *Niles's National Register*, January 27, 1838, XLIII, (Series 5, vol. 3), 352.

[38] *Arkansas Advocate*, February 3, 1837; *Niles's National Register*, April 28, 1838, XLIV, (Ser. 5, v. 4), 144. The first steamboat passed through on March 7, 1838 and up to March 29th. five boats in all had gone through. Two boats were lost early in April on snags. Shreve estimated the total expenditure on the removal of the raft at $311,129.50 and thought $15,000 yearly would be enough to keep the channel clear. A new snag puller with the formidable name of *Eradicator* had been built. Captain Shreve's Report, June 4, 1838, 25th. Cong., 3rd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, pp. 308-311.

[39] *Arkansas Gazette*, April 25, 1838.

[40] *Arkansas State Gazette*, August 22, 1838.

to be spent in work on that part of the river above the raft.[41] In spite of this appropriation, the river could not be kept open and the funds were soon exhausted. The panic which had struck the country was showing its full effects and Congress failed to make appropriations in 1839 and 1840. Citizens of Washington, Arkansas, and surrounding regions, through the Washington branch of the State Real Estate Bank, raised a sum of $7,147.50, thus enabling Shreve to open the river again in the spring of 1839. These funds were, however, soon exhausted; and Shreve had exceeded the amount allotted him in 1838 as well. The raft continued to grow and the river was closed again.[42] Requests for funds in 1840 also went unheeded.[43]

In 1841 Congress returned to the Red River problem by appropriating the sum of $75,000 for removing the raft. It was decided, however, that the work should be let out to contract, the contractor agreeing to purchase the snag boat *Eradicator,* and to clear out the three miles of raft then formed and maintain open navigation for a period of four years. This contract was taken by one Thomas B. Williamson, who seems to have known little about the work. In June, 1842, a heavy freshet closed the river again, and the formation of rafts in the two following years was greater than that ever known, being some four miles in extent. The contractor failed to meet his obligations and on March 6, 1844 Captain T. B.

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[41] Report of Captain Shreve, November 10, 1838, 25th. Cong., 3rd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, 307-308. $23,000 was spent for the *Eradicator* out of the $70,000 available.

[42] Report of Captain Shreve, June 12, 1839, 26th. Cong. 1st. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, pp. 205-209; *Arkansas Gazette*, July 24, 1839. The river was closed by the latter date. Those interested in the Red River route naturally felt their spirits fall at such a turn of events. To make matters worse a dangerous bar was forming at the mouth of the Red River and the removal of the rocks at Alexandria was becoming imperative. Even the lower course of the Red River seemed likely to be closed to navigation. See Resolution of the General Assembly of Louisiana, February 13, 1839, 25th. Cong., 3rd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. iii, no. 214. At this time such a plague of fever broke out in this region that the citizens of Alexandria fled the town. *Niles's National Register*, December 14, 1839, LVII, (Ser. 5, v. 7), 256. These things occurred just as attempts were being made to establish commerce with Mexico via the Red River route. Some Mexican and American traders from Chihuahua did reach New Orleans in 1839, but nothing more seems to have come of these projects. *Arkansas Gazette*, September 4, 1839, quoting the *New Orleans Louisianan*, July 26, 1839.

[43] Report of Captain Shreve, June 12, 1839, 26th. Cong., 1st. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, p. 210; *ibid.*, 2nd. sess., Ex. Doc., vol. i, no. 2, p. 170. Some attempts by citizens and the state of Louisiana to open the raft were made in 1839 and 1840, but failed to accomplish anything. Report of Captain Shreve, October 31, 1840, *ibid.*, 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, pp. 128-129. An attempt to bring goods down the river by flat boat is mentioned in 1840, but this also seems to have been a failure. *Arkansas State Gazette*, July 1, 1840. Land speculators in the raft region seem to have been hard hit by these adversities. Roswell Beebe offered all his land at bargain prices, while Fulton speculators were also eager to sell. *Arkansas State Gazette*, March 18, March 25, and May 13, 1840, etc.

Linnard, the superintendent, declared the contract void.[44] In his report for the year 1844, Captain Linnard criticized the policy of removing the raft because he thought the river bed had been so elevated by the presence of the raft that the tendency of the river to seek lateral outlets could not be checked. He, therefore, advocated the construction of booms at certain places, thus assisting the river to cut new channels around the raft. He thought such a scheme would be much cheaper than trying to remove the raft at the cost of $7,000 per mile.[45] This plan was tried and such a boom was made, but broke and disaster resulted. The formation of drift in the spring of 1845 was unusually large. Colonel Abert then recommended a return to the plan of removing the raft as before, and asked for appropriations for the work.[46] This led to a Senate investigation of the Red River expenditures, while the annexation of Texas and the outbreak of war with Mexico soon turned attention to other and more important things.[47]

The Red River was therefore definitely closed to steamer traffic and an annual commerce of ten millions of dollars in value placed upon a very uncertain status.[48] New Orleans was of course anxious about the future of this trade, which it was conceived might be diverted into other channels.[49] On the other hand Washington and other towns in Arkansas were forced to depend upon overland routes for their supplies, especially late in 1845 when low waters closed the Red River route even more effectively.[50] In 1846 an attempt was made to set up a private system of transportation through the raft

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[44] Report of Colonel J. J. Abert, November 15, 1844, 28th. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, pp. 279-282. The army engineers after Williamson's failure resumed work on the raft, but accomplished little. The flood of 1844 was one of the largest ever recorded. All the lands in the immediate neighborhood of Red River "were desolated, and every vestige of cultivation was destroyed." The contractor naturally could not have fulfilled his obligations against such odds. See Lloyd, *op. cit.*, 257-258.

[45] Appendix to the report of Colonel Abert, November 14, 1844, 28th. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, pp. 283-293.

[46] Extract from Colonel Abert's Report of November 1, 1845, 29th. Cong., 1st, sess., Sen. Doc., vol. iii, no. 26, pp. 5-13.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] Cotton exports from the Red River and its tributaries to New Orleans in 1842 are said to have amounted to 200,000 bales valued at $5,000,000. *Niles's National Register*, October 28, 1843, LXV (ser. 5, v. 15), 131-132, quoting *New Orleans Bulletin.*

[49] *Ibid.*, November 18, 1843, 179. Fears that the Red River would again seek an outlet through the Atchafalaya and thus pass New Orleans "on the other side" were much discussed. See statement of P. O. Herbert, State Engineer of Louisiana, as quoted in the *Washington Telegraph*, March 18, 1846.

[50] *Washington Telegraph*, January 29, February 26, 1845. A thriving trade grew up between Washington and Camden on this account. Only $17,863.54 had been made available for work on western rivers by Congress for the year 1846-1847. Most of the boats used in such work had been transferred to the War Department for military service. Report of Lieutenant Colonel T. H. Long, September 1, 1847, 30th. Cong., 1st. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, pp. 670-678.

area, but nothing seems to have come of this scheme. The raft was again victorious.[51]

Congress was of course besieged with the usual memorials on the subject of the raft.[52] The answer of the government was found in President Polk's message of March 13, 1849, accompanying his veto of the internal improvement bill. The gist of the president's argument was that the individual states concerned should bear the expense of such works, the funds to come out of tonnage duties levied on the commerce going over the route under improvement.[53] The activities of the engineers for the next few years were accordingly limited "to the expenditure of small balances."[54]

Such was the state of affairs until the year 1852 when the government again entered the fight against the raft. Between 1828 and 1852 appropriations aggregating $535,765.50 had been made on the Red River project. Most of this money had been wasted, since the failure to continue regular appropriations had meant that much work had to be done over again when after a lapse of time the work was resumed.[55] The government now resumed the work with

[51] *Washington Telegraph,* March 18, 1846. One J. B. Gilmer undertook to haul cotton through at 50c per bale and other goods at 25c per barrel. Fulton, Arkansas, which as we have seen had made her bid for the future as early as 1819, well illustrates the retardation due to the presence of the raft. In 1846, Fulton consisted of no more than "one Smith Shop, two ware houses, three Grocerys, and four cabins. . ." William A. McClintock, "Journal of a Trip Through Texas and Northern Mexico in 1846-1847," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XXXIV, 22. McClintock, a volunteer of the 2nd. Kentucky Regiment was killed at Buena Vista.

[52] For example, see the *Washington Telegraph,* December 8, 1847, January 5, 1848; *De Bow's Review,* V, 94-95. *De Bow's Review* states that freights on the Red River were "two hundred percent higher than on any other river of our continent, and all on account of the raft." Points above the raft paid $2.50-$5.00 per bale for the shipment of cotton to New Orleans, while the rates in the Ouachita Valley about the same distance away ranged from 50c to $1.00 per bale! The memorials rarely failed to point out also how keeping open the river would enhance the value of government lands in that area.

[53] 30th. Cong., 1st. sess., Ex. Doc., vol. v, no. 49, pp. 1-17.

[54] Report of Colonel Abert, November 20, 1849, 31st. Cong., 1st. sess., Ex. Doc., vol. iii, pt. 1, no. 5, pp. 294-336. Appropriations were not resumed until 1852. See Report of Colonel Abert, October 27, 1849, 31st. Cong., 1st. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, no. 1, pp. 300-302; *ibid.,* November 14, 1850, 31st. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, pt. 2, no. 1, pp. 385-462; *ibid.,* 32nd. Cong., 1st. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. i, pt. 1, no. 1, pp. 428-437. While towns above the raft suffered in these years, Shreveport throve, especially with the opening of the Texas cattle trade. Five or six packets were engaged in this trade between Shreveport and New Orleans. Of course smaller craft worked their way through the raft region. *De Bow's Review,* XI, 222. The editor of *De Bow's Review* and the editor of the *Washington Telegraph* favored state action to remove the raft, but the Louisiana state engineer favored federal assistance. *Ibid.,* 222-223; *Washington Telegraph,* January 25, 1854; Resolution of Louisiana Legislature, February 21, 1852, 32nd. Cong., 1st. sess., House Miscellaneous Documents, no. 22. Some opposed removal of the raft in any case, fearing the region below the river would be flooded by the waters so released. *De Bow's Review,* XXI, 280. Certain others were just as sure the upper country would all be ruined if it wasn't! *Ibid.,* XIX, 440.

[55] Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1888, 50th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 1341.

vigor but the coming of the Civil War was shortly to intervene with the result that the raft was to remain for many years as a barrier to the Red River navigation.[56]

In 1854 a survey was made of the raft region. The river was then found to be closed for a distance of thirteen miles. The engineer in charge of this survey was inclined to favor the plan of diverting the river through lateral channels instead of removing the raft itself which he now estimated would cost $10,000 to $12,000 per mile. He proposed opening a new route from Dooley's Bayou to Soda Lake and Twelve Mile Bayou, pointing out that this would not only shorten the river's course, but also increase the current.[57] This plan was approved and the work was begun in 1855, but the ravages of the cholera among the workers seriously handicapped progress.[58] Work was continued according to this plan in 1856,[59] while the government also took up consideration of the problem of improving the navigation of the rapids at Alexandria.[60] By 1857, however, the plan of establishing a lateral route of navigation was evidently laid aside in favor of a direct attack on the raft itself.[61] At this juncture appropriations were again refused by a Congress which

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[56] Report of the Chief of Engineers, November 18, 1852, 32nd. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. ii, no. 1, pp. 217-219. The engineers seem to have been uncertain as to what method to use in attacking the raft and advertized "for proposals in reference to removing the Red River raft." The renewal of government interest in the project is partly due to the changing political situation, but the maintenance of larger bodies of troops in Texas and the western regions gained by the Mexican war caused renewed interest in problems of transportation. Charles Thomas, Deputy Quartermaster General, to Honorable Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, January 11, 1854, 33rd. Cong. 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., vol. v., no. 23, pp. 1-2. Then, too, cotton production in the Red River region was on the increase despite the impediments of transportation. *Washington Telegraph*, September 27, 1854. At this time steamboat captains formed an association to raise rates in the Red River region, this being vigorously contested by the people above the raft. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1854.

[57] Report of Red River Survey, January 18, February 17, 1855, 33rd. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., vol. iii, no. 62, pp. 1-6.

[58] Annual Report of Charles A. Fuller, engineer, September 1, 1855, 34th. Cong., 1st. and 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. ii, no. 1, pp. 319-324. Fuller who was then in charge of the work said the river had been completely closed for two years while large cotton crops in the upper region remained unmoved. Supplies were being hauled overland in quantities. See also *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 439, for a description of the raft at that time.

[59] Report of Colonel Abert, November 22, 1856, 34th. Cong., 3rd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. iii, no. 5, p. 367.

[60] Colonel Abert to Secretary Davis, March 15, 1856, 34th. Cong., 1st. sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., vol. xii, no. 49, pp. 1-2.

[61] The progress of the work was then said to be seriously handicapped on account of sickness among the laborers, the difficulty of procuring men, prevailing high prices of provisions and labor, etc. Report of Colonel Abert to Honorable John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, November 23, 1857, 35th. Cong., 1st. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. iii, no. 11, pp. 290-291.

found itself facing increasingly serious domestic problems.[62] In the two following years the project was abandoned completely.[63]

During the Civil War nothing seems to have been done in regard to the raft problem. The attitude of the Confederacy toward internal improvements is expressed in Article I, Section 8, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution which declares that no clause of the Constitution may be construed "to delegate the power to Congress to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce; except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, buoys, and other aids to navigation upon the coasts, and the improvement of harbors and the removing of obstructions in river navigation, in all which cases, such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby, as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof."[64] The preoccupation of the Davis government with the prosecution of the war was quite sufficient to prevent its giving attention to the raft problem even under the strictly limited provisions stated above.

During the war, however, it chanced that the federal forces were given an opportunity to improve the Red River navigation. In March, 1864, a joint expedition under General N. P. Banks and Admiral David Porter was sent up the river to attack Shreveport. The battle fought at Sabine Cross Roads on April 8, 1864 compelled the federal forces to abandon the campaign and retreat down the river. When the expedition reached Alexandria in mid-April, it was found that the water was too low to allow the heavier boats to pass over the rapids. It first appeared that the only alternative to prevent the boats valued at two millions of dollars from falling into the hands of the enemy was to burn them. At this juncture, however, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Bailey of the Engineers, proposed damming the river below the rapids so as to allow the water to rise sufficiently high to float the boats through. The plan being agreed upon, work was begun on April 20th., and on May 12th. the fleet

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[62] Some work was done in 1857-1858 from unexpended balances, but this amounted to very little. Much trouble was found even then in keeping crews, the men preferring other work. Report of Lt. Col. S. H. Long, October 15, 1858, 35th. Cong., 2nd. sess., Sen. Doc., vol. iii, no. 1, pp. 1037-1038. At that time a new snag boat, a new dredge, and a new machine boat were badly needed. Long estimated over $300,000 would be needed for the work for the next five years. *Ibid.*

[63] Report of Colonel Abert, November 14, 1860, 36th. Cong., Sen. Doc., vol. ii, no. 1, p. 294. In 1859 delegates from Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana, met to organize a company to open the raft. The company was to operate for a period of thirty years, the capital stock to be $250,000. This scheme reflects strongly the growing animosity of the states toward the federal government, which was accused of incompetency, waste, etc. in regard to the removal of the raft. The raft would now "disappear like frost before the sun." But, the war and its urgent problems swallowed up this scheme which most likely would have failed in any case. *De Bow's Review*, XXVI, (vol. i, New Series), 100.

[64] James M. Matthews, (editor), *The Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America . . .*, (Richmond, 1864), 14.

passed in safety. This was one of the most brilliant exploits of engineering during the war.[65]

Following the war came that justly regrettable period in the history of our country known as "Reconstruction." The preoccupation of the government with the problems of that period prevented the resumption of work on the Red River project. The people of that region, however, were still interested in the subject. In 1869 we read of a convention which met at New Orleans to consider the improvement of the navigation of Red River. The division among the delegates, may, however, be illustrated by the statement of a gentleman from Jefferson, Texas, who thought the improvement of the river below that point was then sufficient "to cover the wants of the country." He thought Fulton, situated above the raft, might well depend for her outlet upon railroads to be built shortly.[66] A company organized to undertake the improvement of navigation through Mack's Bayou, Cross Bayou, and Bodcau Lake seems to have gone no farther than the paper stage.[67] In 1872, however, the federal government returned to the task, appropriating $170,000 for the Red River work. The raft finally was to meet his master at the hands of a government representing a newly united nation.[68]

Work began with operations of shore parties on the first of December, 1872 and with snag boats and crane boats in the following month. Portable steam saws and explosives were used in the work,

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[65] For references see *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1891), Series I, vol. xxxiv, pt. 1, 209-210, ff. This includes General Banks' report of the expedition. Colonel H. L. Landers, "Wet Sand and Cotton—Banks' Red River Campaign," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIX, no. 1, 188-193 gives a scholarly criticism of Banks' bungling conduct of the campaign. See also James Grant Wilson, "The Red River Dam," *Potter's American Monthly*, XI, 104-106 for a more romantic account. The "Red River Dam" may sometimes be confused with the "Red River Raft," but of course has nothing to do with it at all.

[66] *Arkansas Daily Gazette*, December 8, 1869.

[67] *Ibid.*, January 5, 1870.

[68] A preliminary survey of the raft was made in April, 1872 by Lieutenant A. E. Woodruff of the engineers. In his report dated April 18, 1872, Lieutenant Woodruff says: "The total length of the raft covering the whole breadth of the river is seven miles, but throughout almost all of the distance between the head and foot of the raft (the foot of the raft was then at Carolina Bluffs) the channel is partially obstructed. The whole area of floating raft is computed at 290 acres. The whole area of 'tow-heads' or raft resting on the bottom . . . is computed at 103 acres." He recommended clearing the raft and improving the main channel instead of seeking a lateral route. 42nd. Cong., 3rd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pp. 568-572; Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 19, 1872, 42nd. Cong., 3rd. sess., Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, p. 61; Report of the Chief of Engineers, 1890, 51st. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 1820. Yearly appropriations were made in the period 1872-1882 and appropriations were also made in 1884, 1886, and 1888. By 1890 a total of $902,000 had been appropriated in this new campaign against the raft. The raft itself may be said to have ceased to have a personality after 1882 at which time special appropriations for its removal were dropped. Henceforth appropriations are "for improving the Red River."

though the latter are said to have been ineffective at first. By May 16, 1873 a route had been opened through Red Bayou and other lateral routes so that the steamer *R. T. Bryarly* went through "with jubilant whistling." She was the first steam boat to take freight past Carolina Bluffs in twenty-nine years.[69] So vigorous was the work carried on in the following months that by November a "navigable channel" was obtained through the whole length of the raft, and much additional work had been done in cleaning up along the route.[70] The following year these operations were continued, most of the labor being expended on the removal of timber from the river banks where it was likely to cave into the stream.[71]

By 1876 the engineers were able to announce plans for a clear channel 150 feet in width at all points along the river. The early months of this year were unusually dry and snag pulling was carried on vigorously at low water. The work of clearing the banks also progressed satisfactorily.[72] A July rise, however, coming at a time when appropriations were exhausted, caused new jams to appear, interrupting navigation for a time. The river was soon reopened to traffic. Work was continued satisfactorily throughout 1878.[73] In 1878 the appropriation provided for snag pulling in the lower Red River as well as work in the raft area. An appropriation of $150,000 was also made for improving the mouth of Red River.[74] In the following year in addition to general operations, a study was begun of the effects of the removal of the raft on the river and its connecting lakes.[75] By 1880 the raft was definitely conquered, but the patrolling of the river could by no means be neglected. The Chief of Engineers writes: "This work must be continuous from year

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[69] Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 20, 1873, 43rd. Cong., 1st. sess., Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pp. 613-620. The use of nitroglycerine to remove large trees and stumps proved very effective after some experience had been gained in handling it.

[70] Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 20, 1874, 43rd. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 72, 702-704.

[71] Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 18, 1875, 44th. Cong., 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 69, 522-527. The engineers were now manufacturing their own nitroglycerine for use in the river work. At one time some 900 lbs. of this and other explosives detonated, though fortunately no one was nearby. A new snag boat was requested at this time to replace the *Sterling* "worn out in service." *Ibid.*

[72] Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 21, 1876, 44th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 78, 596-599.

[73] Report of the Chief of Engineers, November 19, 1877, 45th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 76-77, 480-488. The steamer *Florence* was sunk that year (1877) at Benton Cut-Off. Tone's Bayou was closed with a dam to strengthen the flow of the main channel.

[74] Report of the Chief of Engineers, 45th. Cong., 3rd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 86-87. The dam at Tone's Bayou had broken and had to be repaired.

[75] Report of the Chief of Engineers, 46th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 112-114; appendix to the same, *ibid.*, pp. 951-964. A heavy freshet in April, 1879, carried down the greatest drift in several years. Two spans of the new railroad bridge at Fulton, Arkansas were washed away.

to year, owing to the immense quantity of drift brought down on every flood from upper Red River.''[76]

What was the effect of the establishment of dependable Red River navigation? It would be difficult to answer this question conclusively, but the evidence seems to indicate that the opening of the river came too late to bear full fruit. The building of railroads had in the meantime linked the upper Red River region with the rest of the country, and the river route was no longer so important. Thus during the twelve months ending in May, 1879, Shreveport received a total 103,660 bales of cotton of which only 16,040 bales came from the region above the raft. 65,025 bales of this cotton were sent down the river to New Orleans by boat, but the rest went by rail to other destinations. Of 150 steamer landings at Shreveport that year only twenty-four were made by boats from points above the raft.[77] The following year showed a still greater decline in river shipments, only 10,360 bales of cotton coming by river from the region above the raft. In that year (September 1, 1879 to June 24, 1880) Shreveport shipped out 58,886 bales of cotton by rail and only 33,558 by water![78]

Despite the dwindling importance of steam boat commerce, the government spent large sums of money on the Red River in the years immediately following 1882. By 1886 the rapids at Alexandria

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[76] Report of the Chief of Engineers, November 19, 1880, 46th. Cong., 3rd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 150-152. In the absence of the steamer *Florence*, which was refitting in New Orleans, private boats had to be hired to assist in the work that year. In 1881 the Chief of Engineers could report: "There is now a good navigable channel through the raft region at all seasons of the year, though it is liable to be temporarily blocked during the flood stages of the river." Report of October 22, 1881, 47th. Cong., 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 206-208. The opening of extensive timber milling operations in the Red River valley about this time also caused difficulties in keeping the drift cleared away. In the Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1882, we read: "Considerable difficulty is experienced in keeping the river clear, from the fact that the lumber and sawmill people allow their lumber rafts to block up the channel and so cause a vast accumulation of drift. . ." 47th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 1538. That the work of the government was not universally approved is shown by the destruction of the Tone's Bayou Dam on the night of December 1, 1881, supposedly at the hands of farmers who feared the effect of the artificial raising of the river level which the dam produced. See Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 19, 1882, 47th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 203-205.

[77] Appendices to the Report of the Chief of Engineers, July 1, 1879, 46th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 953-954.

[78] Appendices to the Report of the Chief of Engineers, July 1, 1880, 46th. Cong., 3rd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 1277-1280. In the following year more cotton came into Shreveport by rail than by boat—18,257 bales and 14,472 bales respectively. *Ibid.*, for 1881, 47th. Cong., 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 1403-1404. By 1888 the Chief of Engineers reported: "Traffic on Red River has fallen off for some years past. The Texas and Pacific Railroad, running nearly parallel with the river, and touching it at Alexandria, Shreveport, and other points, has diverted a large amount of cotton. . . At competing points, the railroad claims to do 40 per cent of the business." 50th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 1342-1343.

had been improved by the cutting of a navigable channel through the rocks.[79] A general survey of the river below Fulton was also undertaken in 1886,[80] and some improvements were made on the river above Fulton.[81]

Thus ends our survey of the Red River raft. As we have pointed out above, the Red River route could not compete with the railroads; far better water routes failed in the same struggle. But, had competition with the railroads been absent, the Red River route would never have been satisfactory. There was always the nemesis of the raft and the countless other difficulties to be met in its course, not the least of which was the rapid fluctuation in the waters themselves. The raft was nominally dead, but likely to reappear if given the least opportunity. As late as 1909 an authority could write: "General Banks found the Red River navigation very bad during the war—and it is not much better now. Boats hardly ever go above Fulton, Arkansas—though the river goes on for hundreds of miles."[82]

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[79] Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 13, 1883, 48th. Cong., 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 213-214, 1139-1143. At this time a plan to open a new route through Tone's Bayou and Bayou Pierre was considered. Such schemes probably reflect more the ease with which federal appropriations could be obtained than the actual needs of the time. Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 28, 1886, 49th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 227-229.

[80] Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 22, 1887, 50th. Cong., 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 193-194. This work was dropped in 1887 and resumed in 1889. Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 4, 1890, 51st. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 186-188. The reports at this late period still speak of dangers to navigation, particularly at low water when snags appear. Report of the Chief of Engineers, September 30, 1889, 51st. Cong., 1st. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 207, 1584-1585. The amount of yearly drift was still described as "enormous." For a while in 1887 the mouth of Red River was actually closed to traffic by a bar, except for transhipment by barges. Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1888, 50th. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 1342-1343.

[81] Report of the Chief of Engineers, October 4, 1890, 51st. Cong., 2nd. sess., House Ex. Doc., no. 1, pt. 2, vol. ii, pt. 1, p. 195. Small appropriations were made for this work in 1886, 1888, and 1890. Eventually improvements were made as far up stream as Denison, Texas.

[82] Herbert Quick, *American Inland Waterways*, (New York, 1909), 166.

NOTES FROM *THE NORTHERN STANDARD*

1842-1849 (continued)

Edited By James D. Morrison

Slave runaways who escaped to the Indian country did not necessarily gain their freedom, for the Indian nations had no desire to become hangouts for all types of renegades and passed laws—which were hard to enforce, of course—designed to allow cooperation of Indian officials with those of the United States in keeping the Indian country clear of undesirables.[55] As early as 1836 the Choctaw Nation enacted a law providing that stolen property from outside the Nation should be delivered to the District Chiefs who in turn should hand it over to the United States Agent.[56] It then became the responsibility of the latter official to discover the rightful owners of such property. A notice published in the spring of 1848 by the Chickasaw agent,[57] A. M. M. Upshaw, gives one example of how a United States agent attempted to return a slave fugitive found in the Indian country:

TAKEN UP.

ON the 16th of this month, I took up on Boggy in this Nation a Negro Man who calls himself Aaron and says he belongs to a Mr. John Landrum, Rusk County Texas, the Negro is very Black, about 30 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, he was in the possession of a White Man, who called himself George Washington Carr, and said he lived in the State of Missouri, but I found out afterwards that his name was Clarke. I took him up also but the person in whose hands I put him let him make his escape, from the information I got of the boy there are other Negro Rogues, in your state.

A.M.M. UPSHAW.

Chickasaw Agency, Feby. 24, 1848.[58]

The inference in the latter part of Upshaw's notice, that runaway or stolen slaves from the Indian nations sometimes found their way to Texas, was borne out by an advertisement of Robert M. Jones during the first months of 1847:[59]

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[55] See *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XIX (March, 1941), 82-93.

[56] Joseph P. Folsom (ed.), *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (New York, 1869), 72n.

[57] It should be remembered that the Chickasaws were a part of the Choctaw Nation and subject to Choctaw laws until 1855. E. E. Dale and J. L. Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois, 1930), 215 and 258.

[58] March 11, 1848.

[59] Jones was another friend of De Morse, if the latter's obituary notice on receiving news of Jones's death be any criterion. The editor wrote in 1873: "Col. R. M. Jones, a prominent citizen of the Choctaw Nation, and a gentleman of superior mind, educated at the R. M. Johnson College, in Kentucky, died a few days since. He was a nice gentleman, of large means and systematic business habits, who lived in good style, and dispensed a generous hospitality at his home at Rose Hill. He cultivated several plantations, and was a successful cotton planter, both in the days of slave labor, before the war, and free labor, since. We have known him for thirty years, and have always held him in high estimation." March 1, 1873. De Morse's paper dropped the *Northern* from its title when the Civil War came on,

$100 REWARD

A Reward of Seventy five dollars will be given for the apprehension of a negro boy (copper color) named Walo-sha, aged 16 years, about five feet high, speaks the Shawnee language entirely. The first joint of one of his fore fingers is a little bent down caused by a cut from an axe when small, his teeth are very broad and not very close to each other. The said Boy was stolen on the 7th inst., on the North side of Gaines's Creek in the Choctaw Nation (supposed) by a white man named 'Melona' a mover from Missouri or Arkansas, on his way to Texas.

The said Boy's thighs, are marked by scratches done with needles or pins.

A reward of twenty five dollars will be given for apprehension of the thief, or one hundred dollars for both, delivered to Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation.

William C. Wible.
R. M. Jones.
Boggy Depot
Choctaw Nation.
December 21st 1846.[60]

The fact that this slave spoke only the Shawnee language is significant, for it indicates that he had been reared with that tribe of uncivilized Indians. The real enemies of both Texan and Choctaw planters as far as the loss of slaves by theft was concerned were the wild tribes, especially the Plains Indians to their west.[61]

Stolen horses also crossed the Red in both directions, the Choctaw planters to the north of the River suffering particularly from depredations by horse thieves. Jones ran a large advertisement during the spring and summer of 1843 seeking to recover two mares; he was evidently in something of a bitter mood, for he offered twice the reward for the rustlers that he did for the horses. His notice was:

THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD

Two fine Mares were stolen out of my lot, six miles above the mouth of the Bois d'Arc, on the Choctaw side, on the night of the 11th instant.

One of the mares is a beautiful iron grey, some 16 hands high, in good order, and has been run in Fannin County, against a horse owned by one of the Harts. The other Mare is a red sorrel, about fifteen and a half hands high, and has also been used as a running animal. No brands recollected, except perhaps a saddle mark or two, and halter marks. Both Mares were seven years old this spring.

The rogues were white men, and were seen loitering about Mr. Bush's ferry the day previous to the theft, and stated they were in my employ. The night they committed the theft, they crossed the horses at the same ferry, threw off the oars, and sent the boat adrift. They were seen passing one Mr. Wallers near said ferry, about two hours before day, and went in the direction of the upper settlements on Sulphur.

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being known in its latter days simply as *The Standard.* The editor was an ardent secessionist and served as a colonel in the Confederate army, being wounded in service. Claude V. Hall, "Early Days in Red River County," *Bulletin of the Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College* (No. 38, January, 1932), 70n.

[60] January 5, 1847, *et seq.*

[61] A recent account of the kidnapping activities of the Plains Indians is that of Carl Coke Rister, *Border Captives* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1940). Rister's account is chiefly concerned with white captives of the southern plains tribes, but it gives a very readable discussion of the thieving proclivities of the uncivilized Indians.

I will give the above reward for the rogues and horses, if delivered at Fort Towson, or at the Depot; or I will give Fifty Dollars each, for the Mares, and Two Hundred for the thieves.

R. M. Jones
Choctaw Nation, 15th April, 1843 [62]

A case of Indians stealing horses in north Texas and fleeing northward toward Red River was mentioned in a reprint from the Bonham, Texas, *Sentinel* in the spring of 1847:

Indians—Eight horses were stolen some few miles from the County site of Grayson [Sherman, Texas], on the night of the 7th inst. Next morning pursuit was made by Mr. Bingaman, Mr. Clark, and another gentleman—all of whom had just emigrated to the country, and had been settled there but a few days. They overtook the thieves before they reached Red river, who proved to be Indians, making their way to the Nation. They fired upon them, killing two of them instantly, and crippling a third. They pursued the wounded Indian—whose blood marked the ground as he fled—coming to a thicket, he jumped from his horse, and mad[e] his escape. The horses were recovered and brought back. It is not known what tribe the Indians belonged to . . . . .[63]

There is little evidence in the *Standard* that residents of the Clarksville area were annoyed by natives of the Choctaw Nation operating as horse thieves, Indians engaged in such activities generally being Plains Indians. Editor De Morse made only one or two inferences that north Texans lost property by theft to Choctaw marauders and these were in the first years of his residence at Clarksville before he became acquainted widely on the north side of the River. One of these statements was:

Notwithstanding the late treaty with the wild Indians, we understand that a number of depredations have recently been perpetrated, by them or our *friends* [*sic*] and neighbors on the north side of Red River, the Chickasaws and Choctaws, upon the frontiers of Fannin county. The citizens have been enabled to send but one of the thieving rascals 'to his final account.'[64]

Practically the last of such innuendoes was printed in the winter of 1842-1843, the item stating:

There have been several horses stolen lately in Fannin County; supposed to be by Choctaws, leagued with some white rascals.[65]

One of the chief sports of Texas and Choctaw planters along Red River was horse racing, as it was in slave society over the South generally. The pages of the *Standard* were filled with advertisements, notices, challenges, and accounts of races already run or to be held at some future time. Much space was rented by owners of horses at stud, the notices apparently listing each complete pedigree in full. At times Texas and Choctaw horses appeared in the same races, some being held in the Nation as well as south of the River. The advertisement of Robert M. Jones, already quoted, concerning the theft of two mares, stated definitely that one of them had run in Texas and that the other was a "run-

[62] April 20, 1843, *et seq.*
[63] May 26, 1847.
[64] October 22, 1842.
[65] December 31, 1842.

ning animal."[66] The only direct mention of a race meet being actually held within the limits of the Choctaw Nation appeared in the summer of 1844:

> We received, some two weeks since, a communication from Doaksville, annunciative [*sic*] and descriptive of the races over the St. Leger Course, near Major Pitman Colbert's; and intended to publish it, but it has so happened we could not get it in, in time.[67]

This item is tantalizing by its inference that there were other races and other race courses, perhaps, in the Choctaw country; but if so, none were ever considered of enough importance for accounts to find their way into the columns of the *Standard.* There is direct evidence of the participation of Robert M. Jones in races in Lamar County, Texas, however, during 1846 and 1847.

An advertisement addressed "TO THE SPORTING WORLD" ran during the winter and spring of those years announcing a sweepstake race to be run at Paris, Texas, during the spring term of the district court in 1847. The race was to be in mile heats, "free for any Mare, Horse or Gelding in the world," and carried an entry fee of five hundred dollars. The notice further stated:

> There are now two entries, to wit. John Loring of Fannin enters one; and Col. Robert M. Jones. of Lake West, Choctaw Nation, enters another, and it is confidently believed Billy K. Revere, will come in, as well as divers other gentlemen, who have horses they brag on.[68]

The files of *The Northern Standard* fail to reveal any information as to the outcome of this thoroughly advertised contest; but one result of the sweepstake race might have been a matched race over the Paris course between a mare belonging to Jones and one owned by a J. J. Musgrove, in which the animal from the Choctaw country went down to ignominious defeat.

The latter race was announced by the following notice:

> MATCH RACE FOR $600,00 [*sic*]
> PARIS (LAMAR COUNTY) COURSE.
>
> A MATCH RACE for $600,00 between J.J. Musgrove's brown mare Purity, and Col. R.M. Jones' sorrel mare Choctaw Filly, will be run over the Paris Course on the 3d of July next.—Mile heats.
>
> The attendance of friends of the Turf is invited.[69]

This announcement was carried in the paper until the day of the race. And this time the editor found space to carry the results, the defeat of the Choctaw entry being described by one who had attended the race:

> Clarksville, July 6th 1847
>
> Mr. Editor:
>
> Among many others from this town I attended the race at Paris on last Saturday between Mr. John J. Musgrove's brown mare 'Purity' and Col. Robt. M. Jone's [*sic*] sorrel mare 'Choctaw Maid.' It was a match for $300 aside, mile heats. We were all disappointed, in as much as we expected a contest of the most spirited character. It was all on one

[66] April 20, 1843.
[67] July 15, 1844. [The date line on page one reads, "July 10."]
[68] December 12, 1846, *et seq.*
[69] May 19, 1847, *et seq.*

side however, both bets and race. Purity got the track and kept it for two heats, under about as hard a pull, as Perry, her rider, could well stand up to.

TABLE

John J. Musgrove's brown mare Purity by Im. Anderby	1st heat 1 "	2nd heat 1 "
R.M. Jones sorrel mare Choctaw Maid by Medoc	2 "	Dis.

By the above you can see we had little sport. Our mare was too popular to benefit our pockets much.

Yours
E.F.[70]

Whether the poor showing of "Choctaw Filly" or "Maid" discouraged Colonel Jones from further indulgence in the sport of kings is not certain, but his name did cease to appear in the racing notices hereafter.

Another common interest which tied north Texans to residents in the Choctaw country was navigation of the Red River, for steamboats carried the bulk of imported supplies for both areas. Practically every river boat which brought supplies to Fort Towson also stopped at Texas landings to unload inbound cargo and to load cotton and other articles for export.[71] The navigation of the River was seasonal and untrustworthy, for there were two hindrances to the traffic which made vital problems for the inhabitants of the section. The first problem was low water especially during the summer and fall; the second was the Great Raft. Men could do nothing about the first except pray for rain; the second could be removed by hard and expensive labor. Citizens of the upper Red River valley never seem to have gathered to pray for rain so that the River might have water, but they did meet on at least one occasion to do something about the Raft. This obstruction had begun to be cleared from the River channel as early as 1833, but its nature was such that constant effort had to be expended in order to maintain a channel for steamboats.[72] Conditions had become so bad by 1847 that Clarksville was the scene of a Raft Convention, whose purpose was to petition Congress for appropriations to keep the River channel unobstructed.

Delegates from the Choctaw Nation were in attendance on this Convention as well as from Texas and Arkansas; two Doaksville citizens in particular, Joseph R. Berthelet and Vincent B.

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[70] July 10, 1847.

[71] Mention of steamboat traffic on Red River will be found in most issues of *The Northern Standard* during the period, which emphasizes its importance to the area. Many items are quoted by Muriel H. Wright in "Early Navigation and Commerce along the Arkansas and Red Rivers in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VIII, No. 1, pp. 85 ff.

[72] A very good description of the Raft is given by Miss Wright, *op. cit.*, 75n. For an account of the first work toward opening Red River to steamboat traffic, see U. S. Senate, *Executive Documents*, 24th Congress, second session, 280 ff.

Tims, took a prominent part in the proceedings of the gathering.[73] The remarks of De Morse in connection with this meeting indicate the seriousness of the situation to the inhabitants of the section:

> Let the Raft continue uninterruptedly to accumulate, but a few years longer, and it will have passed in its upward progress, the high lands on each side of the river; thereby closing up every outlet which is now used, though with great hazard and difficulty, as temporary or periodical navigation. The available means of our country not being deemed sufficient to resort to rail-road facilities, then, the whole Red river country must, and inevitably will become an inland waste. . . . . .
>
> Again, we are credibly informed, that the commissioners on the part of the United States; did, in making and concluding the treaty with the Choctaw Indians, promise them free navigation to their new homes in the West. . . . .[74]

The latter paragraph of the above quotation explains partially why the Texas citizens had invited delegates from the Choctaw country to take part in the Convention. Another argument advanced by the petitioners which used the Choctaw removal treaties for a basis was that the Indians had been promised protection in their new homes, that Forts Towson and Washita had been constructed to furnish this protection, and that unobstructed and free navigation of Red River for the transportation of troops and supplies was therefore a pledged obligation of the Federal government.[75]

One curious worry of the inhabitants of the upper Red River section during the following year was that water might be diverted from their River to the Trinity in order to make the latter stream navigable up into the heart of Texas. The suggestion was made in 1848 for the benefit of Galveston, located on the bay into which the Trinity emptied its waters. De Morse felt, perhaps, that the idea should be squelched in its infancy, for he called the attention of the upper Red River valley to the proposal in this paragraph:

> Canal from Red River into Trinity.
>
> The News [Galveston] recommends that a canal be cut from Red River to the head of the Trinity, and the volume of water in Red River, west of the head of the Trinity, be turned into that river.[76]

The editor's comment on this possibility was:

> The people contiguous to Red River, below the egress of the Canal, would be very apt to inquire by what right, a body of water, insufficient at best for permanent navigation, would be turned out of its natural channel to feed another stream, and benefit people who had sought the convenience of another natural highway.[77]

Fears that such a canal will be built still persist, the idea having some part in the current controversy over the construction of the Denison Dam on the Red.

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[73] December 11, 1847.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] June 17, 1848. *The News* here mentioned was the progenitor of the *Dallas Morning News.*

[77] *Ibid.*

Because of the twin difficulties of Red River navigation, insufficient water and the Great Raft, the inhabitants of the area were greatly interested in the possibility of railroad construction as a solution of the transportation problem. The resources of the area were not enough to provide for the financing of a railroad locally nor to attract foreign capital to such a project. But as early as 1848 there was projected a Galveston and Red River Railway to connect the upper valley of the Red, if not with Galveston itself, at least with a "boatable point on Trinity."[78] The plan was to be financed, in order to overcome the lack of ready cash, by the only wealth which most citizens of north Texas could boast in those days—land. Under the scheme advanced, individuals were to make donations of land to which the railroad company would take "title . . . only in the event of the construction of the road."[79] Some promotion work was done, but no actual construction ever seems to have been undertaken. By November, 1848, news of the discovery of gold in California had reached the area and the Galveston and Red River Railway was forgotten in the midst of a scramble to get on the main line of a Pacific-bound rail route.[80]

De Morse's first comments concerning a Pacific railroad were inspired by resolutions of the Arkansas legislature advocating a route from Memphis through Little Rock, Fort Smith, and westward, essentially the route taken to Santa Fe in 1849 by Captain R. B. Marcy.[81] The *Standard's* editor took issue with the gentlemen of the Arkansas body as to their choice of routes. His natural desire was for this most important artery of traffic to run as close to Clarksville as possible and his first thought was of Fort Towson:

> . . . . . the starting point from the Mississippi, should be at Napoleon at the mouth of the Arkansas, or at Columbia in Chicot county, or at some point thereabout. Thence taking the road to Fort Towson . . . . it would have a clearer and better route, less expensive to construct . . . . Thence on to San Diego, or El Passo, the route would be as good as from Fort Smith, or better, and have more directness, Fort Towson and San Diego being in the same latitude, and El Passo; still further South.[82]

North Texas subscribers soon must have caused the editor to see his error in running the railroad through Fort Towson, for the second week in March of 1849 found him advocating that the proposed rail line cross the Red at Fulton, Arkansas, and proceed

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[78] June 24, 1848.

[79] September 30, 1848.

[80] News of the California gold discovery first appeared in *The Northern Standard* for November 4, 1848. First mention of the possibility of a Pacific railroad passing through the area was in the issue of February 17, 1849.

[81] The full account of Marcy's journey, with voluminous notes, may be found in Grant Foreman's *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1939).

[82] February 17, 1849.

parallel to the south bank through Clarksville, Paris, and Bonham.[83] In spite of this early activity no railroad was built into the section until after the Civil War, wagons and river boats continuing to be the chief means of transportation until the decade following the great internecine struggle.[84]

The crude wagon roads of the section were in constant use, especially after 1844 when it became increasingly certain that Texas would become the twenty-eighth state in the Union. The *Standard* commented many times in 1844 and 1845 on the increasing volume of immigrant wagons heading into north Texas, with "Polk, Dallas, Texas, and Oregon" the motto often inscribed on the wagon sheet.[85] Much of this immigration came down the military road from Fort Smith to Fort Towson, crossing into Texas at the mouth of the Kiamichi. One item from the *Standard* will serve to illustrate this point:

> Immigration.—Two gentlemen from Missouri, who have just arrived, for the purpose of selecting a location to move to, state, that they counted all the emigrant wagons as they passed, between Fayetteville, Arkansas, and Doaksville, some coming, and some returning from the Trinity country. There were 225 wagons coming, and 75 returning. As they met on the road, the faint-hearted, who were going back, would tell their difficulties, which were all embraced in the want of provisions, arising from the want of means to get them, with the addition that those who turn back from a good work always make, namely, that every body that started with them was doing, or about to do likewise. . . . .[86]

After some remarks on the high price of corn at the Forks of the Trinity, some two dollars a bushel, Editor De Morse concluded the above with this note:

> Even now, as we write, four wagons are passing the office, from Green County, Illinois, with 'Polk, Dallas, Oregon and Texas' painted on the covers. These intend going direct to the forks of the Trinity.[87]

This flood of immigration brought much new business not only to north Texas merchants along the route of travel, but also to traders in the Choctaw country. The activities of merchants at Doaksville were mirrored somewhat in the columns of the *Standard;* those of George C. Gooding have already been mentioned. The

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[83] March 10, 1849. Charles De Morse was one of three delegates chosen to attend a railroad convention at Memphis, Tennessee, and advocate the route through his home area. May 5, 1849. The Memphis meeting was originally scheduled for July 5 but did not begin until October 23. A similar meeting was held in St. Louis to advocate a northern route. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 121.

[84] "Until 1873 Red River was the entire reliance for importation and exportation during a part of each year, from the several landings . . . . . at other times as in 1842, 3, & 4 when unusually low water prevailed by hauling to and from Fulton, which is 90 miles distant from Clarksville, and after that from Shreveport which is 150 miles distant; and subsequently after the building up of Jefferson, from that place, which is 100 miles by wagon road." August 25, 1882.

[85] May 29, June 12, 26, October 30, November 6, 27, December 19, 1844; January 16, 23, 1845, *et seq.* Large numbers of these immigrants were headed for the Forks of the Trinity and became the first settlers in the area surrounding Dallas, Texas.

[86] October 30, 1844.

[87] *Ibid.*

largest trading establishments in the Nation at this time were those of Berthelet, Heald and Company, which had stores at Doaksville, Skullyville, Boggy Depot, and other strategic locations for attracting the trade of the Indians and pioneers. The "Company" in this firm was Robert M. Jones, some of whose activities as planter and horse fancier have been cited.[88] The second man in the partnership was John Hobart Heald, a native of New England, who had come to Skullyville as early as 1838 to engage in business.[89] Heald was rarely mentioned as an individual by the *Standard*, which would seem to confirm the supposition that he was in charge of the Skullyville store of the company during the time of his partnership.[90] The only direct comment concerning this gentleman appeared in the summer of 1848 when Heald had severed his partnership with Berthelet and Jones to engage in the cotton business in New Orleans. De Morse made some highly complimentary remarks about Heald in an editorial:

> We call attention to the card of Moses Greenwood & Co., in our advertising columns. Mr. Heald who has lately associated himself with the firm, is the former partner in the firm of Berthelet Heald & Co., lately existing at Doaksville and Fort Smith. We need not say a word in respect to the mercantile capacity, integrity and accommodating spirit of this gentleman, to any one who ever had business with him, when living in this section of the country; but to those who never had; we will take the responsibility of recommending the House, as one of the best in New Orleans, with which our planters or Merchants could make business arrangements.[91]

The other partner in this pioneer Oklahoma business firm has already been mentioned for his part in the Clarksville convention in the winter of 1847 to petition Congress concerning removal of

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[88] Muriel H. Wright, "John Hobart Heald," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, II, No. 3, p. 315; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, 167; W. B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), 57n; *Personal Letter*, Mrs. Mary Thebo Jennings, Lynchburg, Virginia, July 6, 1939. Mrs. Jennings states in part: "The partnership between Robert Jones and Joseph Berthelet started in 1836 . . . . . the contract for affiliation is a long, imposing document, signed at Skullyville before William Armstrong, Choctaw Agent. . . . There were two stores at this date, one at Skullyville: R. M. Jones & Co. and one at Doaksville: J. R. Berthelet & Co. Berthelet ran the Doaksville store and lived there with his wife, Eliza, in a 'cottage' built 'by help of the soldiers at Fort Towson, as promised' by their commandant, Colonel Vose. The Colonel and other officers also witnessed Joseph's will, in 1836. In 1847 Joseph was appointed postmaster of Doaksville. I have not been able to find the exact date of Heald's joining the business, but it was sometime before 1843 as Joseph mentions him in a letter of that year. Joseph left the Nation in 1851, and in '53 sent his nephew, Charles Thebo, to Doaksville to look after the Berthelet interest left there: Berthelet and Jones of 'No. 5 Commercial Row.'"

[89] Muriel H. Wright, *op. cit.*, 315.

[90] Heald was in Doaksville for at least a short while in the summer of 1846, for Miss Wright quotes from his diary written during a stay at that place. Wright, *op. cit.*, 315 ff.

[91] July 1, 1848.

the Great Raft.[92] That Joseph R. Berthelet was a public-spirited and philanthropic citizen is evidenced by a notice in the spring of 1847:

> Relief for the Irish—A meeting of the citizens of Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, was held a few days since, and one hundred and fifty-three dollars, immediately subscribed for the benefit of the starving Irish—Jas. [*sic*] R Berthelet Esq, President.[93]

De Morse followed this notice with some remarks that the members of the Doaksville Irish Relief Association, or whatever the organization called itself, may have found a bit too patronizing:

> Considering how far in the wilderness Doaksville is situated; its small population, and the fact that nothing but unprompted sympathy for distress, and at a very great distance from the scene of it and from all active efforts in its behalf induced . . . . . the subscription; we consider it very creditable to the citizens of that little place.[94]

On at least one occasion Editor De Morse did business with Berthelet, Heald and Company, their wagons being used to haul some much needed supplies to the office of the *Standard* in Clarksville:

> Our Paper
> We received last week, and issued upon, a two months supply of paper, which we sent to New Orleans for, about six weeks since, fearful that some accident might prevent the receipt in due time, of our main supply, which was ordered last January, from Boston, but which had at that time, been unexpectedly long upon the way here. On Thursday last, the Boston purchase arrived in town, on the wagons of Messrs. Berthelet, Heald & Co., of Doaksville. It had been sent up the Arkansas River, to their establishment at the Choctaw agency, and thence hauled to Doaksville.[95]

The enterprise of this pioneer partnership which received the most publicity in the Texas newspaper was the establishment of a townsite on the Texas side of Red River about fifteen miles above Fort Towson. The new town was laid out in 1845 in the northwest corner of Red River County, the evident purpose being to profit from the wave of settlement sweeping into north Texas at the

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[92] Joseph R. Berthelet was of Canadian birth and had entered the Choctaw Nation as early as 1836 to engage in business, his partnership agreement with Robert M. Jones being dated in that year. *Personal Letter*, Mrs. Mary Thebo Jennings, July 6, 1939. Tragic evidence of the fact that Berthelet's original home was in Canada or near the Canadian border might be deduced from the obituary column of *The Northern Standard* for August 22, 1846: "DIED . . . . At Detroit, Mich., July 18th, William, son of Jos. R. Berthelet, of Fort Towson, aged four years and eight months."

[93] May 5, 1847.

[94] *Ibid.* This action of the citizens of Doaksville also furnishes a commentary for the modern reader on the prosperity of that locality during this period.

[95] August 15, 1846.

time.[96] The first mention of Pine Hills, as the new townsite was named, came in December, 1845, when a large advertisement began running in the *Standard*.[97] The attention of "merchants and emigrants" was requested, for Pine Hills, according to the advertisers, was "destined to become the depot for import and export of supplies, for a large extent of fertile country . . . . fast settling and filling up with an enterprising population."[98] The local manager of the project was evidently an R. B. Seward, for his name appeared at the bottom of the notice in conjunction with the firm name.

In January of 1846 the editor called the attention of his readers to the advertisement for Pine Hills, stating that a number of lots had already been sold to prospective merchants who planned to establish themselves at the new location.[99] He praised the commercial possibilities of the new townsite, remarking that the quantity of cotton shipped from the place had increased from twelve to twelve hundred bales in one year and that if "there is any thing like deserving success, its liberal and gentlemanly proprietors will certainly have it."[100] De Morse visited Pine Hills in the early fall and made the following report to his subscribers:

> Pine Hills—We were at this town, a few days since, for the first time.
>
> The site is far above reach of overflow from the river, and is accessible at all seasons of the year, by good roads. As such, it is a most desirable point for the shipment of produce from the counties above.
>
> There are now three stores in the place, and preparations are in progress for building a fourth, which is to be a large establishment, and to be opened in two or three months.[101]

The new town was apparently in full development by the next summer. One merchant, Isaiah W. Wells, had begun to advertise heavily in the Clarksville paper, six different ones being printed

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[96] A government map of 1857 shows "Pine Hill" at the mouth of Boggy on the Texas side with the note, "River navigable for light draft boats as far as Pine Hill." *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1891), Part XI, Plate LIV, No. 1, "Texas and Parts of Louisiana and New Mexico." Since Berthelet, Heald and Company claimed that "Pine Hills" was the head of Red River navigation, this may have been the same town, although the 1857 location is too far up the Red; the Boggy enters the Red almost directly north of Paris, Texas, in Lamar County, while Pine Hills was in the corner of Red River County, Texas.

[97] December 17, 1845, *et seq.* This advertisement appeared for a full year, the last being in the issue for December 24, 1846. A similar notice is quoted by Grant Foreman from *The Arkansas Intelligencer* for September 26, 1846, in *Advancing the Frontier*, footnote 6, p. 240.

[98] December 17, 1845, *et seq.*

[99] January 21, 1846. Berthelet, Heald and Company stated in their advertisement that they proposed "opening, during the ensuing season . . . . a house for doing a general Commission, receiving, storage and forwarding business . . . " and to "make liberal advances upon cotton;" they further stated that they proposed to carry "an ample supply of Merchandise of all kinds (save liquors) adapted to the country, for sale on favorable terms."

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] September 26, 1846.

in the last issue for August, 1847,[102] advising readers that they could obtain salt, clothing, coffee, tobacco, whiskey, quinine and other necessities at his establishment on Red River. By the spring of 1848 plans for instituting a post office were under way; but the name of the community had to be changed to Pine Bluffs, since there was already a "Pine Hills" post office in Texas.[103] The post office was an accomplished fact by the fall of the year; De Morse called it to the attention of his subscribers with this item:

> We have been requested to notice, for the information of all interested, than [*sic*] an office has been for some time in operation at Pine Hills in this county.[104]

Beginning with the issue for October 21 lists of letters remaining in the "post office at Pine Bluffs" began to appear in the *Standard,* signed by "Isaiah W. Wells, P. M."[105] Pine Hills, or Pine Bluffs as it should now be called, seemed on the way to a permanence which it never achieved; before it is passed over, however, its connection with another activity, the California gold rush, should be mentioned.

First news of the discovery of gold on the Pacific coast reached the columns of *The Northern Standard* in November, 1848;[106] there was slight mention of California gold in succeeding issues until the first issue in February of the next year, which devoted more than half the front page to articles carrying such headlines as: "California Gold Specimens;" "Ho! for California!"; "First Discovery of the California Gold Mines"; "California—Its Commercial Advantages;" and "Bay of San Francisco."[107] In the last issue for the same month the editor apologetically confessed that he had given much space to the subject since it was:

> . . . . . the prevailing topic of the day, burying all such considerations as Southern Rights, Wilmot Proviso, and the Veto power, out of thought.[108]

The first news that citizens of the area were planning to leave for California occurred in March, with Pine Bluffs advertised as the place of rendezvous for a large company bound for the gold fields.[109] A group had organized at the Red River settlement on March 15 as "The California Agricultural Mining Company," with L. M. Schrack as president.[110] A constitution and by-laws had been adopted, a committee of five appointed "to make all necessary

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[102] August 28, 1847.

[103] March 18, 1848. A letter from Congressman D. S. Kaufman was quoted urging citizens of Pine Hills to send him petitions for a post office and asking them to select another name.

[104] September 30, 1848.

[105] October 21, 1848.

[106] November 4, 1848.

[107] February 3, 1849.

[108] February 24, 1849.

[109] March 17, 1849.

[110] *Ibid.* The head of this expedition was doubtless the Lewis M. Schrack who was brother to E. G. Schrack of the firm of Schrack and Nail, Doaksville. Lewis M. Schrack operated a store at Fort Washita in the 1840's. Foreman, *op. cit.*, 104n.

purchases for the safety and comfort of members" of the expedition, the route of travel to California tentatively planned, and regular meetings announced for each Thursday until April 15, the date set for departure.[111] The purpose of the advertising was, of course, to attract and inform possible recruits for the company. Actual start of the adventure was delayed until June, the departure of the Pine Hills organization not being noted until the middle of that month.[112] The *Standard* mentioned other California enterprises, but the California Agricultural Mining Company was the only one whose leadership and origin can be definitely connected with the Choctaw Nation.[113]

One local development of the gold rush furnished De Morse with some amusement. In May of 1849 news leaked out that gold had been found in the Wichita Mountains of present southwest Oklahoma; so strong was the rumor that some left organized companies headed for California in order to try their luck closer to home. The editor of the *Standard* reported this development in a long editorial under the heading, "Gold in Texas."[114] Apparently the citizens of Clarksville and vicinity were only vaguely aware of the location of the Wichitas, for De Morse overestimated the distance of this rumored Ophir from Clarksville by some one hundred miles and placed it within the boundaries of Texas.[115] He was somewhat piqued by the secrecy employed by certain individuals of Clarksville in preparing for their departure for the supposed discovery in search of "gold, pure and in considerable pieces" such as had been reported "lately brought in from the

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111 March 17, 1849.

112 June 16, 1849.

113 A typical item concerning departure of citizens of the area for the gold fields was a quotation from the *Bonham Advertiser* in the *Standard* for April 7, 1849: "The first waves of the golden crusade are now rippling past our doors. Trains of wagons for Fort Smith, intended to swell the caravan from thence [see Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*], and parties of horsemen to join the express expedition from Grayson county, have gone on, and more are reported below." An item on April 28, 1849, mentioned still other expeditions: "The main company which rendezvoused at Paris, organized after reaching the Cross Timbers. Capt. Griffin of Lamar county, was elected commander; Capt. Edward Hunter of this county (Captain of Arkansas troops at Buena Vista,) 1st Lieut.; Mr. Stewart of Hempstead county, Arkansas, 2nd Lieut.; and Wm. H. Winlock of this county, 3d Lieut. They numbered in all 104 men, and had seven families and 40 wagons with them.

The pack mule company, which started from Preston in Grayson county, had some 70 members.

Another considerable company, at last advices, was said to be collecting at Bonham. They were from various points below. Some from New Orleans."

114 May 26, 1849.

115 *Ibid.* To quote De Morse: "It has been for years, reputed, that gold was plentiful in the range of mountains known as the Wichita chain, lying some three hundred and fifty miles from here, and partially or wholly (we are not certain, having no accurate map) within the limits of Texas . . . ."

Wichita[s] by some Indian or Indians."[116] He was able to get his revenge by poking fun at the adventurers when they returned from their trip empty handed.

Besides the group from Clarksville at least two others were mentioned as heading for the Indian country in search of gold: one was part of the expedition headed by Captain Griffin, a number of whom were reported to have left the main body bound for California in order to find riches closer to home;[117] the other was a party from Cass County, Texas, concerning which an item from the *Bonham Advertiser* was quoted:

> A few hours earlier in the day, a party of horsemen from Cass county passed on their way to the Wichita Hills. They had with them a man who could show them 'the sign,' and, of course, they will see 'the elephant,' if not the gold.[118]

The Clarksville searchers after the wealth of the Wichitas had returned home by the middle of June, at which time De Morse took his full revenge upon them for leaving him out of the secret originally in a sarcastic article entitled, "The Gold Hunters:"

> The enterprising company who with so much mystery and preparation, left our midst . . . . . some four weeks since, to seek for lumps as big as hen's eggs in the Wichita mountains, and to fish up the twenty-seven mule loads (nothing shorter) dropped in the mouth of the little Wichita close by a large rock, have returned to our midst.[119]

He continued by remarking that the returned wanderers informed no one of their success or failure and disclosed that the party had included a "clairvoyant subject . . . to reveal while under the influence of transcendental magnetism, the treasures, which were

'In the deep bosom of the *Wichita* buried,'

or encased in the recesses of the mountains." The editor continued his ribbing by stating his disappointment at having his anticipations blasted; those were to put out a "Gold Digger's Bulletin" at a branch office near the mine, the copies to sell at one dollar each as in California. He concluded his fun at the expense of the disappointed gold hunters with this sentence:

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[116] *Ibid.* The Wichita gold seekers who left Clarksville carried with them Texas land certificates, expecting "to get a deputation to survey, and locate all the mining region for their exclusive use." De Morse remarked that this "would be a very pretty speculation if it could be successfully carried out, but possibly a certain old law of Mexico, still preserved by our statutes from the general repeal of Mexican laws, will interfere to prevent the accomplishment of a very auriferous looking scheme."

[117] *Ibid.*

[118] June 16, 1849. "Seeing the elephant" was one of the commonest slang expressions heard among the California emigrants and evidently referred to the adventurous spirit of the Forty-niners—if they didn't find gold, at least they would encounter adventure and see the sights. One California emigrant "thought the expression might have arisen from the inquiry of a person who had gone to a circus: 'Did you see the elephant?'" Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers*, footnote 55, p. 32.

[119] *Ibid.* Nothing in the paper ever clarified the above statement about the "twenty-seven mule loads," but the reader can use his own imagination about hidden Spanish or Mexican gold.

The golden mountains were found to be within the Indian Territory of the Union, and not locatable as anticipated.[120]

These notes are here concluded with the hope that they will have afforded something of a picture of the socio-economic interests by which the citizens of north Texas were united with those of the Choctaw Nation along Red River in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century. The Red River, it is true, served as a political boundary, but it was also an economic and social bond which made for a sort of unity among dwellers in its upper valley regardless of whether they were ruled by the Choctaw or the Texas government. Inhabitants on both the north and south banks were forced by the contiguity of their geographical situations to be concerned with many of the same problems, to follow many of the same pursuits and interests; this fact these notes were designed to illustrate.

[120] *Ibid.*

HISTORICAL NOTES

Edited by James W. Moffitt

A number of the leading historians of the United States conceived the idea of organizing for the purpose of extending a general interest in history. The plans were formulated by the incorporation of The Society of American Historians, under the laws of the State of New York, in 1939.

The membership roll of this society includes writers throughout the country who have become distinguished in the field of history, such as James Truslow Adams, Nicholas Murray Butler, Frederick Palmer, Walter Lipmann in the east; and Prof. Herbert E. Bolton and William Allen White from the western part of the United States. The president is Douglas Southall Freeman, and the counsellors who direct the policy of the society include Marquis James, Allen Nevins, Carl Van Doren and other nationally known historians.

The policy of the society, to promote a wider knowledge and keener appreciation of American and world history, is to be effectuated through the publication of a scholarly magazine, but so planned as to make a popular appeal to all literate Americans.

The magazine is pledged to be neither pedantic nor dull, for its field will be the whole horizon of history; a horizon with stretches so vast that it has never been seen. Hence the name, *Horizons.*

The first, or sample, issue of the magazine has just been delivered to the charter members of the society. It is printed and published by the Conde Nast Press in Greenwich, Connecticut, and is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful magazines ever published in this country. The content is most interesting and well written.

The sample issue contains the names of the two hundred and fifty fellows of the society—the charter members—including two from Oklahoma, Stanley Vestal and Grant Foreman.

The organization of this society and the advent of *Horizons* constitute an event of first importance in the field of American history and letters that should have wide influence, not only on the student of history, but on the behaviorism of the American people.

The past several years have witnessed the origin of new state historical societies in the South, the revival of old ones, and the publication of historical periodicals. In January, 1939, appeared the first issue of *The Journal of Mississippi History*, published quarterly by the Mississippi Historical Society. In October of the same year, the first number of *West Virginia History* came from the press, sponsored by the State Department of Archives and History. The *Alabama Historical Quarterly,* published by the State Department of Archives and History, was revived in the spring of 1940, after lying dormant for a decade. On February 22, 1941, a group

of about a hundred gathered at Little Rock, Arkansas, organized the Arkansas Historical Association and made plans for the publication of a quarterly journal. Officers were elected as follows: President, John H. Reynolds, President of Hendrix College; Vice-Presidents, Dallas T. Herndon, Arkansas History Commission; Thomas S. Staples, Hendrix College; J. S. Utley, Little Rock; Mrs. J. F. Weinmann, Little Rock; Secretary-Treasurer, Fred H. Harrington, University of Arkansas. The Association's journal will be edited by David Y. Thomas, Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Arkansas, assisted by an editorial board consisting of D. D. McBrien, Arkansas State Teachers College, Granville Davis, Little Rock Junior College, Richard E. Yates, Hendrix College, and Clara B. Eno, Van Buren. There is a director of the Association from each congressional district. This promising new Association plans to stimulate an interest in the collection and preservation of historical material.

It is planned to prepare a full history of the College of William and Mary, and it is with the hope of uncovering new information about this historic college that *A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of William and Mary in Virginia, from* 1693 *to* 1888 (Richmond, 1941) has been issued. If the reader of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* can contribute any data about an alumnus, it may be helpful in compiling a biographical sketch of him. You are invited to correspond with the librarian of the college, E. G. Swem, if you can be of assistance in this project.

One of our readers who is also an active member of the Society writes regarding the book review which appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XVIII (1940), on pages 195-196:

". . . the proclamation of President Benjamin Harrison for the original Oklahoma opening for settlement, dated March 23, 1889, recites that pursuant to section eight of the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1885, certain articles of cession and agreement were made and concluded at the city of Washington on the 19th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1889, by and between the United States of America and the Muscogee (or Creek) Nation of Indians, whereby the said Muscogee (or Creek) Nation of Indians, for the consideration therein mentioned, ceded and granted to the United States without reservation or condition, full and complete title to the entire western half of the domain of said Muscogee (or Creek) Nation, in the Indian Territory, lying west of the division line surveyed and established under the treaty with said Nation, dated the 14th day of June, 1866, and also granted and released to the United States all and every claim, estate, right or interest of any and every description in and to any and all land and territory whatever, except so much of the former domain of said Muscogee (or Creek) Nation as lies east of said line of division surveyed and established as aforesaid and then used and occupied as the home of said Nation, and which articles of cession and agreement were duly accepted, ratified and confirmed by said Muscogee (or Creek) Nation of Indians by act of its council, approved on the 31st day of January, 1889, and by the United States by act of Congress ap-

proved March 1, 1889. . . During the administrations beginning with President Chester A. Arthur, these Boomers were ejected as trespassers, and under President Grover Cleveland's administration they entered into a treaty and got the Creeks to release any claim they had to it and under act of March 3, 1889, which was signed by President Cleveland before he went out of office provision was made for opening that country to settlement. The same recital goes (on to state) in that same proclamation (that) the Seminoles had released any claim to the land to the west under a treaty approved March 2, 1889. That was during President Cleveland's administration, and the appropriation was made paying the Seminoles before they opened this land for settlement, showing that President Cleveland's administration acted honestly and faithfully with the Indians and then they opened it for settlement."

In a sketch published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (March, 1939) the name of Judge Owen should have appeared as Thomas Henry Owen instead of as Thomas Horner Owen.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is preparing a list of historical markers (tablets, statues, monuments, and memorials) which have been erected in the different counties in the State. Information is desired regarding all permanent markers or monuments which have been erected to commemorate historical personages, important events, sites of early schools, churches, forts, settlements, battles, and treaties. It is encouraging to note the progress that is being made in the placing of markers and tablets by patriotic and other organizations at points of historical interest in our State.

The Philbrook Art Museum, Eugene Kingman, Director, Tulsa, Oklahoma, will sponsor a historical exhibition from October 1, 1941 to January 1, 1942. This exhibition, which will occupy the entire Museum, pertains to the American Southwest, including in general, the States of Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, and Kansas. The theme to be stressed is the life and activities in this part of the country since about 1800 as depicted by the artists and designers. Emphasis will be placed, not only on the Indian but on everyday scenes of the settlers, their towns, farms, fairs, and politics. There will be seventeen exhibits furnished by different organizations.

The Oklahoma Historical Society has acquired a valuable tract of three hundred acres of virgin forest adjoining the Robert M. Jones Memorial Cemetery through the untiring efforts of Judge R. L. Williams with the assistance of P. A. Norris and S. C. Boswell.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, a well known authority on the history of northeastern Oklahoma and a life member of the Society, was elected a member of the Board of Directors on July 24 to succeed the late Jasper Sipes.

A former Oklahoman, Mr. Gaston L. Litton an assistant archivist in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., has accepted an appointment as Librarian of the National University of Panama; having been given a year's leave of absence from the National Archives.

Dr. B. B. Chapman has become assistant professor of history this autumn at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, after serving on the faculty of the Fairmont West Virginia State Teachers College for a number of years. During summer sessions he has taught at the College of the City of New York.

T. Austin Gavin, Tulsa, has been appointed a member of a committee of the American Bar Association for the purpose of preparing a pamphlet concerning the background of the Bill of Rights as adopted in each state of the Union.

At the July 24 meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, upon motion of H. L. Muldrow, Norman, William E. Baker, Boise City, veteran county agent of Cimarron County and a nationally known archaeologist, was unanimously elected to honorary life membership in the Society.

The Society was represented at the Sequoyah Shrine, July 25 at a meeting of Cherokees, by J. B. Milam, Claremore, who received from Louis Mertins, the artist, a silhouette of Sequoyah framed in sequoia wood, for the Shrine.

At the recent meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Daughters of the American Revolution in Oklahoma were given a vote of thanks for their work in furnishing a room on the fourth floor showing the furniture used in the colonial period of our country.

Dr. Grant Foreman recently got in touch with Mrs. Edgar M. Hawkins, Rochester, New York, daughter of Gen. R. H. Pratt, a distinguished army officer who conducted the Cheyenne prisoners from Ft. Sill to Ft. Marion, Florida, in 1875 and later took a number of them to Pennsylvania where he used them as a nucleus for the Indian School at Carlisle. He has presented copies of these valuable Pratt letters to the Society through the kind cooperation of Mrs. Hawkins. He has also given the Society a collection of newspaper files consisting of the Fort Smith *Elevator,* the Fort Smith *New Era,* the Siloam Springs *Herald,* the Fort Scott *Weekly Monitor,* the Tahlequah *Arrow* and the *Arrow-Telephone.*

H. L. Muldrow has enriched the collections of the Society by the gift of some letters written in longhand by the Reverend Joseph Samuel Murrow to H. L. Muldrow.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore recently presented to the Society a collection of California seaweed, mounted in 1875, as a gift from Mrs. Vera Wignall Bare, Pauls Valley.

The library of the Oklahoma Historical Society has recently been given fourteen volumes of newspaper clippings dealing largely

with the governors of Oklahoma by Reuel Haskell, Oklahoma City, former secretary of the Oklahoma State Bar Association. A diary of his trip around the world along with guide books, post cards, and other illustrative material has been presented by A. D. Engelsman, Oklahoma City.

Don Tyler of Dewey, Oklahoma, has made a gift of $5,000 to the recently formed Washington County Library Association. This money will be used to purchase books for a county-wide library service program. Officers of the Association are: President, Clinton Beard; Vice-President, Fred Popkiss; Secretary-Treasurer, A. J. Mahoney; Directors, Mrs. Allen Pettigrove and H. E. Lemmons. Plans are being made for the collection and preservation of manuscripts and other historical records relating to Washington County.[1]

The Oklahoma Historical Society lost a valuable member in the passing of Jasper Sipes July 12, 1941. An outstanding pioneer school equipment dealer, he served the Society successively as a member of the board of directors, vice president, president, and president emeritus. A sketch of his life will appear in a subsequent issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

The Society lost another interested member at Lawton on August 21, 1941, in the passing of Mrs. Robert J. Ray who was active as a leader in civic, religious and political affairs.

The Oklahoma Historical Society lost an interested member in the death of Judge Almer S. Norvell on April 26, 1941, at his home in Wewoka. A native of Tennessee, Norvell moved to Wewoka in 1910 from Arkansas City, Arkansas, and established a law office. He was elected county judge in 1913 and served two terms. He was then elected to the state legislature for a term. Since that time he practiced law in Wewoka with the exception of a two years' residence in Shawnee. He was president of the Seminole County Abstract company, director of the Wewoka Brick and Tile company, director and counsel of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association, president of the Landowners' Royalty Company and president of Patterson and Norvell Drilling Company. Judge Norvell, as he was known to most Wewokans, was a Thirty-second degree Mason and a member of the board of deacons of the First Baptist church.[2]

Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn passed away March 2, 1941, after many years of devoted service as a member of the board of directors and of the staff of the Society. A later number of *The Chronicles* will present his biography.

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[1] *Oklahoma Libraries,* IX (May, 1941), 28.
[2] The Wewoka *Times-Democrat,* April 27, 1941.

Mrs. C. A. Galbraith, a member of the Society, died August 15, 1941 in Ada. At one time she lived in Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, for several years while her husband held a federal judgeship in the territory.

Tom Hale, also a member of the Society, president of the National Bank of McAlester and chairman of the board of directors of the Hale-Halsell Grocery Company, passed away at his home in McAlester, April 25, 1941. He was active in local civic affairs and for many years sponsored and liberally supported the Boy Scout movement. He was also a trustee of the First Presbyterian church, McAlester.

Another member of the Society, Judge Homer S. Hurst, sixty-three years old prominent Oklahoma attorney, former state senator and former corporation commission official, died June 6, 1941.

BOOK REVIEWS

Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year, 1939. (The Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, 1940. ix + 179 pp.)

In this collection of papers is one by Dr. Grant Foreman of 44 pages, which has close relation to Oklahoma history. This paper entitled, "Illinois and Her Indians", deals with the Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Piankeshaw, Miami and Kickapoo in the early decades of the nineteenth century, before these Indians found homes in Indian Territory. The paper, written after extensive and careful research, sheds new light on the earlier land holdings of the tribes mentioned. It was an address delivered by Dr. Foreman at the Illinois Day Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Springfield on December 4, 1939.

The Potawatomi were the most conspicuous tribe in the history of Illinois. They clung to the land of their nativity with greater tenacity than any other tribe, and wrote the last chapter of Indian negotiation and occupation in the State. Reference is made to devices, not always of highest commendation, often used by officers of the federal government in securing treaties with Indians.

A map of Illinois with an accompanying legend shows thirteen land cessions from 1803 to 1833, covering the entire State. Attention is given to participation of Illinois Indians in the War of 1812, and to the treaty of Ghent, "in which our domestic Indian relations were dominated by a foreign government." On insistence of the British government, the United States agreed to restore forthwith to the Indian allies of Great Britain, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811. There is a readable account of the councils at Portage des Sioux in 1815, and an illustration of treaty making at Prairie du Chien in 1825. Account is taken of the passage of the Wyandot, Shawnee, Seneca, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Cherokee across parts of Illinois in conformity with the policy after 1830 of removing Indians to lands west of the Mississippi river.

Other papers in the series are: H. Gary Hudson, "The Compensation of an Historian"; William J. Petersen, "Floating Namesakes of the Sucker State"; Mary Earhart Dillon, "Frances Willard as an Illinois Teacher"; Lynn W. Turner, "The United Brethren Church in Illinois"; and Edwin David Davis, "The Hanks Family in Macon County, Illinois (1828-1939)". There is a good index.

Berlin B. Chapman
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

Elias Boudinot, Cherokee and His America. By Ralph Henry Gabriel. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941. xv and 190 pp. Appendix and Index. $2.00.)

Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman presented the romance of Elias Boudinot and Harriet Gold to readers of *The American Indian* (Tulsa, July, 1929), in a page long article and included excerpts from one or two letters that apparently were not used by Professor Gabriel but his book length account is fully justifiable and competently handled. Aside from a well-written introduction that traces the native religion of the Cherokees, and closing chapters based upon governmental documents, Gabriel built his story around the Vaill Manuscripts, letters of members of the Gold family. The Yale professor uses the letters to show the influence of Puritanism in shaping the career of Elias Boudinot.

Through the influence of the head of the Foreign Mission Society the Indian boy entered school at Cornwall, Connecticut in 1818. He had been a student at Spring Place school kept by the Moravians in Georgia. John Ridge, a cousin of Boudinot, followed him to Cornwall a year later. Being a sufferer from a hip disease, Ridge was quartered in the home of John P. Northrup, steward of the school, and was nursed by Mrs. Northrup. He married their daughter, Sarah Bird Northrup, in 1824.

Elias followed suit by falling in love with Harriett Gold, the daughter of one of Cornwall's most prominent families, and the disturbance that succeeded disrupted the school as well as society in the town. When Ridge married Miss Northrup, it was suggested that "the girl ought to be publicly whipped, the Indian hung, and the mother drown'd." When the engagement of Miss Gold and Boudinot was announced, the agents of the Foreign Mission School, led by Lyman Beecher, issued a report in which they stated that "we regard those who have engaged in or accessory to this transaction, as criminal; an offering insult to the Christian Community; and as sporting with the sacred interests of this charitable institution." Even Harriett's family added their voices to the communal cry.

Boudinot returned to Cornwall in March, 1826, and the marriage was performed in the home of Harriett's parents by a minister from Goshen since the home pastor refused to officiate. "All the bells of Cornwall tolled the loss of Harriett Gold." Three years later her parents visited the Cherokee country and were surprised to find that the Boudinot children were as handsome as any in the North and would pass for full-blooded Yankees.

Gabriel traces the rise to importance of Boudinot among the Cherokee, first as a missionary-teacher and later, as editor of the government controlled press, *The Cherokee Phoenix*. The author builds a strong case in showing that Boudinot made his decision for the removal treaty within a framework of Puritan thought. This reviewer believes that Gabriel has used postulations rather than facts: facts of Boudinot's Indian heritage, political machinations, and the influence of his kinsmen. The author, likewise, appraises

the influence of John Ross in the light of the accomplishment of Boudinot.

The director of the University of Oklahoma press will receive many compliments on the make-up of this book, the twentieth in the Civilization of the American Indian series.

J. S. Clark

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

With Custer's Cavalry. By Katherine Gibson Fougera. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1940. 285 pages. $3.00.)

The author has written her mother's (Katherine Gibson's) biography in the first person. The effect, since it is well done, is to place the reader immediately in the life and spirit of the times. It makes real people seem real, which is more than history accomplishes in too many instances. Army folk will enjoy this book. So will civilians for that matter; but to many old-timers from the army it will bring a bitter-sweet wave of nostalgia. It is a good description of the lesser known phases of army life on the frontier, that existence which is led by hundreds of army women and their husbands in those periods between the big wars when the army is split up and stationed at little western posts and camps.

Katherine Garrett, an eastern girl who knew nothing of the army, visited her sister Molly, who was the wife of Lieut. Donald McIntosh, 7th Cavalry. During this visit she became acquainted with Gen. and Mrs. Custer and with most of the other officers and ladies of the regiment. Soon she met and married Lieut. Francis Gibson, 7th Cav. She describes her life as a member of Custer's regimental family, during their station on the frontier just prior to the 1876 campaign. Custer is portrayed as a strict disciplinarian, a teetotaler, and a hard worker, but full of fun and appreciative of the many practical jokes which he and his officers were constantly perpetrating on each other. Mrs. Custer is seen as a typical "first lady" of the regiment—evidently a very high type army wife. The book contains little or nothing of the various troubles, political and otherwise, which were besetting Custer at this time, and which have left a cloud on his memory in the minds of some. He appears simply as an able leader who is engrossed in building up the esprit and efficiency of his regiment.

There are some exciting passages describing adventures with herds of stampeding buffaloes, western desperadoes, storms, and all the other events which were more or less characteristic of the west in those days. But in general there is nothing concerning the Indian campaigns. The ladies did not accompany the regiment into the field. Mrs. Gibson's husband was with Benteen during the Little Big Horn battle, hence escaped death with Custer and the other officers and men. His letter to his wife written from the field immediately after the tragedy, is good contemporary evidence as to what happened, and it furnishes considerable data—not new, but

strongly confirmatory—as to the character and deeds of some of the participants in the fighting.

This reviewer enjoyed the book heartily, and is confident that others interested in frontier history will like it too.

W. S. Nye

Washington, D. C.

Oklahoma's Deficit. By Findley Weaver. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. VIII + 67 pp. Charts and tables.)

Dr. Weaver's analysis of Oklahoma's deficit is timely. For many years it has been generally known, particularly to students of public finance, that the financial condition of the state was subject to serious dislocations. In other words, it was recognized that the legal basis in both constitutional and statutory law for sound management of the financial affairs was weak. To these weaknesses the study of the Brookings Institution in 1935 called specific attention. The Brookings' survey staff submitted carefully considered recommendations on a reasonable program of reform.

But aside from the pre-audit law nothing was done to check the drift of Oklahoma's finances into a condition of inexcusably bad management. A look back into a record of inaction causes one to surmise that the people of the state, and worse still, political leaders, hoped for some wonder-working magic to check this drift.

Oklahoma's Deficit by Dr. Weaver is the product of a thorough and objective study of conditions which contributed to the mounting state debt. It is the work of a painstaking student who has no axe to grind and who thinks scientifically toward conclusions considered to be unmistakably in the public interest. The book has the merit of treating a complicated problem in brief space and of revealing an abundance of factual information in a form which the general reader can understand without difficulty.

The logic of Dr. Weaver's order of presentation is apparent from the first pages. Basic causes of Oklahoma's deficit are considered under the headings, (1) Earmarking of state revenue for special funds, (2) Expenditures without legislative appropriation, (3) Inadequate accounting, reporting, and budgeting. Factual analysis supporting these propositions comprises the heart of the book. Then comes a concluding brief chapter in which recommendations on reform are submitted. Three recommendations are pointedly stated to coincide with the three basic causes of the deficit.

This book deserves much wider distribution and reading than it is likely to get. The University of Oklahoma again serves the interest of the state in directing its Bureau of Business Research, through Dr. Weaver, to make a scientific analysis of Oklahoma's deficit. Much credit is also due for the decision to publish the results in book form.

Raymond D. Thomas

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

The Longhorns. By J. Frank Dobie. (Boston. Little, Brown and Company, 1941. XXII and 388 pp. Bibliography and Index. $3.50).

Stories about cattle and the western range always will appeal to Oklahomans. Largely this is true because of the early day exploitation of this territory by ranchmen and from the fact that the industry is still so important here that there are as many cattle as people in the state. Many writers have described the great cattle drives that crossed Indian Territory, and a diminishing number of trail drivers still reminisce on their early day experiences. None, however, catches the central theme as well as Dobie, who by interviews and inclination has absorbed the spirit of the cattle country. He is a teller of folk tales and as a historian he has not hesitated to use scraps of folklore to enforce truth and reality.

The author, by his own admission, has "virtually exhausted all printed and all available manuscript sources in the search for facts." Letters and manuscripts filed in the National Archives and "the Foreman Papers" in the Oklahoma Historical Society should have yielded additional information but the book is already top-heavy with information. One reference from the first source discloses a mutual feeling of aversion and fear between the Indians and Texas cattle. White Eagle, Ponca chief, describes Longhorns in 1881 as follows: "Our first cattle were tame but those [Texas cattle] last year were so wild we could not even see them; they could outrun a horse and fourteen of them broke their necks at the corral the day we received them."

Dobie presents a clear synthesis of the cattle industry before launching into an exact presentation of the Longhorn breed and how it shaped the destinies of its masters. And as the Plains Indians found hundreds of uses for the buffalo in their manufactures, the author shows the versatility of uses the Longhorn and its by-products were put to in ranch economy. Dobie is pre-eminently a story-teller and hundreds of anecdotes enliven this newest publication of his.

Dobie includes many tales of cattle brands, stampedes, cattle drives, and ranchmen that have appeared elsewhere in his writings. He has also drawn heavily upon the folklore of the Plains. A few of the tales recently appeared in Hale and Arnold's *Hot Irons* which drew an acidulous review by Dobie. But they are worthy of inclusion in both books and they suffer not at all from Dobie's style of presentation. He is my favorite teller of stories and legends of the Southwest. He knows the nomenclature of the ranch cattle industry and his aptitude for felicitous expression should make *The Longhorns* one of the most popular books in the field.

The value of the book is greatly increased by the frontispiece which shows *The Stampede,* a picture of an original mural in the Post Office, Odessa, Texas and is reproduced by courtesy of the

section of fine arts, Federal Works Agency; by the Tom Lea illustrations; and by the photographic record of Longhorns, a section containing forty-eight pictures of horns and cattle. Scant recognition is given the late Will C. Barnes for preserving the Longhorn breed in the Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge.

J. S. Clark

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Political and Social Growth of the American People 1492-1865. By Homer Carey Hockett. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1940. xxi + 861 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. $3.25.)

The new edition of Hockett's meritorious text eliminates his former chapters on European background and plunges at once into the colonizing efforts of the Spanish, French, and English peoples. In simple, flowing English he describes the more significant developments of American political and social evolution through the Civil War. Professor Schlesinger's companion text resumes there, carrying the narrative to 1940.

The enlargement of the scope of time has necessitated the omission of much that concerned the colonial period. Many students of southwestern history may regret the brevity of the treatment of the role of the Indians, and the paucity of the consideration of the part of the Spanish-Americans in American history. But the harried instructors will welcome the inclusion of recent events within the scope of the volume by Schlesinger, as well as the additional aids given in the form of forty-eight illustrations and extension of the bibliography to include many more works of value.

Students will also appreciate the new format.

Roland Hinds

Duncan Junior College

As Our Neighbors See Us: Readings in the Relations of the United States and Latin America, 1820-1940. Edited and compiled by Thomas Harrison Reynolds, Head of History Department, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma. (Cullom-Gherther, Nashville, Tennessee, pp. 317. For sale by the editor and compiler, $2.50.)

This volume consists of a preface, table of contents, and sixty-three documents or selections. A little more than the first third of the book is devoted to the Monroe doctrine. The volume is a companion to Dr. Reynold's study on the *Economic Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine* which appeared in 1938.

The sixty-three documents or selections are nearly all translated from Hispanic-American sources, and show how our neighboring nations to the south have regarded Monroism, the "Big Stick" attitude of Theodore Roosevelt, the "Dollar Diplomacy" of Taft, and the "Good Neighbor" policy of the second Roosevelt. Some of the sources include official documents, technical and trade journals,

books based on research, and official and private correspondence. One source is a letter of three pages from Homer Brett, American Consul General, Lima, Peru, to Dr. Reynolds setting forth the reaction of that country to the various aspects of the Good Neighbor policy, such as the Cordell Hull trade program.

Although the book is well prepared, some alterations can be suggested. Critics may complain that so many of the sources are of such recent origin that the first date in the sub-title is misleading; and a few slips may be found as evidenced by the name "Bushnell Hart" (p. 99).

This book brings not only to students of Latin-American History, but to laymen, a collection of primary sources which have been skillfully selected from divers places, and which are mainly translations showing how Uncle Sam has been regarded by his southern neighbors since the days of James Monroe. Thus to the specialist and layman Dr. Reynolds has rendered a valuable service in bringing into one volume and into the English language the prevailing attitudes of Latin America toward the United States. The publication of the volume is timely, appearing when our national authorities are trying to solidify the Western hemisphere against aggression by nations in the Eastern hemisphere.

One cannot listen to the sixty-three voices which Dr. Reynolds echoes from Latin America without realizing that the Monroe doctrine in its multitudinous shapes is and has been regarded primarily as a doctrine by and for the United States. To cooperate with nations of Latin America we must know how the United States has been regarded by those nations. *As Our Neighbors See Us* is recommended for economy of time and clarity of understanding.

Berlin B. Chapman

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

NATHAN ADAMS GIBSON

NECROLOGY

NATHAN ADAMS GIBSON

1867-1940

Nathan Adams Gibson, son of James Knox and Rosa (Somervell) Gibson, was born at Stanton, Tennessee October 18, 1867 and died on August 7, 1940; interment in Greenhill Cemetery, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

His paternal great-great grandfather was Robert Gibson, born in 1710 at Artigarven, Parish of Leck, County Tyrone, Province of Ulster, Ireland, and died at same place in 1807.

Robert Gibson's first wife was a Miss Porter, a near kinswoman of General Richard Montgomery, who fell in the storming of Quebec. He had 16 sons and 7 daughters. Thirteen of the sons came to the United States during and prior to the Revolution. Of these, eight lost their lives in the military service on the side of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. His son, Joseph Gibson, great-grandfather of Nathan Adams Gibson, came to the United States in 1797 and returned to Ireland in 1799 and died in Strabane, County of Tyrone, Ireland in the 1820's. Joseph Gibson married Miss Jane Winslow of the Parish of Donaghedee, County of Tyrone, Ireland. Ten children came to that marriage, of whom was Robert, born in Strabane, County of Tyrone, Ireland on March 20, 1797, and grandfather of Nathan Adams Gibson. He was apprenticed in 1813 to Adams, Scholas & Company (shipping merchants) in Londonderry. On January 1, 1817 he left Ireland, and sailing from Liverpool, arrived in New York City 63 days later, whence he came to Nashville, Tennessee and entered the counting house of Crockett & Adams.

In 1823 he married Jane Adams, who had come to America from Strabane, Ireland, and who at that time was a resident of Nashville, Tennessee. To this marriage came six children. His wife died in 1836 and thereafter he married her sister, Rosanna, and to this marriage came two children, the youngest of whom was James Knox Gibson, the father of Nathan Adams Gibson. Rosanna died January 7, 1856, and Robert Gibson on May 10, 1864.

The maternal grandfather and grandmother of Nathan Adams Gibson were Joseph B. Somervell and Mary Eliza Somervell, and maternal great grandfather, James Somervell, the Somervell family having come originally from Scotland.

James Knox Gibson enlisted in the Confederate States army on January 1, 1864 at Canton, Mississippi in Company F, 1st Battalion Confederate Infantry, Forney's Regiment, Adams Brigade, Lowring's Division, Polk's Corps, and was detailed to serve with Major Thomas B. Adams and later attached to staff of General John Adams. His captain was Tony Barthell and lieutenants were Henry Ferguson and Prewitt.

The brothers and sisters of Nathan Adams Gibson were as follows: Joseph Somervell Gibson, deceased; James Knox Gibson, Kansas City, Missouri; Thomas L. Gibson, a member of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma; Mrs. Rosa White; and Mrs. Mary Nash.

He was married at Memphis, Tennessee on April 18, 1895 to Miss Florence W. Davidson, who died July 14, 1921; interment at Green Hill Cemetery, Muskogee, Oklahoma. To this union came the following children: Theresa, now Mrs. Thomas E. Graham of Oklahoma City; Rosa, now Mrs. Villard Martin of Tulsa, Oklahoma; and Virginia, now Mrs. Ellis A. Stokdyk of Berkeley, California; Eleanor, deceased, Katherine, and Frances (all surviving except Eleanor), and two sons, Nathan A., Jr., of Muskogee, Oklahoma, and a son who died in infancy.

On February 7, 1923 he was married to Miss Grace Martin Elmore of Topeka, Kansas, who survives him.

He attended the Webb School, then at Culleoka, and later removed to Bellbuckle, Tennessee, and matriculated at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, receiving degrees of Bachelor of Arts in 1888 and Bachelor of Laws in 1890, and having been admitted to the Bar at Nashville, located at Memphis, where he engaged in the practice of law until September, 1893, when he removed to Muskogee, Indian Territory, there entering into a law partnership with S. O. Hines. In 1895, appointed Master in Chancery and this association dissolved, he continued as such Master until 1900 when he resumed the practice of law with W. F. Seaver, which association later was dissolved. In January, 1905, he entered into partnership with Honorable George S. Ramsey, which was continued until the latter part of 1908, and on being dissolved, he entered into partnership with Hal C. Thurman, which continued until September, 1914, when Thurman became Judge of the Superior Court of Muskogee County. He then entered into partnership in the general practice of law with Joseph L. Hull; and his brother, Thomas L. Gibson. This association continued until 1925 when the firm was consolidated with that of West, Sherman & Davidson of Tulsa, the consolidated firm being styled West, Gibson, Sherman, Davidson and Hull. Gibson and Hull removed to Tulsa and Thomas L. Gibson remained in Muskogee, for several years the firm maintaining offices in both Tulsa and Muskogee. In 1932, Hull became an attorney for the National Bank of Tulsa and the firm was changed, Nathan Adams Gibson forming a partnership in law with J. Harvey Maxey and Wilbur J. Holleman. After the death of Maxey, in August, 1936, Gibson and Holleman continued in the practice of law until his death.

For years he was President of the Muskogee County Bar Association and in 1923 of the Oklahoma State Bar Association.[1] In 1920 he became a member of the American Bar Association and so continued until his death.[2] He became a member of the Indian Territory Bar Association at its first annual meeting on October 2, 1900 after its preliminary organization on February 22, 1900 and continued as a member of said Bar Association until it was merged with the Oklahoma Territory Bar Association at Shawnee in December, 1905 and continued as a member of said consolidated Territory Association until the erection of the state of Oklahoma, and then continued as a member of its successor, the State Bar Association.

He was a member of the Methodist Church, Democratic Party, Phi Delta Theta fraternity, Elks, Tulsa Club, Southern Hills Country Club, and other social organizations, often presiding at their meetings as well as other gatherings as a masterly and most genial toastmaster.

A fine citizen, able lawyer, devoted to a happy family, has passed from this earthly surrounding.[3]

R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma

W. JOE BALLARD

1878-1940

W. Joe Ballard, youngest child of William Alfred Ballard and his wife, Louise M. Ballard, born on a farm near Liberty, Mo., March 30, 1878, was reared in that community, and received his education in the local schools and a private business school. On September 25, 1901 he and Mary C.

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[1] *Okla. State Bar Reports,* Vol. XVII, p. 12.

[2] *American Bar Association Reports,* Vol. 63, p. 1073.

[3] In re Memorial Services for Nathan Adams Gibson (See same in the files of the Oklahoma Historical Society.)

W. JOE BALLARD

Porter were married, and to that union came two sons, Hardin in 1903 and Joe Porter in 1907.

In January of 1908, with his family, he established a home on a farm two miles west of Sugden, in Jefferson County, Oklahoma, which had been ranch headquarters for Cal and Ikard Suggs. In the meantime his wife aided as a rural school teacher in the nearby Deer Grove School. Later they removed to Waurika where he followed various employments until 1916.

Oklahoma was a dry state, and Texas on the south, wet. Illicit liquors being hauled through said county from Texas to the oil fields in adjacent Carter County, good citizens seeking election of county law enforcement officers importuned him to enter the race for sheriff, and with a borrowed horse and his meager funds he canvassed the county on horseback. The result of the campaign was his election as Sheriff, committed to prevention of community crime. He was re-elected three times, serving Jefferson County as Sheriff for eight years, his fourth term ending January 6, 1925. He was a fearless and an efficient officer, not only in suppressing the liquor traffic and apprehending car thieves and murderers, but also in quelling I. W. W. disorders.

On July 1, 1925 he was appointed investigator in the State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation, serving until January, 1927. During this period he resided in Norman in order that his sons might attend the State University.

From March of 1927 he operated a filling station on Highway 77 at Norman until 1933, when he was named by Carl Giles, Administrator, as investigator for the F. E. R. A. He later served in a similar capacity under John Eddleman and General W. S. Key.

In June of 1936, having severed that connection, he became an active supporter of the Honorable Josh Lee for the United States Senate, and was later urged by Senator Lee for appointment as United States Marshal for the Western District of Oklahoma to fill a vacancy. Thereupon he received an ad interim appointment to said vacancy on July 1, 1937 by the United States District Judge for said district, and served until he was appointed thereto by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate and qualified on October 1, 1937, and served in such capacity until the date of his death on November 26, 1940. He, whether as Marshal or Sheriff, efficiently and impartially enforced all laws in his quiet and courteous but firm manner at all times toward every person.

It was a pleasant diversion on his part to raise and train fine horses, and attend the Kentucky Derby.

He went to Mexico City on a Good Will trip with a football team, where on November 26, 1940 amidst tropical beauties and such environment he passed away, and was interred at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. He is survived by his wife and two sons, all of whom reside in Oklahoma City.

The family having requested that no flowers be sent for his funeral, in lieu thereof his friends subscribed to a memorial fund with which the Ballard Lodge, equipped with steel lockers, was constructed at the Salvation Army building, 315 South Broadway, Oklahoma City, which furnishes sleeping facilities for forty homeless men.

A fine and useful citizen has passed away.

Earl Pruet.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

DR. JOHN A. HATCHETT

1853-1940

Dr. John A. Hatchett was born in Farmington, Mo., March 4, 1853, died at El Reno, Oklahoma, August 16, 1940, of arteriosclerosis and pneumonia, at the age of 87 years.

His father, Leroy Downing Hatchett, a pioneer minister of the Christian Church, organized churches in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and served many of the churches as pastor. He was a Chaplain in the Confederate Army during the Civil War.

His mother was an Adams, a descendant of John Quincy Adams.

Dr. Hatchett married Mary Elizabeth Turner in 1884. He attended the Missouri Medical School, now Washington University at St. Louis, Missouri, graduating therefrom in 1884, with the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He practiced medicine in Missouri for several years, and moved to El Reno, Oklahoma, in 1891, where having established a sanitarium, he founded the first accredited Nurse's Training School in Oklahoma Territory.

In 1922 he moved to Oklahoma City, where he opened an office and specialized in obstetrics and gynecology. He soon joined the faculty of the University of Oklahoma College of Medicine, later being honored as a Professor Emeritus. He was a member of the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association in 1905 and 1906, and Vice President of the House of Delegates in 1908. He was past president of the Oklahoma County Medical Society. Shortly after moving to Oklahoma City, he was elected honorary member of the Oklahoma City Academy of Medicine, and continued in such capacity until his death. In resolutions adopted, were expressed their high esteem.

The Oklahoma County Medical Association, stated by resolution that "In recognition of Dr. Hatchett's valuable contributions to the character and stability of the medical profession, we acknowledge the high spirit and courageous industry of his pioneering days in Oklahoma; his example as the ideal family doctor; his services in the building of one of the first hospitals of the state; his ability as a teacher, lecturing with impressive authority, grace, and clarity. We revere his memory because of his high ethical standards, his stimulating presence, and his fine philosophy of life."

In 1933, Dr. Hatchett was given honorary membership in the Oklahoma Memorial Association in recognition and appreciation of the great and good public service which he had rendered in past years to humanity.

Dr. Hatchett lived in El Reno about thirty years, and became the family doctor of most of the people in that community. As such, he endeared himself to the people of El Reno, and his name became a household word to them. He was with them in their joys and in their sorrows, and they still speak of him in loving words and in terms of the greatest respect.

Dr. Hatchett took a great interest in the public schools in El Reno, and served the longest term of any member on the Board of Education, from 1892 to 1912, a period of twenty years. Verily, he was a grand old man, noble in character, revered and respected. His spirit has gone to its glorious recompense.

The following members of his immediate family survive,—his widow, Mrs. J. A. Hatchett; his daughters, Mrs. Olivette Duffy, and Mrs. C. E. Clymer; his son, Ray Hatchett.

Funeral services were held in El Reno, by Rev. M. B. Pringle, pastor of the Christian Church, and interment was made in the El Reno cemetery.

Etta D. Dale.

El Reno, Oklahoma

ELZEY W. MOORE

1872-1940

Elzey W. Moore, born July 10, 1872 at Smithville, Monroe County, Mississippi, and died at Comanche, Oklahoma on August 2, 1940, where he is interred, was son of William Alfred Moore, born September 25, 1849 in Monroe County, Mississippi, and his wife, Martha Jane Moore, nee Lann,

DR. JOHN A. HATCHETT

ELZEY W. MOORE

born August 19, 1843 in Monroe County, Mississippi, his said father and mother being married at Smithville, Mississippi, on October 22, 1868.

Elzey W. Moore came to Cameron, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, with his father and mother on January 2, 1894, and at Monroe nearby in the Choctaw Nation he farmed and taught school until he settled at Heavener in the Choctaw Nation in 1898.

He was married to Malinda Jestun Killen at Monroe, Choctaw Nation on February 12, 1899, who died May 2, 1903. From said union she left surviving two children, to-wit: Floyd Swayne Moore, born November 13, 1899, and died September 8, 1918, and Maud Allene Moore, born August 30, 1901, and died November 22, 1902.

Elzey W. Moore at the organization of the municipal government of Heavener in 1902, was elected Mayor and re-elected, serving two terms. In 1903 he entered the drug business at Heavener in partnership with the late Dr. John Fowler. In 1906, having sold his interest in the drug business, he moved to Comanche, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory, on May 10, 1906.

On November 16, 1904 he was married to Maud M. Hall at Cauthron, Arkansas, who survives him. To this union came six children, to-wit: Elzey Clayburn Moore, born December 14, 1905 and died April 14, 1907; Lillian Moore Welcher, born July 22, 1907; Joe D. Moore, born March 15, 1909; Guy Haskell Moore, born June 11, 1910 and died May 22, 1932; Champ Porter Moore, born December 12, 1912; and Robert Woodrow Moore, born September 23, 1914.

He was elected Mayor of Comanche in 1907, acting *ex officio* as Town Justice, and re-elected, serving two terms, and later was elected and served as a member of the City Council and also as Justice of the Peace.[1]

In 1913 he was Livestock Inspector under the State Board of Agriculture. When the court house for Stephens County was constructed, being elected for two consecutive terms, he was Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners. Under appointment of the Governor, he served in 1915 on a special School Land Assessment Committee, and for a period of time was gasoline inspector under the State Corporation Commission. In all his public service he was efficient and faithful.

A fine citizen, taking a leading part in the upbuilding of the city and community and promoting the public welfare—loyal and devoted to both wives and children, a faithful friend, a member of the Methodist Church, and actively affiliated with the Democratic Party, has passed from these earthly surroundings.

R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma

[1] McKay v. H. A. Hall & Company, 30 Okla. 773, 120 Pac. 1108, decided on January 16, 1912.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 24, 1941

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July 24, 1941, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Judge Robert L. Williams, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Hon. George L. Bowman, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Dr. Grant Foreman, Mrs. Frank Korn, Col. A. N. Leecraft, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Hon. John B. Meserve, Mr. J. B. Milam, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams, and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

The President introduced Mr. H. L. Muldrow, of Norman, a new member of the Board of Directors.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Board meeting held January 23, 1941, and the minutes of the Board meeting held May 13, 1941, and upon motion of Dr. Grant Foreman, duly seconded, the reading of the minutes was passed subject to being called for consideration upon request.

Mr. R. R. Owens, Budget Officer of the State, presented the matter of keeping the building open Saturday and Sunday afternoons.

The following resolution was presented: "Provided when funds in the sum of $100 per month be made available and to be permitted to be divided between two persons, one complying with the prescribed qualifications for the Grand Army Hall custodian, the other with same prescribed qualifications as custodian of the Confederate Hall, that then the President be directed to take all necessary steps to have the building open not only on Saturday afternoons, but also at least two hours on each Sunday afternoon—these persons to be available for such purpose on other week days except Mondays."

Hon. John B. Meserve moved that the resolution be adopted. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Robert L. Williams explained that he had secured title to the Robert M. Jones property, consisting of 300 acres, at a cost of $1293.81, as authorized at the Board meeting of October 24, 1940.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that the Oklahoma Historical Society pay Hon. Robert L. Williams the sum of $1000 in consideration of which he will turn over to the Society the deed to the 300 acres of the Robert M. Jones property, and that the Society express its appreciation to Judge Robert L. Williams for his interest in behalf of the Society, and also the interest and help of Mr. P. A. Norris and Mr. S. C. Boswell in this transaction. Upon receiving a second from Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Judge Taylor put the motion which was unanimously carried.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, the Treasurer of the Society moved that the Board authorize the Treasurer to issue check in the sum of $1000 payable to Hon. Robert L. Williams on account of the Robert M. Jones matter. Upon receiving a second from Judge Thomas A. Edwards, the Treasurer put the motion which carried unanimously.

Judge Baxter Taylor, chairman of the Library Committee, recommended the purchase of two copies of the second edition of *The Constitution of Oklahoma and Enabling Act*, annotated and revised by C. W. King, price $16.00.

Gen. Charles F. Barrett moved that the books be purchased and Mr. C. W. King be paid the sum of $16.00 for the two books. Motion was seconded, whereupon Judge Taylor put the motion which carried.

Mr. J. B. Milam reported that a number of Cherokees would meet at the Sequoyah shrine, July 25, 1941 to receive a silhouette of Sequoyah, framed in sequoia wood, the gift of the artist, Louis Mertins, the artist and his wife to be present in person to present the gift.

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that this Board of Directors express its appreciation and thanks for the gift of this silhouette and honor to Sequoyah and that Mr. Milam convey this message to the artist Mr. Louis Mertins. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Mrs. Frank Korn reported the gift of a number of books for the Historical Library, donated by the citizens of Canadian County, and thanks were expressed for same.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards moved that the Secretary be instructed to receive no more county records except with the authority of the President. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President reported that a collection of letters written in longhand by Rev. Joseph Samuel Murrow to Mr. H. L. Muldrow had been presented by Mr. Muldrow and had been received, and that also with this collection of letters was an autographed booklet entitled *Sixty Years of Service for Humanity*, dealing with the life and activities of Father Murrow, by Charles E. Creager had been received.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that these letters and booklet be accepted and that the Board extend its thanks to Mr. Muldrow for this donation. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: J. Bartley Milam, Claremore and Mrs. Susan Pelter McGreevy, Carmen.

ANNUAL: Rev. Virgil Alexander, Muskogee; Dr. Susie M. Ames, Lynchburg, Va.,; George F. Bauer, Jr., Tulsa; G. H. Beaulieu, Pawhuska; Rabbi Joseph Blatt, Oklahoma City; Elizabeth Bledsoe, Lawton; Mrs. W. L. Blessing, Shawnee; E. A. Brininstool, Hollywood, Calif.; Dr. Norman W. Caldwell, Clarksville, Ark.; Thomas William Cheek, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Mattie Standley Conn, Chickasha; John P. DeLesdernier, San Antonio, Texas; Rev. Walter Douglass, Lindsay; Mrs. Olivette H. Duffy, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Carl Dunnington, Cherokee; Oscar Clayton Elkins, Lawton; Maurice Foster, Oklahoma City; J. A. Glidewell, Dallas, Texas; Walter W. Groom, McAlester; Mary Elizabeth Hammett, Claremore; Mrs. Geo. A. Hutchinson, Enid; Charles E. Jones, Cordell; Mrs. W. King Larimore, Oklahoma City; Reuel Little, Madill; Dr. I. N. McCash, Enid; Joe C. McGuinn, Hallett; C. B. Montgomery, Lawton; L. W. Osborn, Muskogee; R. R. Owens, Oklahoma City; Lora O. Patterson, Tulsa; Mrs. J. C. Pybas, Oklahoma City; R. L. Redwine, Altus; Judge Royce H. Savage, Tulsa; M. F. Schweidler, West Lafayette, Ind.; Gunner G. Smith, Bennington; Lee Bowen Spencer, Shawnee; Polly Elli Stearns, Shawnee; John Franklin Thomas, Lawton; Mrs. H. W. Twinam, Prague; J. R. Whitney, Oklahoma City; and H. E. Wrinkle, Oklahoma City.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that these persons be received into membership in the class indicated. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow moved that William E. Baker, of Boise City, Oklahoma, a veteran county agent of Cimarron County and a nationally known archaeologist, be elected to honorary life membership in the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas extended an invitation to the members of the Board to attend the celebration of the Cherokee Strip Association, to be held in Ponca City, September 16.

Mrs. John R. Williams called attention to the fact that one of our Board members, Mrs. Blanche Lucas of Ponca City, had been re-commissioned postmaster at Ponca City, and moved that the Board congratulate her on her re-appointment. Motion was seconded and carried.

Gen. Charles F. Barrett moved that the Board of Directors grant Gen. William S. Key, vice president of the Board, leave of absence from attending meetings while he is in service. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that the Board of Directors express its sympathy to the members of the families of Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn and Mr. Jasper Sipes, deceased. Motion was seconded and carried.

Gen. Charles F. Barrett introduced a group of visitors from Shawnee, Mr. William L. Blessing, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Moyle and Mrs. Florence Pigg, members of the Pottawatomie County Historical Society, who were thanked for their attendance and presence at this meeting.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow reported the gift of a piece of tapestry which was to have been presented by Mrs. M. Alice Miller, Past Most Worthy Grand Matron, General Grand Chapter, Order Eastern Star, El Reno. Mrs. Miller being unable to be present, he asked that Mrs. Czarina C. Conlan make the presentation. Mrs. Conlan appeared before the Board and set forth the following description: Mr. and Mrs. William C. Coon of El Reno willed their possessions to the Masonic Charity Foundation, including this piece of tapestry. The Masonic Charity Foundation commissioned Mrs. M. Alice Miller to present this example of handwork in the art of weaving to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that this tapestry be accepted and that a letter expressing appreciation and thanks be written to the donors. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President reported the death of Mr. Jasper Sipes, one of the members of the Board of Directors.

Dr. Grant Foreman nominated Thomas J. Harrison, of Pryor, Oklahoma. Mr. J. B. Milam endorsing the nomination, seconded same.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that the nominations be closed, and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot for the election of Thomas J. Harrison, which was seconded and unanimously adopted. The Secretary cast the ballot and Thomas J. Harrison was declared duly elected as a member of the Board of Directors.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore presented to the Society a collection of California seaweeds mounted in 1875, gift of Mrs. Vera Wignall Bare, of Pauls Valley.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that this collection be accepted and that Mrs. Bare be thanked for this donation. Motion was seconded and carried.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that the Daughters of the American Revolution be thanked for their work in furnishing a room in the west museum on the fourth floor, showing the furniture of the early period of this country, embracing the Colonial period, and until further direction that the hall of the museum containing said D. A. R. Room be kept closed. Motion was seconded and carried.

Gen. Charles F. Barrett moved that the Secretary be instructed to ask the State Board of Affairs for storage space in the Capitol to take care of the county records. Motion was seconded and carried.

The matter of securing biographical sketches through students was discussed, and Senator George L. Bowman moved that the Secretary take the matter up and work out some method of securing students to help in

securing this material for the Oklahoma Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman presented to the Society a collection of newspaper files consisting of the Fort Smith *Elevator*, Fort Smith *New Era*, Siloam Springs *Herald*, the Fort Scott *Weekly Monitor*, Kansas; the Tahlequah *Arrow* and the *Arrow-Telephone*.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that these papers be preserved and that Dr. Grant Foreman be thanked for this contribution. Motion was seconded and carried.

Col. A. N. Leecraft moved that a portion of the Extra Help fund now available be used for mending these papers donated by Dr. Grant Foreman. Motion was seconded and carried.

Gen. Charles F. Barrett moved that the Board express its sympathy to Judge Thomas H. Doyle and hope for his speedy recovery from his recent illness. Motion was seconded and carried.

The meeting stood adjourned subject to the call of the president.

Robert L. Williams,
President.

James W. Moffitt,
Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society,
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

I nominate for membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society:

1. Name _____

   Address _____

2. Name _____

   Address _____

3. Name _____

   Address _____

4. Name _____

   Address _____

Dues: Annual membership is $1; life membership is $25. The Oklahoma Historical Society sends *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* to its members.

Nominated by: _____

Address _____

JUDGE SAMUEL W. HAYES

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XIX | December, 1941 | Number 4

JUDGE SAMUEL W. HAYES

1875-1941

By D. A. Richardson

On March 14, 1941, at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, death closed the career of Judge Samuel Walter Hayes, an able and outstanding lawyer, a great and lovable man, and one of Oklahoma's most useful and distinguished citizens.

He was born at Huntsville, Arkansas, on September 17, 1875, the son of John and Mollie (Cox) Hayes. Both parents had the strength and vigor of body and mind that characterized our best pioneers; and from them Judge Hayes inherited a vigorous and logical mind, complete mental integrity, and high moral and intellectual ideals.

When he was two years of age the family moved to Jack County, Texas, and settled on a farm, on which, when he grew older, young Hayes made a full hand. There he acquired a knowledge of and a sympathy with the needs, beliefs and aspirations of the average American citizen, which remained with him throughout his life and gave direction to his purposes and policies.

He was educated in the public schools of Jack County and in the University of Virginia. Returning from the University to Jack County, he taught school there for three years, and then moved to Ryan, Indian Territory, where he also taught for three years. There he met, and in October, 1899, married, Miss Ida Poole, by whom he had three children, namely, Kent B. Hayes, now Vice-President and Trust Officer of The First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City, Mrs. Ruby Hayes Allen of Chickasha, Oklahoma, and Mrs. Ida Lee O'Keeffe of West Newton, Massachusetts.

The vigor and bent of his mind led him to choose the law as his profession; and during the six years of his teaching he devoted his spare time to the study of law. He was admitted to the bar at Ryan, Indian Territory, in 1900, and entered the practice there. He was City Attorney of Ryan until 1902, when he moved to Chickasha. Arriving there a stranger, his integrity, diligence and ability were immediately recognized, and he at once took an eminent place at the Chickasha bar.

When, in 1906, Congress passed the act enabling Oklahoma and Indian territories to form a constitution and be admitted into the Union as a state, Judge Hayes, then only 31 years of age and only four years a resident of Chickasha, was unanimously nominated by the Democratic party as a member of the Constitutional Convention from the Chickasha district, and he was elected by more

than twice the votes received by his Republican and Union Labor opponents combined.

In the Constitutional Convention, which met at Guthrie in November, 1906, his unfailing courtesy, his deliberateness and studiousness, and his diligence and ability immediately won for him a high rank. He was a member of the committee on rules and procedure, of the steering committee, of the legal advisory committee, of the election ordinance committee, of the committee on federal relations, of the judiciary committee, and of the committee on impeachment and removal from office. He was chairman of the committee to formulate the Schedule to the Constitution, and was presented with the pen with which the President of the convention subscribed that provision. During both the sessions and the recesses of the convention he gave unremitting attention to its work, counseling with the other members, attending committee meetings, investigating proposed constitutional provisions, their sources, legal construction and effect, and suggesting modifications of form or substance where he considered them necessary.

The framing of the Constitution having been about completed, some of the territorial courts issued injunctions enjoining the calling and holding of an election for the submission of the Constitution to the people for ratification or rejection. Those injunctional orders were subsequently reversed by the territorial Supreme Court in *Frantz, et al., v. Autry,* 18 *Okla.* 561, and in other cases reported in the same volume. However, under the Enabling Act, the state was not to be admitted until the President of the United States, finding that its Constitution had been lawfully adopted, that it was republican in form, and that the provisions of the Act had been complied with in the formation thereof, should issue a proclamation to that effect; and, as it was thought that the President in determining those questions would take the advice of the Attorney General of the United States, and that the issuance of those injunctions, which had not then been reversed, might have a prejudicial effect upon the Attorney General and the President, the convention appointed a committee of three lawyer members to go to Washington and lay the facts before the President and the Attorney General, confer with them, and remove any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the provisions of the Constitution which might result from the issuance of those injunctions and the opinions that accompanied them. Judge Hayes was appointed a member of that committee. Recognizing both the delicacy and the extreme importance of their mission, the members of the committee made the most careful preparation for the presentation of the convention's side of the questions involved, and they carried through with forcefulness and tact, and achieved success, though that fact was not known until after the Constitution had been adopted.

Judge Hayes was universally recognized as one of the ablest, most constructive, and most useful members of the convention. His relations with his fellow members were friendly and cordial,

and he is remembered today by such of them as survive with both respect and affection.

At the election of state officers, held at the same time as that for the adoption of the Constitution, Judge Hayes, then only 32 years of age, was elected a Justice of the Supreme Court of the state, and he took his seat as such on November 16, 1907, upon the issuance of the President's proclamation admitting Oklahoma into the Union. He served as an Associate Justice until January 13, 1913, when he was elected by the court as its Chief Justice, and he held that position until March 8, 1914, when he resigned from the court.

He brought to the court a vigorous and logical mind richly stored with legal learning, an intuitive sense of balance, reasonableness and justice, and the same diligence, ability and conscientiousness that had characterized his work in the Constitutional Convention. His opinions are to be found in volumes 20 to 40, inclusive, of the *Oklahoma Reports.* They are notable for their sound legal learning and the orderliness of their arrangement.

The work of the court was heavy, and the duties of the Justices were both difficult and delicate. The state had just been brought into being. Its Constitution, different in many respects from that of any other state, was yet to be construed. Among other provisions different from those usually found in constitutions, it created a Corporation Commission for the regulation of transportation and transmission companies, and did the unusual thing of granting appeals, not only judicial but also legislative in character, from the commission to the Supreme Court. The state was composed of what theretofore had been two separate territories, each having its own different system of laws. Furthermore, a large part of the litigation from the Indian Territory portion of the state related to the Indians and their lands which were governed by a mixture of the State laws, the Indian tribal laws and treaties, the laws of Arkansas previously put in force there, and the laws specially enacted by Congress, rendering nearly every such case a complicated one. The conditions placed upon the court the heavy burden of deciding a mass of litigation as varied in character and as complicated as any appellate court ever dealt with. Nevertheless it did its work ably and well, and it held a high rank among the appellate courts in the Union.

Upon resigning from the Supreme Court, Judge Hayes became a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate against the incumbent, Oklahoma's silver-tongued orator, Senator T. P. Gore; but, after a vigorous and creditable campaign, he was defeated. That campaign was conducted without rancor on either side, and he and Senator Gore remained friends, their friendship growing closer and stronger as the years passed.

On the conclusion of that campaign he changed his residence from Chickasha to Oklahoma City and reentered the practice of

law, becoming a member of the law firm of Cottingham & Hayes. From 1915 to 1921 he was general solicitor of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company and the legal representative of many other large corporations, and was also engaged in a lucrative general practice. In 1921 he retired from the firm of Cottingham & Hayes, and became general counsel for the Marland Oil Company, now the Continental Oil Company, and continued as such until 1929.

In 1925, his first wife having died, he married Mrs. Elizabeth R. Crockett. In the latter part of that year he made a trip around the world, returning in the spring of 1926, whereupon he and D. A. Richardson, of Oklahoma City, formed a partnership for the general practice of law which soon became the firm of Hayes, Richardson, Shartel & Gilliland, of which Judge Hayes was a member at the time of his death.

While Judge Hayes was a great lawyer, a just appraisal would rate him as much more than that. Neither his outlook nor his activities were bounded by his profession. He loved good literature, good music and clean sports. In his relations and dealings with other men he was more than just, he was generous. And he was generous and tolerant in his opinion of others. He was fervently patriotic and thoroughly civic-minded, and was looked to as a leader in every movement for the advancement of the education, culture and general welfare of the people of his state and city, and he made generous contributions of his time, effort and money for that purpose. He was twice a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma and was once chairman of the board. He was a Democrat in politics; and in 1930 he was chosen as chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee, and the party was never better organized or financed in any campaign than it was in the one that he conducted.

He was a Methodist, a 32d degree Mason, a Shriner and a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. His instincts were social, and he was a member of the Oklahoma Club, the Men's Dinner Club and the Oklahoma City Golf & Country Club. Also, he was a member of the Oklahoma City, the Oklahoma State and the American Bar Associations.

He was counsel for and a director in many business organizations, among them being The First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City, The American-First Trust Company, The First National Bank of Chickasha, and Southland Royalty Company. In January, 1938, he was made a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of the Tenth District.

The sincerity, persistence and resourcefulness which he brought to all his work, even that of a civic nature, were illustrated in 1939 by his handling of the raising of Oklahoma City's community fund for that year. For many years in succession the community fund committee had failed by substantial amounts to raise its estimated

requirements. In 1939 Judge Hayes was made chairman of that committee, and he set himself to end that failure. Putting his heart and soul into the work, he carried on such a campaign as the city had never known before, and surprised himself and everyone else by raising even more than the community fund's full quota. In 1939 he was formally chosen and designated as "Oklahoma City's Most Useful Citizen."

In January, 1940 he was elected President of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, and, until he became ill in November of that year, he carried on that work with the same untiring energy and devotion and the same genius at organization that had characterized him in every other endeavor.

Reared on a farm, as Judge Hayes was, he never ceased to love farms and farming. He regarded farming as the most distinctive form of man's cooperation with nature. He joyed in the smell of freshly turned earth, the sight of waving grain, the sound of rustling corn blades. In his mind he visioned an ideal farm, and in his later years he looked forward to retiring from the law practice to such a farm. In 1934, in preparation for that event, he purchased a large farm about ten miles southwest of Oklahoma City, improved it to his taste, converted it into a dairy and stock farm, and named it Meadow Lodge Farm. He carefully studied the different breeds of dairy cattle, and, determining that the Guernsey was the best for all around purposes, he acquired the nucleus of what is now one of the finest herds of Guernsey cattle in the United States. He made a scientific study of cattle and of their food and care and what should be expected of them. He exhibited at practically all the stock shows, and always his entries ranked among the top. He was almost as pleased to win a blue ribbon as to win a case in court. His dairy was equipped with every convenience, and was a marvel of cleanliness. Judge Hayes spent many of his happiest hours on that farm, and by and through it he rendered a service to the people of Oklahoma City that is continuing yet.

Judge Hayes became ill in November, 1940, his illness probably being due in large measure to the strain of overwork. To carry on at the same time an active law practice, the work devolving upon the president of the Chamber of Commerce, and the supervision of Meadow Lodge Farm was too much for any one man. With the passing months he grew worse, and he died in Oklahoma City on March 14, 1941. He is buried in Chickasha, the city that had been kind to him as a young man and that he never ceased to love. Thus ended the career of one of the ablest, most generous and most useful citizens that Oklahoma has ever had or will ever have. His monuments are about us in the results of his work, in the structure of our state government, in our judiciary and jurisprudence, and in our educational, cultural and business institutions; and his memory is enshrined in the hearts of thousands of Oklahomans who knew him and trusted and loved him.

CHIEF ALLEN WRIGHT

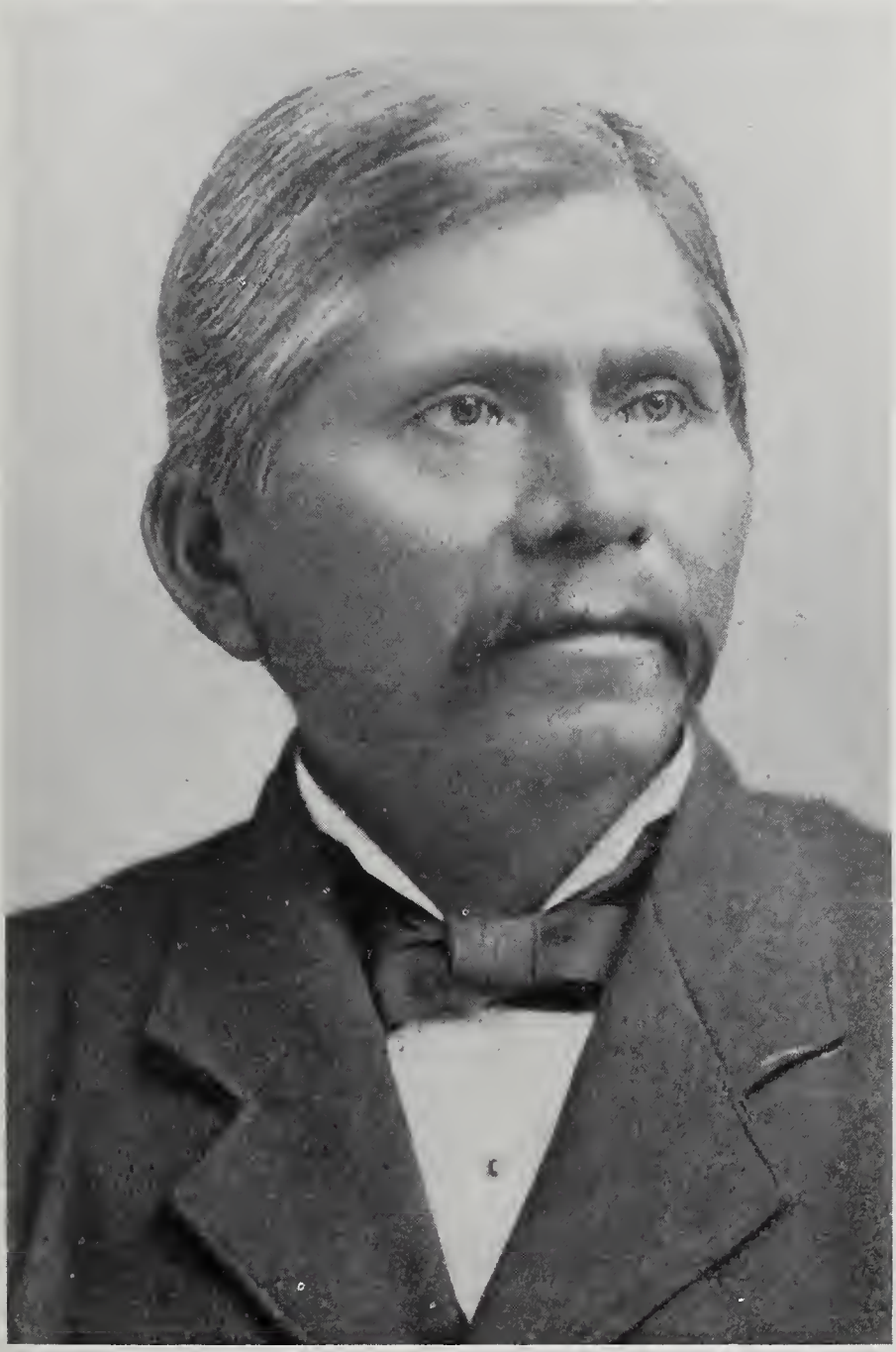
By John Bartlett Meserve

The career of Allen Wright paralleled a tragic period in Choctaw history. A zenith was attained when he became [1]Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation in the fall of 1866 serving until the fall of 1870. Those were the drab years of reconstruction following the Civil War during which struggle due processes of law among the Choctaws had been short-circuited and a state of lawlessness ensued. The leadership of Allen Wright contributed much to salvage the Choctaws from this wreckage. His contribution to the spiritual, educational and political concerns of his people is of compelling interest.

During the inceptive days of our War of the Revolution, William Fry, a white man from Kentucky ventured into the Choctaw country which many years later became the State of Mississippi, where he effected his permanent home. He married a full blood Choctaw Indian woman and their daughter Elizabeth (Betsy) married a full blood of the Choctaw Nation and became the mother of Ishtemahilvbi, the father of Allen Wright. The wife of Ishtemahilvbi and the mother of Allen Wright was a full blood Choctaw Indian woman of the Ahepat (Hayipatuklo) Okla Clan. Allen Wright, a Choctaw Indian of the seven-eighths blood was born on the left bank of the Yaknukni (now called the Yokahockany) River in Attala County, Mississippi in the latter part of November, 1826. The precise date of his birth being unknown, he combined the observance of his birthday each year with Thanksgiving Day. At birth he was invested with the name Kiliahote, by his parents and in later years was given the name of Allen Wright. He was born amid humble, sequestered environs and of a parentage who were typically Indian of that period. They neither spoke nor understood the English language although the father learned something of the French language from the French traders. In 1832 his father removed to the vicinity of his parents on the Ta-lu-buch-cha (now called Talobucha) creek, a western branch of the Pearl River. The mother of Allen Wright passed away in June, 1832.

Ishtemahilvbi with his own mother, sister and brothers and their families, and with his own four children, formed themselves into a self-emigrating party which departed from Mississippi early in October, 1833, arriving at Luk-fa-ta creek in what is today McCurtain County, Oklahoma, in March, 1834. Adversity disciplined their souls during those early days. Young Allen Wright was ignorant of even the most elementary processes of education before his emigration. Schools which he encountered in the West began

[1] Under the constitution of 1857, the Chief Executive was styled "Governor of the Choctaw Nation," but the constitution of 1860 titled him as "Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation," and all public documents were so signed although the "Principal Chiefs" were quite uniformly addressed and referred to as "Governor."



CHIEF ALLEN WRIGHT

to enlist his interest and in response to his urgent appeal, his father, shortly after arrival, enrolled him in a Choctaw school at Bok-tuk-lo, near Skelton Depot in the fall of 1834 under the tutelage of Miss Eunice Clough,[2] a missionary. Upon entering this school, he was given the name of Allen Wright, by Miss Clough following the practice inaugurated by missionaries and teachers of investing Indian children with English names upon their entering school. At that time the Rev. Alfred Wright was the leading missionary in charge of mission work among the Choctaws and it was from this distinguished Christian leader that the surname accorded Allen Wright was adopted. In the spring of 1834, the lad had briefly attended the school at Bok-tuk-lo under the teaching of Joseph Dukes,[3] in the Choctaw language. Skelton Depot was a few miles west of the present town of Broken Bow. The father of Allen Wright passed away in May, 1839, and the homeless lad went to live with an uncle. Provision was made in the fall of 1840 for him to enter the mission school at Pine Ridge near Doaksville, which was under the management of the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury[4] who but recently had arrived from the old Mayhew Mission in Mississippi. In the diary of this illustrious missionary is noted under date of December 14, 1840, his reference to the arrival of Allen Wright, "May he be a blessing to us and we to him." When he entered Pine Ridge school, Allen Wright neither could speak nor understand English. He remained with Reverend Kingsbury until May, 1844, when he entered Spencer Academy where he remained until February, 1848 when, with four others, he was chosen by the Choctaw Council to enter an eastern college in the States. He entered Delaware College at Newark, Delaware, in September, 1848. When this college was closed, he entered Union College at Schenectady, New York, in 1850, from which he graduated with an A. B. degree in July, 1852, and where he became a member of the Delta Phi fraternity. In September, 1852, he entered the Union Theological Seminary in New York City completing the theological course in May, 1855. At this time he was awarded the degree of Master of Arts and was the first Indian student from the Indian Territory to receive this degree. Immediately afterward he was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry and also became an honorary member of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. Upon completion of his scholastic training he returned to the Choctaw country and served as the principal instructor at Armstrong Academy during the years

[2] Miss Clough later married Noah Wall and lived at Mayhew, in what is today Bryan County, Oklahoma. Among her descendants is Mrs. T. J. Hogg, wife of the present (1941) state senator from Elk City, Oklahoma.

[3] Joseph Dukes was the father of Chief Gilbert Wesley Dukes of the Choctaws. For sketch, see *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. XVIII, pp. 53 *et seq.*

[4] Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury was born at Alstead, New Hampshire, on November 22, 1786. He came to Pine Ridge on February 25, 1836. He died on June 27, 1870, at Boggy Depot where he is buried.

1855-6. He was ordained to the ministry by the Indian Presbytery in 1856.

Our interest is to know of the inspirations which influenced the spiritual career of Allen Wright. In his early childhood he knew nothing of the Christian faith and at first was disposed toward skepticism. Responsive to the efforts of the Christian missionaries, his indifference was dissolved and in April, 1846, he united with the Presbyterian Church at Wheelock and contemplated a theological course which he later accomplished. He was an ardent student and emerged from his scholastic career, a character of culture and refinement. Portions of the Holy Writ became available to the Choctaws through his translations from Hebrew to the Choctaw language. The spiritual concerns of the Choctaws remained an engaging effort throughout his eventful life as he bore the gospel message to his people not in sermonizing words alone but also by his exemplary life. The Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury and Dr. Eliphalet Nott,[5] President of Union College at Schenectady, New York, left an inspiring impress upon the life of Allen Wright.

The young Allen Wright married Miss Harriet Newell Mitchell on February 11, 1857. She was a daughter of James Henry Mitchell of Mayflower Pilgrim ancestry and of Martha Skinner of Pennsylvania. Harriet Mitchell was born at Dayton, Ohio, on August 16, 1834. Her parents were of the Presbyterian faith and in 1855 she came to the Choctaw country as a mission teacher under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Missions. She was a lady of high Christian character and a remarkable coordinator with her distinguished husband in his religious efforts. She passed away at Atoka on December 25, 1894, and was buried at Boggy Depot.[6]

The political affairs of the Choctaw Nation were not solidified when Allen Wright became a member of the Choctaw Council in the fall of 1856 and undertook his eventful public career. From the days of emigration, the Choctaw government had been administered by three district chiefs and a legislative council composed of twenty-seven members. The district chiefs were also ex-officio members of the council, two of whom were invested with power to veto any legislative action. Efforts to unite the executive factions under a single head were finally realized by the adoption of a new constitution at Skullyville in January, 1857. This instrument abolished the offices of the district chiefs and centered all executive powers in the office of the Governor of the Choctaw Nation, and Boggy Depot became the temporary capital. This constitution was not submitted to the Choctaws for their expression and much dissatisfaction arose occasioned by a fear that too much centralization of executive power had been inaugurated. Allen Wright evidenced his opposition to the Skullyville consti-

[5] Dr. Eliphalet Nott was president of Union College from 1802 to 1866.

[6] "Boggy Depot" by Muriel H. Wright, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. V. pp. 4 *et seq.*

tution and materially aided in resolving a new constitution which was submitted by the Doaksville convention in January, 1860. This constitution which was submitted to and overwhelmingly approved by the Choctaw electorate vested the supreme executive power of the Choctaw Nation in "one Principal Chief, assisted by three subordinate District chiefs," one for each of the three districts into which the Nation was divided for governmental purposes. Three coordinate branches of government were created and with few amendments this organic instrument served the Choctaws throughout the remainder of their tribal organization. The capital was removed to Chata Tamaha (Armstrong Academy) by a constitutional amendment in 1863 where it remained for twenty years. In 1885, Allen Wright was one of a committee appointed by the Council which established the capital permanently at Tuskahomma.

In 1857, the Rev. Allen Wright was stationed at Mt. Pleasant in old Blue County from which he kept six regular preaching engagements. During his year as principal of Armstrong Academy, he entered into partnership with a white man by the name of Hammil from the States, in the operation of a good sized farm and cattle ranching business at Fairfield, within a few miles of the Academy. In May, 1858, when Hammil made a business trip to New Orleans, Wright moved his family to Fairfield and took charge of the farm and ranch, at the same time continuing his missionary labors and preaching engagements. After being stationed at Boggy Depot, he disposed of his interests at Fairfield and built his permanent home at the new location, operating a farm in connection therewith. Sometime later he continued his cattle ranching interests in what is today Coal County, Oklahoma, and also maintained a good sized farm where the present town of Wapanucka, Johnston County, Oklahoma, is located. The old home at Boggy Depot, Atoka County, is still standing, one of the few southern type, pre-war residences remaining in Oklahoma. He removed to Boggy Depot in 1859 where he assumed charge of the Presbyterian Church and all missions within a range of fifty miles. Boggy Depot remained his home during the remainder of his life and from this place he maintained his spiritual service until his death. It was also in 1861, that he served as a delegate from the Indian Territory, Synod of Arkansas, to the church conference at Augusta, Georgia, when the Southern Presbyterian Church was formed.

Allen Wright was first elected treasurer of the Choctaw Nation in 1859 which office he held until the election under the new constitution in August, 1860. His political leadership was evidenced further when he became a member of the lower house of the Choctaw Council in 1861. Earlier in this year, he had functioned as a Choctaw delegate to the intertribal conference with Gen. Albert Pike of North Fork, Creek Nation, where he became a signer of the treaty with the Confederacy, on June 12, 1861. With the

courage of his convictions, he enlisted in the Confederate Army as a private in Captain Wilkin's Company of Choctaw infantry on July 25, 1862, being transferred to Company F of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles on June 13, 1863. Allen Wright again was appointed treasurer of the Choctaw Nation in the fall of 1863 and reappointed in 1865. Upon the conclusion of the Civil War he was dispatched by Chief Pitchlyn as a delegate to the Ft. Smith conference with the United States commissioners where a preliminary treaty or armistice was signed. In October, 1865, he was appointed one of the five delegates from the Choctaw Nation to undertake a completion of the treaty negotiations at Washington. He was one of the principal negotiators and a signer of the treaty of April 28, 1866,[7] wherein all relationships between the Choctaw Nation and the United States government were amicably restored.

[8] The treaty of April 28, 1866, featured an adjustment of financial differences provoked by the Civil War. An assumption of payment by the General Government of annuities aggregating $1,500,000 which had been suspended in the war, together with confiscated bonds, school and general funds due the Choctaw Nation were given consideration in this treaty. The famous Net Proceeds claim approximating $2,500,000 according to the Senate award of 1859 also was considered. The inclusion of these details in the treaty and its subsequent ratification challenged the finesse of the Choctaw delegation. It is manifest that an outstanding service was rendered by Allen Wright and his associates although in later years much controversy arose. Amazing indictments of infidelity were hurled against Allen Wright but were without warrant. These defamations were launched for political purposes. The public service of Allen Wright during those negotiations as well as throughout his life was rendered sincerely, honestly and courageously for the welfare of his people. Time has emphasized his high character and sterling worth.

Each of the treaties of 1866 with the Five Tribes contained special provisions with reference to the ultimate creation of an intertribal council which it was hoped would result in a territorial regime for the Indian country, but it was only in the Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty of April 28, 1866, that the proposed territory was accorded the name "Oklahoma." It was upon the suggestion of Allen Wright that the name "Oklahoma" was employed. His explanation was that the word had its derivation from the Choctaw language, the word "Okla" meaning people and "humma" or "huma" meaning red. The phrase "Territory of Oklahoma" meant the Territory of Red People. The proposed territory did not materialize but from this incident the forty-sixth state derived its name in the galaxy of the Union.

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[7] Kappler, vol. II, pp 918 *et seq.*

[8] Book Review, by Muriel H. Wright, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. XIII, pp. 112 *et seq.*

Diplomatic engagements postponed the return of Allen Wright from Washington to the Choctaw country until the autumn of 1866. He was absent when the Choctaw electorate in August, of that year summoned him to the chief executiveship of the Nation. Shortly thereafter he returned home and with some reluctance assumed the obligations of office. He faced a highly disordered internal situation among his people. It was by the evolutionary processes of experience that the Choctaws had climaxed their form of self-government by the adoption of the Doaksville constitution in 1860. This instrument was designed for the administration of their civil affairs and such local police regulation as might be required. Little or no thought was given to military necessities, their tribal entity being guaranteed by the General Government. But with the advent of the new tribal government came the Civil War with their necessary involvment. The struggle assumed a major factor in both political and civil affairs of the Choctaws and the orderly processes of Tribal government designed to protect life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were more or less suspended. The first two chiefs under the new regime seemed unable to properly appraise a rapidly growing lawless condition and evidenced an unwillingness or inability to protect the lives and property of their citizenship from foes within as well as without. Chief Pitchlyn had spent the last year of his tenure in Washington. A depressing situation confronted Allen Wright when he took over the responsibilities of government. His administration was a struggle with public debt, moral and educational collapse, the freedman problem, the depredations of cattle thieves, the breakdown of law enforcement and other reconstruction problems which seemed insurmountable. The concluding words of his first message to the Choctaw Council delivered on November 17, 1866, are reflective of the high character of Allen Wright:

"Our people have suffered enough for the last few years past. Now let each one study to restore peace, harmony and good order, which were lost amidst confusion and war.

"No lawful means shall be spared me to study to effect the greatest good—especially or reestablishing and maintaining the schools for the education of our rising generation. To sustain and promote education cannot much longer be neglected without inflicting a lasting injury to ourselves and our posterity.

"Fellow citizens, rest assured that I will do what I can according to my constitutional obligations to promote every public measure and interest for the welfare of all. For I will not be a chief for any party nor district but for the people as a whole people. In enumerating these principles and future policy to be pursued, I would have to ask and humbly hope and rely upon the full cooperation of the Honorable Members of the General Council. For you have the power to do much in sustaining the administration, to promote the harmonious action of our government. Therefore what I say is to all. We must be a united people aiming to attain one grand and noble object, that is to be a happy and prosperous nation.

"In conclusion let me ask the indulgence and forbearance on the part of the people in the discharge of my duties as an executive officer. 'To err is human' and no man can boast of his wisdom to rule without com-

mitting some grievous errors. If I err in the administration of this Nation, which is very possible, it will be of the head and not of the heart.

"In undertaking this new position of trust, I do it with reliance upon God as my Guide, who I trust will guide me and give me wisdom in conducting the National affairs as He, as a Tower of Strength, has supported me in private life. And I will daily invoke his blessing upon your deliberations, upon the whole people as I do for myself."

Allen Wright was a capable, conscientious executive and in a patient, effective manner revived the morale of his people and restored the orderly processes of government. He was reelected in the fall of 1868 after a bitter campaign against him waged by the anti-treaty party. It was in this campaign that defamations were lodged against him in connection with the financial adjustments growing out of the treaty negotiations at Washington in 1866. The reelection of the chief manifestly vindicated and absolved him from those political charges.

Upon his retirement from public affairs in the fall of 1870, Allen Wright again devoted himself primarily to his ministerial and spiritual efforts for which he had long hoped. Except when absent from his post on official duties, he continued steadily at his work as a missionary preacher. A son wrote of him, "his life was one of continuous activity in the Master's work. * * * He was the very pillar of his Presbytery, punctual in attendance and thorough and efficient in every duty. His culture and courtliness, his fine social qualities and excellent good sense, won for him much consideration at Washington, whither he was called from time to time. * * * He was sound in doctrine, strong in faith and humble in his daily walk and conversation. * * * A firm trust in God that made him calm and patient under whatever stress of labor and trial, was a leading trait of his character."

He was persuaded to reenter the domain of tribal politics in 1876 when he made an unsuccessful race for the chieftainship and Coleman Cole was elected. He ever evidenced an abiding interest in the political affairs of his people. Sessions of the General Council usually saw him in attendance as a visitor, lending his knowledge and counsel in the matter of legislation, looking to the progress and development of the Choctaws as a people, many of the laws having been drafted and translated by him. From 1880 to 1884 he served as superintendent of the schools of the nation.

The high scholastic attainments of Allen Wright were evidenced by his translation of the laws of the Chickasaw Nation from English into the native language, in 1872. He became compiler and editor of a Choctaw dictionary for use in the tribal schools in 1883, and in 1883-4 completed his translations of the Psalms direct from the Hebrew into the Choctaw. He served as editor and translator of the *Indian Champion,* at Atoka, in 1885. In 1876 he was chosen one of the American delegates to the World's Presbyterian Assembly in Scotland but was unable to attend owing to the illness of his wife. In 1880, he again was selected as a delegate and attended

the assembly of the church which met in Philadelphia. He was elected president of the Union Theological College alumni in New York City in 1885. Allen Wright was a member of the masonic fraternity being a charter member of the first masonic lodge[9] formed after the Civil War within what is today the State of Oklahoma. He belonged to the Royal Arch Masons in Maryland where he united in 1866.

Allen Wright was a man of rare intellectual qualities and was preeminently the scholar of his tribe. He was a masterful executive and will ever adorn the pages of Choctaw history as one of its most distinguished leaders. He passed away December 2, 1885, at his home at Boggy Depot where he lies buried.[10]

Other sources of information anent Allen Wright are: *Leaders and Leading Men of the Indian Territory*, O'Bierne; *Standard History of Oklahoma* (1916), Thoburn; *History of Oklahoma and Its People*, Thoburn and Wright; *Delta Phi Centennial Catalogue*, 1927-8; *The Story of Oklahoma*, Muriel H. Wright; *Oklahoma Place Names*, Gould; *Oklahoma Imprints*, Carolyn Thomas Foreman; and *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, Debo.

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[9] The first Masonic lodge to be formed in what is today the State of Oklahoma was located at Boggy Depot, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Arkansas in October, 1869, and named Oklahoma Lodge, A. F. & A. M. by Rev. Allen Wright.

[10] The writer acknowledges indebtedness to Miss Muriel H. Wright, a granddaughter of Rev. Allen Wright, for much valuable assistance. Miss Wright is a writer of note and has been a generous contributor to *The Chronicles*.

NATHAN BOONE

Trapper, Manufacturer, Surveyor, Militiaman, Legislator, Ranger and Dragoon.

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The name of Boone is intimately associated with Kentucky and Missouri, but few citizens realize that it also looms large in the history of Oklahoma because of the service of Daniel's youngest son, Nathan Boone, in the celebrated Dragoons.

Daniel Boone and his wife, Rebecca Bryan Boone, were living at Boone's Station, now Cross Plains, Kentucky, when Nathan was born on March 2, 1780 or 1781; the lad was twelve when his father, cheated out of his Kentucky lands, removed with his family to the Kanawah Valley where he engaged in farming for over a year. Early in 1788 Daniel, accompanied by his wife and eight-year-old Nathan, spent a month visiting friends and relatives at the family home in Berks County, Pennsylvania. Several hundred miles of this journey were made on horseback with young Nathan clinging on behind his father.[1]

In September, 1799, Boone took his family to Missouri; Daniel went overland with the stock while his two sons, Daniel Morgan and Nathan, started down the Ohio with their mother in a pirogue. When they reached Limestone (now Maysville) Nathan procured a marriage license and returned seventy-five miles to Little Sandy where he was married on September 26 to Olive Van Bibber, the daughter of Peter Van Bibber, whose older daughter Chloe had married Nathan's brother Jesse. The bride, said to be the prettiest girl north of the Ohio River, was sixteen and her youthful husband eighteen when, with stout hearts, they started on their great adventure. They traveled by way of Lexington, Louisville and Vincennes to St. Louis, leaving Little Sandy on October first.[2]

"Without any company but my husband," said Olive, "I started to Missouri. We had two ponies and our packhorse." One of their ponies became crippled which detained them in Vincennes almost three weeks; they arrived in St. Louis the last of October and went to St. Charles County. The youthful couple crossed the Missouri River in a skiff which also carried all of their possessions; Nathan rowed the boat while Olive steered and by his bridle guided their swimming horse.[3]

They settled twenty miles above the town of St. Charles in the Femme Osage District. Boone's settlement was made by the

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[1] John Bakeless, *Daniel Boone*, New York, 1939, p. 333; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, New York and London, 1924, pp. 211-12.

[2] Hazel Atterbury Spraker (compiler), *The Boone Family*, Rutland, Vermont, 1922, p. 126. This writer cites the Draper Manuscripts, University of Wisconsin, 6 S 18-254; W. S. Bryan and Robert Rose, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri*, St. Louis, 1876, p. 7; Bakeless, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

[3] Spraker, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

sons and some friends of Daniel Boone, on a tract of land granted to him in 1794 by the Spanish governor, Don Zenon Trudeau; the plantations extended along Femme Osage Creek for several miles.[4] During 1802 Nathan Boone and William T. Lamme captured 900 beavers whose skins they sold at $2.50 each. Boone suffered a considerable loss when Indians found and looted a cache of one hundred pelts. The Indians were troublesome and Daniel and Nathan Boone were obliged twice with their families to race four miles in the night to the strong fort where Daniel Morgan Boone made his home to escape the ferocity of the savages.[5] During the first few years of the century Boone was employed by the government in making surveys of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren counties.[6]

During the autumn of 1804 Nathan Boone and Mathias Van Bibber went on a hunt, planning to go to the Kanzas; they proceeded up Grand River, trapping on the way to the source of the stream. After having trapped fifty-six beavers and twelve otters they were visited in their camp by twenty-two Osages who stole all the furs and three horses; the Indians warned them to clear out as another party of red men were hunting for them.[7]

Boone went among the Osages in the spring of 1805 in an attempt to recover his stolen property. He first visited the Big Osage town on Pomme de Terre Creek and from a trader there learned that it was the Little Osages who had robbed him and Van Bibber. When he went to the Little Osage town he was unable to recognize the thieves owing to their painted faces and changes of rude costume. White Hair, chief of all the tribe, sent some of his braves to get the horses belonging to the white men, but Boone recovered only two traps—the horses had been removed to a safe place before the messengers arrived.[8]

Part of the year 1806 was spent by Nathan and Daniel Morgan Boone with three other men in making salt. With forty salt kettles they left the Femme Osage settlement for what is now Howard County, Missouri. They remained all summer manufacturing salt, hence the place became known as Boone's Lick, although the Boones did not settle there. In the autumn they shipped their product to the settlements down the river in canoes constructed of hollow sycamore logs, with the ends closed by boards daubed with clay. At St. Louis the salt sold for $2 or $2.50 a bushel.

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[4] Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.) *Brackenridge's Journal up the Missouri*, 1811. Cleveland, 1904, vol. VI, p. 36, note 5.

[5] Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri*, Chicago, 1908, vol. 2, p. 93, n. 29; Bakeless, *op. cit.*, pp. 364, 387.

[6] C. L. Lucas, *The Milton Lott Tragedy and Other Stories of Early History . . . A Sketch of the Life of Col. Nathan Boone*, Madrid, Iowa, [n.d.], p. 12.

[7] Wisconsin Historical Society, Notes on Border History . . . Taken During a Trip to Missouri, from Sept. 22d to Dec. 31st, 1851, vol. ii, 1851. Lyman C. Draper, pp. 233-38.

[8] *Ibid;* Fur Trade in Missouri in 1805, see "Navigator," edn, 1814.

The following year Boone and his companions erected a new furnace, increased their kettles to sixty, making a hundred bushels a day, which required about 300 gallons of the spring water for a bushel of salt.[9] That same year Braxton Cooper settled at Hancock bottom in St. Charles County where he bought salt from Nathan, who described the Boone's Lick country to him.[10]

The Osage Indians, almost constantly at war with other tribes, were also attacking white traders; because of these disturbances a body of troops under Capt. Eli B. Clemson[11] ascended the Missouri River in the summer of 1808. He was followed by Gen. William Clark and Capt. Nathan Boone with a detachment of militia; Boone guided the force along the Boone's Lick road twenty miles westward from St. Charles, following the ridge between the Dardenne and Peruque.[12] The expedition arrived at Fire Prairie 300 miles above the mouth of the Missouri on September 4 where they erected Fort Osage, which remained the extreme western outpost of the United States for many years.

The Indians not coming in, Clarke despatched Captain Boone, with an interpreter, Paul Loise, to the Osage towns to inform the Indians of his location; that trade and protection would be extended to the part of the tribe which acted peaceably and to all who wished their friendship; to those who would give up plundered property and conform to the regulations of the United States. Captain Boone returned on the twelfth accompanied by seventy-five chiefs and head men of the Great and Little Osages, and reported that all the nation, except the band on the Arkansas and a party that had gone to St. Louis with part of the stolen horses, were marching to the site.[13] The chiefs of the tribe were White Hair of the Big Osages and Walk-in-the-Rain of the Little Osages.[14]

In 1851 Boone gave Dr. Lyman C. Draper further particulars concerning his negotiations with the Osages: " . . the Indians held a Council - - - & Boone and his interpreter were ordered out

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[9] *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri from* 1541 *to* 1877, St. Louis, 1879, p. 178; Houck, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 146; *History of Greene County, Missouri*, St. Louis, 1883, p. 623; Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, Cleveland, 1904, "Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America 1809-1811," vol. 5, p. 52, n. 24; Draper Manuscripts, p. 244.

[10] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, "Breckenridge's Journal up the Missouri, 1811," Cleveland, 1904, vol. 6, p. 48, n. 11.

[11] Eli B. Clemson of Pennsylvania who became a second lieutenant of the First Infantry March 3, 1799, reached the rank of captain March 4, 1807. He served as major in the same regiment and on March 9, 1814 was assigned as lieutenant colonel of the Sixteenth Infantry. Clemson was honorably discharged June 15, 1815, and died in 1845.

[12] Kate L. Gregg, Ph. D. (ed.), *Westward with the Dragoons the Journal of William Clark*, Fulton, Missouri, 1937, p. 46, n. 4.

[13] Clarke to Secretary of War, February 20, 1810; *American State Papers*, "Indian Affairs," vol. I, p. 765; Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, New Haven, 1930, p. 36.

[14] Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 35, n. 66.

of the Council, & treated rudely - - - said they had not sent for him. Boone said he would go when they gave him an answer whether they would go to the Fire Prairie (Fort Osage) to attend the treaty. They at length reluctantly agreed, White Hair favoring - - - and several hundred of them went and made a treaty."[15]

An interesting account of the Boone family published in 1818, shows the high esteem in which it was held: " . . . The family of col. [Daniel] Boone, consisting of his sons and daughters, with their wives and husbands, live near each other and form a most interesting group . . . the sons are described to us as well bred gentlemen, distinguished by some of those grand features of mind which are so often found in our native sons of the forest. They own a fine estate in land granted to the individuals of the family by the crown of Spain. They are eminently useful to strangers who explore the lands on the Missouri and Osage, and the hospitality of every branch of this family is the theme of every traveler who extends his journeys to the neighborhood of their settlement."[16]

The Indians north of the Missouri River became so troublesome to the pioneer settlers that Governor Benjamin Howard of Louisiana Territory ordered Capt. Timothy Kibby of St. Charles to call out the militia; the governor also visited that settlement to organize a company of rangers made up of daring woodsmen, who were to patrol the territory between Salt River and the Missouri near Loutre Island. Nathan Boone was one of this body of hardy men who scouted in the region. He and his brother Daniel Morgan Boone were noted leaders in organization of the militia.[17] The Rangers were enlisted for the term from March 3, 1812, to June 3, but the organization was continued to June 7, 1812, by the order of his excellency.

On August 15, 1813, Captain Boone with seventeen men reconnoitred and selected a route for the army to advance against the Indian towns near Peoria. The detail started from Cap au Gris, Lincoln County, Missouri, forty miles northwest of St. Louis; crossed the Mississippi and the second day encamped between it and the Illinois River. There were no signs of Indians at the time, but about midnight the sentinels discovered the savages trying to surround the camp, which was located in a woods on a small branch. Boone ordered the men away from the camp fire, doubled the sentinels and directed the soldiers to take to the trees. When a sentinel and an Indian fired at the same time the fight became general; the Red Men rushed upon the camp but the whites escaped to the opposite side of the stream where Boone ordered them to retreat. He wheeled and ran from the tree behind which he had

[15] Wisconsin Historical Society, *Draper's Notes*, Vol. 6, Trip 1851, II, p. 290.
[16] *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), December 26, 1818, p. 328, copied from *Pittsburgh Gazette*.
[17] Houck, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 102; Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

been posted, but on the first or second jump one of his feet went into a sink hole causing him to fall. This probably saved his life, as the Indians fired at him at that instant. "He recovered and ran some sixty steps, 'treed' and ordered his men to rally and take to the trees . . ." The firing had caused the horses to run away; Boone ordered them pursued but only half of them were taken, after which the detail returned to Cap au Gris. It was later learned there were from sixty to eighty Sauks and Foxes in this fight; they had followed Boone and his men thirty or forty miles before attacking.[18]

In September, 1813, Gen. Benjamin Howard[19] with a large force of men left Portage des Sioux above St. Louis on an expedition against the Illinois Indians. When the troops reached Fort Mason they swam the Mississippi to join the Illinois troops. The army marched up the Mississippi bottoms to a point above Quincy, whence it crossed the country to Peoria to encamp for several weeks near the lake. General Howard ordered Boone with 100 men to march to Rock River in search of Indians. This campaign is said to have been largely responsible for checking Indian aggressions.[20]

The troops returned the latter part of October; there was snow on the ground and the men suffered greatly, as their shoes were worn out and they had been obliged to make hide shoes or wind strips of hide around their feet.[21]

According to "Aunt Mary" Hosman, the youngest child of Nathan Boone, her father surveyed the Boone's Lick Road in 1814; this, the first state highway in Missouri, ran from St. Charles to Old Franklin. It was the forerunner of the Santa Fe Trail and the old Oregon Trail.[22]

President Madison, in March, 1812, signed Nathan Boone's commission as a captain of the Missouri Rangers, organized to keep the Indians quiet on the frontier. On December 10, 1813, Boone became a major in the regiment and was honorably discharged in June, 1815. The succeeding years he spent in improving his farm, on which he built a large two-story stone house where his celebrated father lived with him for some time before moving to La Charette where he died September 26, 1820.[23]

Among old records in St. Charles, Missouri, is one dated November 4, 1819, setting forth that Louis Taylor and Loise Taylor, his wife, for $1025.31 sold to

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[18] Houck, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 112, 113.

[19] Benjamin Howard, born in Virginia, was appointed to the army from Louisiana. He became a brigadier general March 12, 1813; died September 18, 1814.

[20] Houck, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 113. This account was taken from *Reynold's Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 343.

[21] *Wisconsin State Historical Society Collections* (1855), "Shaw's Narrative" by Col. John Shaw, vol. 2, pp. 211, 12.

[22] A. J. Young (ed.), *History of Dade County and her People*, Greenfield, Missouri, 1917, pp. 42, 43.

[23] Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Washington, 1903, vol. I, p. 230; *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, Mo., "Daniel Boone," by Floyd C. Shoemaker, vol. 21, no. 2, p. 212.

Nathan Boone's the ½ of the Ile or Square of ground on which Taylor now lives, 150 ft. front on 2nd St. by 300 ft. to the 3rd St. including the old horse mill.

The convention to frame a constitution under which Missouri was admitted to the Union met in St. Louis June 12, 1820; Nathan Boone, a delegate from St. Charles County, took a prominent part in this meeting. A committee composed of Duff Green, William T. Rector and Boone had charge of the convention's printing, to which all bids were to be submitted. Boone tried to have the temporary capital of the state located at St. Charles instead of St. Louis but his efforts failed.[24]

The year 1832 was an active one for Nathan Boone; In June he was reported in Iowa, where he commenced the survey of the southern boundary of the neutral ground on June 19 from the mouth of the Upper Iowa to two miles west of Painted Rock, where he set a two-mile post; he quit work there because of the hostility of the Indians.[25]

James Craig reported to Secretary Cass from St. Louis, December 14, 1833, that he had recently returned from making a survey, part of which consisted in running the line on the high ground separating the waters of the Des Moines from those falling into the Missouri and continuing up these grounds one hundred and fifty miles to the small lake forming the source of the Boya River in north latitude 42° 20′. "From this point I run and corrected a line 47 miles and 62 chains, to the upper forks of the Des Moines river, where Major Boone established his corner last season. . . "[26]

Endorsed by the people of St. Charles, Boone became a captain of the Mounted Rangers June 16, 1832; with Gen. Henry Atkinson and Col. Zachary Taylor he crossed the Wisconsin River in pursuit of Indians under Black Hawk; he also rendered valiant service at the head of his company at the Battle of Bad Axe where Black Hawk was defeated and captured.[27]

During the Black Hawk War a raid was made upon the Ramsey family who lived on the Femme Osage about six miles above Nathan Boone's home in St. Charles County; Boone with other settlers went to the place where they found the five year old son of the Ramseys at the point of death; he was still breathing and when he

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[24] Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, A. B., A. M., *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood* 1804-1821, Jefferson City, 1916, pp. 135, n. 1; pp. 171, 196, n. 9.

[25] *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, "Iowa Under Territorial Government and the Removal of the Indians" by Col. Alonzo Abernathy, vol. 7, no. 6, p. 438.

[26] *Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of the Indians* (Document 512), Washington, 1835, vol. 4, pp. 757-58.

[27] Adjutant General's Office, Old Records, McComb to Cass, Sept. 13, 1832; Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 230; *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, October 20, 1927, "Wisconsin Historical Landmarks" by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Appendix pp. 90, 91; Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor*, Indianapolis and New York, 1941, p. 91. On August 2, 1832, Nathan Boone and Olive his wife, of St. Charles County, sold to William Cashon a tract of 258 acres in Femme Osage Bottom for $1032.00.

saw his father he said: "Daddy, the Indians did scalp me" just before he expired.[28]

In command of a company of rangers Captain Boone arrived at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, November 22, 1832; his company and that of Capt. Lemuel Ford were encamped during the winter of 1832-33 one and a half miles below Fort Gibson, on the opposite side of the river; the place was called Camp Arbuckle. While at Fort Gibson Boone was employed by the commissioners to survey the boundary between the Creek and Cherokee nations during twenty-five days in March and April, 1833.[29]

For this service from October 1, 1832, to September 30, 1833, Captain Boone received $600 in pay; for subsistence he was allowed $292.00; for forage $192.00; servant's pay $60.93; servant's subsistence $66.80 and servant's clothing $27.50. From October 1, 1833, to September 30, 1834, fifty dollars was added to the Captain's pay; he was given $96 more for forage and a substantial raise for his servant's pay, food and clothing.

For "transportation from Fort Gibson to Jefferson Barracks, in October, 1833, 510 miles; from St. Louis to Franklin, Missouri, 165 miles; thence to St. Charles, 145 miles; thence to Franklin, 145 miles; thence to Independence, 108 miles; thence to Franklin, 108 miles, in December, 1833, and January, 1834: 1,181 miles," Captain Boone was allowed $141.72. While recruiting at Franklin, Missouri, from October 15, 1833, to April 29, 1834, he was reimbursed $61.24[30]

Congress having decided a mounted force was necessary to meet the wild Indians on equal terms, passed a bill March 2, 1833, to raise a regiment of dragoons. Officers were selected from the infantry and mounted rangers; Henry Dodge became the colonel, Stephen W. Kearny lieutenant colonel, Richard B. Mason a major. Boone was a captain, his rank dating from August 15, 1833. The officers were instructed to commence recruiting immediately; soldiers were limited to men between twenty and thirty-five years of age; "Native citizens who, from previous habits, were well qualified for mounted service."[31]

On May 6, 1833, Colonel Matthew Arbuckle at Fort Gibson ordered out a force of rangers and two companies of the Seventh Infantry to scour the territory between the North Fork of the Canadian and Red River in order to drive to the west, Wichita and Comanche Indians; Lieut. Col. James B. Many was in command

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[28] Houck, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[29] Adjutant General's Office, Old Files, Arbuckle to Jones, Nov. 24, 1832; Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, Cleveland, 1926, p. 59, n. 78; *ibid.*, *Advancing the Frontier*, Norman, 1933, p. 40; Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America*, New York, 1835, vol. I, p. 189; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, "Captain Nathan Boone's Survey Creek-Cherokee Boundary Line" Introduction by Grant Foreman, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 356-65; *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 102.

[30] *American State Papers*, "Military Affairs," vol. 6, p. 245.

[31] P. St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army*, Philadelphia, 1857, p. 219.

of the expedition, while the rangers were led by captains Boone, Jesse Bean and Ford. Arbuckle directed Colonel Many to keep a journal and Boone to make a survey of the march.[32]

The command departed from Fort Gibson May 7 and on June 2 when approaching Red River, George B. Abbay of Boone's company was carried off by a band of Indians, estimated by Captain Boone at one hundred fifty to two hundred savages. The troops spent twelve days in pursuit but were forced to abandon hope of recovering Abbay when their food gave out near where Fort Sill was later established. The soldiers, weary and ill, arrived at Fort Gibson early in July.[33]

Captain Boone advertised in the *Jefferson Republican,* City of Jefferson, October 26, 1833, under the head lines "Franklin & Palmyra, U. S. Recruiting Rendezvous for Dragoons", as follows: "The undersigned being anxious to make up his Company of the United States Dragoons, *entirely* from the State of Missouri, gives notice to the enterprising and able bodied citizens of Missouri, who may be disposed to enlist in the new Regiment, now about to be organized, 'for the more perfect defence of the frontier' that they can have an opportunity of doing so, by applying to the under signed at Franklin, Howard County, Mo. or to Lieut. James W. Shaumburgh, in Palmyra." Boone refused to enroll anyone whose character for honesty and integrity was not well established or whose life had been noted for loose or disorderly actions. None such need apply, he said.

"The term of service is fixed by law at three years. All necessary expenses, such as clothing, food, horses, forage and medical attendance, will be furnished by the Government; in addition to which the following rates of pay will be allowed to the Dragoons, viz: Private $8 per month. $288 for 3 years." This notice was signed Nathan Boone, Capt. U. S. Dragoons, St. Louis, Oct. 10, 1833.

According to an observer: "The First Dragoons was the finest body of men I ever saw! Their uniforms were black jackets, with straight hat, from which waved long and beautiful black plumes." The horses provided by the government were the best that could be bought and each company had animals of a uniform color,[34] but differing from those of other companies.

Col. Henry Dodge who followed Boone to Fort Gibson wrote to the adjutant general, February 2, 1834, of his disappointment at

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[32] Adjutant General's Office, A. 1833. Arbuckle to Many, May 6, 1833; Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson A Brief History,* Norman, 1936, p. 21; *American Indian* (Tulsa, Oklahoma), "Expedition of 1833" by Roy Benedict, June, 1928, p. 9; *ibid.,* Editorial on "The Kiowa Country," December, 1928, p. 4.

[33] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest,* Cleveland, 1926, pp. 104-06. Abbay, orderly sergeant, had enlisted for one year. He was a native of Missouri, the son of J. Abbay of Mount Paraira, Ralls County (Foreman, *op. cit.,* p. 106; *History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, Missouri,* St. Louis, 1885, p. 163).

[34] Thomas Kearny, *General Philip Kearny,* New York, 1937, p. 45.

conditions at the post but he spoke of Captain Boone in high terms and asked that he be placed in command of one of the companies of dragoons. He wrote, "Captain Boone is a first rate officer for the woods service. He commanded a company of U. S. Rangers under my command in 1812. He is a good woodsman and would be valuable on an expedition and has good knowledge of the southwestern frontier."[35]

Nathan Boone was in command of Company H when the First Dragoons, under Colonel Dodge, marched from Fort Gibson in 1834 to the frontier west of Arkansas to impress the Pawnee Pict and Comanche Indians with the power of the United States. The infantry had not been able to cope with the mounted Indians and it was thought the dragoons, who had been especially recruited for the purpose, would handle them better.

No treaties had ever been negotiated with these wandering tribes who were a constant menace to white hunters and traders. The principal object of the expedition was to meet the chiefs of the two tribes in council. When the order to march was given on June 15 five hundred men in nine companies started on one of the most trying undertakings in the annals of the army. The dragoons were ferried across the Washita on July 4 whence they continued their march to the west. The following day when a number of buffalo were seen in the distance several hunting parties were organized to go after them. Captain Boone had charge of a group of six; he took his way through a dense thicket of briers, seemingly impassable, to find two of the beasts that had been killed the night before by some of the Indians accompanying the regiment. The party returned with as much of the meat as they could carry and joined the dragoons already on the march.[36]

Several months later a party of officers were discussing a stampede of many of the regimental horses, picketed for the night, by a stream of buffaloes on their way north. "Boone . . . a quiet unimpulsive, truthful man, like his father, Daniel, whom he is said to have much resembled, studied the matter carefully, and gave us these data for an estimate of the number: 'They were excited, and traveled at the rate of four miles per hour continuously, the stream was a half-mile wide, and it flowed steadily for twenty-four hours. Allowing a square rod to each animal, more than ample, you can make your own calculation as to the number. I make it over ten millions . . . and I believe there were many more.' "[37]

All through July the dragoons pushed on through the prostrating heat; early in the month Dodge had been obliged to divide his men and leave eighty-six of them at a sick camp, called Camp

[35] Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[36] Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley*, Iowa City, Iowa, 1917, pp. 34, 35; *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains* . . . by a Dragoon (J. Hildreth), New York, 1836, p. 149.

[37] *The Iowa Historical Record* (Iowa City), October, 1890, "Early Explorations in Iowa" by Albert Miller Lea, p. 536.

Leavenworth, because of illness. Food was also a problem which caused anxiety to the commander; on July 19 it was said the men had not had a bite of bread for a month. They marched too fast to have much time for hunting and the small amount of game killed was divided with great care.

When the regiment arrived at the Toyash village after five weeks of marching Colonel Dodge encamped about a mile away; the weary soldiers were soon feasting on corn, beans, watermelons and wild plums brought by the Indians, who were glad to exchange dried meat and corn for tobacco, knives, vermilion and garments.

Colonel Dodge opened the grand council July 22 after bands of Comanches, Pawnee Picts, Wacos and Kiowas arrived; he explained that they had come, not as enemies, but as friends to represent "the great American captain" who wished them to go to Washington to make a treaty. At a later meeting not less than two thousand armed and mounted warriors were present when Colonel Dodge gave assurances of friendship and brought the meeting to a happy termination by returning to her relatives a Kiowa girl brought from Fort Gibson.

The return march was commenced July 25; the troops were accompanied by Kiowa, Comanche, Pawnee and Waco Indians, who amused the soldiers with their wild songs. The jaded command arrived at Fort Gibson August 15, 1834, and nine days later Colonel Kearny returned with his body of weary dragoons and worn horses. Colonel Dodge wrote to George W. Jones: "Perhaps there never has been in America a campaign that operated More Severely on Men & Horses. The excessive Heat of the Sun exceeded any thing I ever experienced . . . "[38]

An order of May, 1834, from the war department had directed Colonel Kearny to march with three companies of dragoons from Fort Gibson to take up winter quarters on the right bank of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Des Moines River; this force was made up of companies B, under Capt. Edwin V. Sumner, H under Captain Boone, and I commanded by Capt. Jesse B. Browne. With only a short time given for rest after their strenuous trip to the West these dragoons set out in September 3 for Iowa "where they are to be Wintered in the Sac Country."[39]

After leaving Fort Gibson Captain Browne and some of the men became ill and the Captain was unable to proceed. The troops passed Union Mission where several Osage families were living on game, fish and a few vegetables which they raised in patches. About twenty miles a day were made by the force; the Missouri River was crossed on September 19 at Booneville and their station was reached six days later.

Colonel Kearny was greatly disgruntled on arrival to find that

[38] Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40, 44-47.

[39] *Military Order Book*, letter from Dodge to Major General Gaines, dated Fort Gibson, September 7, 1834 (Pelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 249, n. 73).

quarters for his officers and men were not ready and not a log had been laid for stables for the horses. The troops were sheltered in tents while Quartermaster Crossman and the soldiers built willow log huts for three companies around three sides of a square; the fourth side was partly closed by a snug house for Kearny, Sumner and Boone. The latter was described by Lieutenant Lea as a "good and honest man, a brave and skillful frontiersman and Indian fighter, but was inexperienced in the duties of a dragoon officer in garrison." This post, called Fort Des Moines (I), Michigan Territory, is now the site of Montrose, Iowa. The winter of 1834-35 was a bitter one for the troops recently serving in the south. Officers and men suffered because of poor quarters and meager supplies.[40]

Colonel Kearny was ordered in the spring of 1835, with three companies, to proceed up the Des Moines River to the Raccoon Fork, in search of a location for a new military post; from thence the force was to advance to the Sioux villages near the highlands of the Mississippi and return in a westward direction to Fort Des Moines (I). The territory through which the dragoons had marched was occupied by Sioux, elk and buffalo. The dragoons arrived at the fort after an absence of more than ten weeks with the proud record of not having lost a man, horse, tool or wagon.[41]

The route they had followed lay along the divide between the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers; they found the ground very soft from excessive rains but strawberries were so abundant as to make the whole track red for miles together. . ." Captain Boone was attacked in the upper Des Moines valley by a band of Sioux outnumbering his soldiers three to one. The fight lasted from the middle of the afternoon to dark, when Boone and his force eluded the savages and marched south.[42]

News of the death of Lieut. James F. Izard of the dragoons, in Florida, March 5, 1836, brought sorrow to army posts all over the country, as he was greatly admired and loved in the service. A meeting was held at far away Fort Des Moines on April 29, 1836, at which resolutions of respect were adopted and signed by Col. S. W. Kearny and Captain Boone.[43]

From Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien), Wisconsin, a report was sent to Washington June 15, 1836, that trouble was brewing in the north among the savages and troops were being moved as a consequence. A detachment under the command of Captain Sumner, senior officer at Fort Des Moines, made up of two companies of dragoons under captains Boone and Browne, left the post on June 5 and 6, via Chicago for Green Bay to visit the Winnebagoes.

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[40] *The Iowa Historical Record* (Iowa City), October 1890, "Early Explorations in Iowa" by Albert Miller Lea, pp. 542, 546; Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-52.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 59; *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, Third Series, "Historical Sketches—Northwestern Iowa," by Maj. William Williams, vol. I, no. I, p. 132.

[42] Albert Miller Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 547; Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[43] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, May 19, 1836, pp. 316-17.

The troops and horses were said to be in fine condition. A later report was that these dragoons went to Green Bay to be present at the execution of the Indian murderers of Mr. Burnett.[44] A Menominee Indian confined at Fort Howard (Green Bay) at that time was to be tried on June 12 "for the murder of a Mr. Bennett, the surveyor. There is little doubt of his execution and this may be laid hold of by the Menominee Indians for the commencement of operations, when they will be sustained by their allies the Winnebagoes."

The expected uprising did not occur; General Brady visited all of the military posts on the northern lakes and reported that there was not the slightest foundation for reports of hostile intentions by the Indians.[45]

Dodge resigned as colonel of the First Dragoons July 4, 1836, to become governor of Wisconsin. Settlement had increased so materially in the country that another cession of lands was demanded of the Sauk and Foxes in the Iowa country, then a part of Wisconsin Territory. On September 16, at Davenport, Governor Dodge signed a treaty with these Indians, in the presence of Captain Boone and Lieutenant Lea, by which the red men were to move farther to the west.[46]

Part of the dragoons were sent to the north through Illinois and to portions of Wisconsin, leaving only a feeble garrison at Fort Des Moines under the command of Col. Richard B. Mason, who was ordered to abandon the position on June 1, 1837; the remnants of company H, under Boone and company I departed for Leavenworth.

During the three years Boone was stationed in Iowa he explored much of the unknown territory. When Lieut. Albert Miller Lea[47]

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[44] *Ibid.*, July 7, 1836, p. 12, col. 2, copied from the *Missouri Republican;* July 28, 1836, p. 61, col. 2, from the *Chicago American.* Probably Ellsworth Burnett, who was killed in November, 1835 (*Wisconsin Historical Collections,* vol. 6, pp. 137, 477).

[45] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* July 21, 1836, p. 43, col. 2; *Ibid.*, August 4, 1836, p. 77, col. 1.

[46] Henry Putney Beers, *The Western Military Frontier,* 1815-1846, Philadelphia, 1935, p. 120.

[47] Albert Miller Lea, a native of Tennessee, was appointed to the Military Academy July 1, 1827. He served in the artillery and the Seventh Infantry before being transferred to the Dragoons March 4, 1833. He resigned from the army in May, 1836, to become chief engineer of his native state. He was U. S. commissioner to determine the boundary between Missouri and Iowa in 1838. From 1839 to 1840 he served as assistant engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The next year he was chief clerk of the War Department and later became professor at East Tennessee University. He was chief engineer of the Arkansas Railroad Company in Texas, and of the Rio Grande, Mexico, and the Pacific Railroad Company in Mexico from 1857-60. During the Civil War he served as lieutenant colonel of engineers in the Confederate Army and died January 17, 1891 (Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 621; George W. Cullom, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the Military Academy,* New York, 1868, vol. I, pp. 380-81). The town of Albert Lea, Minnesota, was named for Lea.

of the Dragoons was writing his report on explorations to determine the site for Fort Des Moines (2) he was ably assisted by Captain Boone who furnished valuable data for his map of Iowa.[48]

". . . it occurred to me that I could get an outline of the region between the Mississippi and Missouri, and by filling it in with my sketches . . . I could make a map that would interest the public, gain me some reputation and perhaps a little money. By the aid of Capt. Boone my success in getting the data was beyond expectation. A well-filled map, 24x30 inches, was soon made . . . I named it 'Map of Iowa District of Wisconsin Territory.' "[49]

Gen. J. C. Parrott, who as a young man served as sergeant of Company I of the Dragoons, in a description of Nathan Boone said: He "much resembled his father in taste and habit. He was at that time past middle life . . . one of the most celebrated woodsmen on the frontier, though a rather ordinary looking man, small of stature, and with little of the military about him. He was much loved by his men to whom he was friend and father. When horses were lost it was always Captain Boone who attended to the details of finding them." General Parrott saw him many times carefully adjust his glasses, dismount his horse, get down on his knees to examine the ground for a trail.[50]

Boone saw hard service in Iowa where he suffered danger and hardships, but his name has been preserved by appreciative citizens who named a river and a county of the state for him.[51]

Projects for the defense of the frontier were much in the public notice; they included the survey of a military road from the Mississippi to Red River, sites for military posts, removal of Fort Gibson to a position on the Arkansas. A commission consisting of Colonel Kearny, Maj. T. F. Smith and Captain Boone was appointed. These officers went to the frontier from St. Louis and after an examination reported on December 11 recommending that Fort Gibson be retained as the position was too important to be abandoned. For the future Fort Coffee they selected a beautiful site on bluffs overlooking the Arkansas. This was the only work accomplished by the commission, since the examination had commenced so late in the season, but it was renewed the next year.[52]

In a very early day Nathan Boone explored Southwest Missouri, being one of the first white men to traverse that part of the state. He was so pleased with the country that he selected a tract

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[48] Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 23, n. 19; Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 11; *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, Third Series, "Whence Came the Pioneers of Iowa" by F. I. Herriott, vol. 7, no. 6, p. 452.

[49] *The Iowa Historical Record* (Iowa City), October, 1890, "Early Explorations in Iowa" by Albert Miller Lea, p. 550.

[50] *Annals of Iowa*, "Reminiscenses of Gen. James C. Parrott" [Keokuk, Iowa], by Mary R. Whitcomb, vol. 3, nos. 5-6, pp. 369-70.

[51] *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 103-04.

[52] Beers, *op. cit.*, p. 121; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, October 27, 1836, p. 268, col. 1; *ibid.*, January 12, 1837, p. 32, col. 1.

in the west part of the present Greene County and sent his son Howard to take out preemption rights. This land was in the heart of Ash Grove, a large tract covered with walnut and ash timber. In 1837 Captain Boone took his family and slaves to his land two miles north of Ash Grove, where they made their home, although it was years later that they were joined by their husband and father.

Boone and his wife were the parents of fourteen children. His sons were James, John Coburn, Benjamin Howard. James is said to have been the first male white child born in Missouri, west of St. Charles County. Boone's daughters were considered the belles of the county. They were Delinda Boone Craig, Jemima Boone Zumalt, Susan Boone Van Bibber, Nancy Boone, Olive Boone Anthony, Levica Boone Caufield, Melcina Boone Frazier, Mary Boone Hosman, Sarah Boone Wright, Mahala Boone Printy and Mela Boone.[53]

In 1837 Capt. Charles Dimmock was appointed by the War Department as U. S. civil engineer for the location and construction of a military road from posts on the upper Mississippi to those on Red River. He departed from his home in Fredericksburg, Virginia, to join the commissioners appointed by congress, who were to decide upon the route. A letter from Fort Leavenworth reported that Colonel Kearny, Captain Boone, Lieutenants Kearny and Thompson of the civil engineers with Captain Dimmock and Mr. Minor, left Fort Leavenworth September 5, 1837, to make a reconnaissance for this military road to Fort Gibson.[54]

During 1837 intruding Osages created many disturbances in western Missouri; Gov. Lilburn W. Boggs called out state troops, who drove the Indians across the line. In spite of this the Osages returned in the spring of 1838. Two white men were killed and several Indians killed and wounded; two companies of dragoons sent to the scene were joined by Major Wharton and Captain Boone. Such affairs proved the necessity of having military posts closer together.

The line of the western frontier was divided into four sections which were assigned to various officers for survey; the northern section, extending from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Snelling, was surveyed by Captain Boone and Captain Augustus Canfield of the Topographical Engineers. When Camp Kearny, near Davenport, Iowa, was abandoned the Pottawatomies were left to the mercy of the Sioux who made raids on them. It was planned to establish a fort there and Colonel Kearny, Captain Boone and a detachment of dragoons, in the spring of 1838, after examining the area, selected

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[53] Spraker, *op. cit.*, p. 128; *History of Greene County, Missouri,* St. Louis, 1883, pp. 149-50.

[54] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* August 10, 1837, p. 89, col. 2; September 7, 1837, p. 158, col. 2; October 26, 1837, p. 264, col. 1; Thomas Kearny, *General Philip Kearny,* New York, 1937, p. 44.

a site near the mouth of Table Creek. The officers reported to the Quartermaster General April 25, but the Indians were left unprotected until their removal.[55]

The original site of Fort Wayne in the Cherokee Nation proving a most unhealthful location, the garrison was removed in the autumn of 1839 to a site near Spavinaw Creek, across the line from Maysville, Arkansas. Captain Boone was commandant of the post where the troops were quartered in tents until log cabins were built defended by three blockhouses.

Excelling as a woodsman, Captain Boone was always in demand when an expedition into the wilderness was projected. It had become the custom to send out troops for a reconnaissance along the frontier during the months when the grass would sustain the horses. It was deemed a wise policy to keep watch on Indians who were in the habit of depredating on white settlers or committing outrages on other tribes. Reports were received of a bad disposition among the Otoes; this was manifested particularly against government employes living among them. As a precaution, Colonel Kearny in command of two squadrons of dragoons under Captain Boone and Capt. James Allen, proceeded from Fort Leavenworth September 5, 1839, to investigate.

The old Council Bluffs road on the south side of the Missouri River was followed by easy marches across a beautiful country. At times it was necessary to cut down the high banks of streams to allow passage of the wagons and frequently they were obliged to head hollows where marshy bottoms prevented a foothold for horses.

Among the streams crossed were Wolfe River, the Great and Little Nemashaw, Table Creek and L'eau qui pleut before they arrived on the banks of the Great Platte. Fortunately the water was low so that the horses could ford, but quicksand made it impossible to send the wagons across. This gave an excellent opportunity to use Captain Lane's rubber boat which would transport 1500 pounds.

Through Agent Hamilton the Otoes were called into council on September 16. After a long delay the Indians came into camp in great numbers. Having passed the ring of sentinels, about twenty of the head men dismounted and approached, but the commanding officer refused to confer with them as long as they were armed. When they had laid aside their weapons Colonel Kearny told them that he had come among them as a consequence of reports of their misconduct. He did not wish to punish the whole nation because of the bad actions of a few of their people. Kanzas Tunga, Waronisa, Le Voleur and other leading men replied that some of their young men had acted badly, but they were unable to restrain them. Le Voleur and Waronisa offered to give themselves up for punishment in place of the youths.

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[55] Beers, *op. cit.*, p. 124, 131-32 .

Colonel Kearny, after consideration, agreed to turn the prisoners over to Agent Hamilton who promised to be answerable for their good conduct. The Otoes had been greatly alarmed, thinking it was the intention to kill the men and that was their reason for appearing at the council armed for conflict.

After swimming the Missouri on the 17th the command made camp at a Potawatomie village where a council was held the next day with dozens of the chiefs participating. Here, Kearny informed the Indians that the government wished them to enter into a new treaty providing for the exchange of their lands for other territory south of the Missouri. He told them of the advantage for them to live on land under the government of the United States instead of under state laws, and advised them to go with their agent to examine the lands offered them. After this council was finished the troops headed south, arriving at Fort Leavenworth September 25, 1839.[56]

In the late autumn of 1839 Kearny was called upon to move his force of 250 dragoons from Leavenworth to Fort Wayne because of General Arbuckle's fear of serious trouble among the Cherokees arising out of the murder of the Ridges and Boudinot. When the force reached Fort Wayne Kearny learned that the rumors of an uprising were without foundation. The dragoons remained three days at Fort Wayne while Kearny corresponded with General Arbuckle at Fort Gibson, distant sixty miles by express. The return trip was made in nine days, the force arriving at Fort Leavenworth November 20 after marching almost three hundred miles.[57] This is said to have been the largest mounted force of regular troops to make an expedition in the United States up to that date. The men and horses returned to their station in fine condition in spite of the long marches within the space of twenty-four days.[58]

Kearny's threats were ignored by the Otoes who committed bold acts of hostility by crossing the Missouri in February, 1840. They entered dwellings to demand food and whisky; killed cattle and other stock; waylaid a white man whom they stripped and threatened to kill until he promised to give them liquor if they would spare his life. The young men had been beyond control of the chiefs since the murder of Iotan in April, 1837.[59]

Once more Boone was sent among hostile Indians; with two companies of dragoons he left Fort Leavenworth on March 25, 1840, for the Nishabotna River in Missouri to expel the Otoes who had

[56] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, October 31, 1839, pp. 285-86; Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85; Beers, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[57] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, December 12, 1839, p. 381, cols. 1, 2.

[58] *Ibid.*; Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth*, Fort Leavenworth, 1926, p. 69.

[59] Iotan, also called L'Ietan or Shaumonekusse, an Oto half-chief, rose by his own merits as a daring and successful warrior to the position of chief without any hereditary claims to the office. (Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, Edinburgh, 1933, col. 1, pp. 156-64).

been committing the depredations. Boone ordered the Indians out of the state and warned them not to return.[60] As the Iowas were also creating disturbances at that time it was a good time to have Boone and his force in the vicinity.

After Gov. Pierce M. Butler located the Cherokee Agency at Fort Gibson he was informed that the officers objected to Indians about the garrison and was asked to remove the agency off the reservation. He got Captain Boone to survey a section of land south of the post, which included the dragoon quarters, and there he established his agency. When Gov. Montford Stokes died November 4, 1842, his body was interred at Fort Gibson with full military honors due this veteran of the Revolution. Captain Boone's company of dragoons formed the escort, although all of the troops at the garrison were turned out.[61]

Gen. Zachary Taylor, commanding the Second Military Department, wrote Adjutant General Roger Jones in the spring of 1843 that instructions had been given Colonel Davenport to prepare an expedition of dragoons under Captain Boone to make a reconnaissance near the western boundary. The force was to be made up of five officers and nearly one hundred men, who were to march from Fort Gibson to afford protection to Santa Fe traders. Boone was instructed to remain on the left bank of the Arkansas River to the crossing of the Santa Fe Trace; he was ordered to remain there several days to communicate with the traders, after which he was to strike south to the Canadian or Red River, learning if possible the exact location of the Great Salt Plains. Lieut. Abraham Robinson Johnston of the dragoons, at his own request, was to accompany Boone with all of the mounted men of his company. On the return trip Johnston would separate from the main body, fall back on Red River where his company was to be stationed. The General anticipated the happiest results from this expedition, as the demonstration of force would exert a salutary influence upon the prairie Indians and afford valuable information concerning a portion of the country imperfectly known.[62]

Boone left Fort Gibson May 14, 1843, with sixty non-commissioned officers and privates; he proceeded up the north side of the Arkansas, between it and the Verdigris, for about seventy-five miles to a camp on the Arkansas where he was joined by Lieutenants Johnston and Richard H. Anderson with twenty-seven men of Company D of the dragoons.

The command encountered a party of Osages who stole ten horses and two mules from the troops. On his arrival at the Santa

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[60] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* April 16, 1840, p. 248, col. 1; Beers, *op. cit.,* pp. 137-38; Pelzer, *op. cit.,* pp. 86, 87.

[61] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest,* pp. 266, 289.

[62] Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division, Letter Book 8, "A" Fort Smith; William Brown Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma,* Oklahoma City, 1936, p. 32; Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson A Brief History,* p. 27.

Fe Trace Boone crossed to the south side of the Arkansas where he could get buffalo; on June 13 Captain Cooke's command came in sight. Boone remained from the 13th to the 22nd. Cooke thought his force sufficient to protect the traders, so Boone set out on the southern route, planning to pass the salt plains. Wishing to avoid camping with a party of Osages, Boone changed his course and steered towards the Salt Rock where he arrived June 30. In his report Boone said: "I intended remaining here some days, and to make a thorough examination of the plain, but the next day a large party of Osages came, and encamped by us. Their chief was Tallee, who . . . told us the osages had stolen our horses. The Salt Rock as I have call'd it, is well worth a strict examination. . . . I do not consider what I there saw, to be the Rock Salt proper, although it lies in great masses, but I do believe Rock Salt to be within a few feet of the surface. . ."

Learning of another salt plain from the Indians, Boone marched down the Red Fork thirty or forty miles but did not find it. About that time the command lost a man in the death of Private Bean of Company "E." Boone next "struck for the Canadian Fork of the Arkansas River, . . . On arriving at the Canadian, I crossed, and travell'd down between that stream, and the False Washita untill I parted with Lt. Johnson on the morning of the 14th July, when I again crossed the Canadian, keeping on its northern side, between it, the Little River, passing Choteau's Old Trading house. We struck the road leading from Edwards trading house (Old Fort Holmes) to Gibson 5 miles north of Edwards' and kept on to Fort Gibson. During the march we lost two men, one as already stated, the other was accidentally shot, dying a few minutes after. . .

"We subsisted on buffalo meat from the time we reach'd the great salt plain, untill we struck the settlements on the Canadian. . ." Captain Boone's journal giving a detailed account of the journey from May 14 to July 31, 1843, was sent with his report, which was dated August 11, 1843.[63]

Josiah Gregg, in his *Commerce of the Prairies,* related that when Boone came to the Canadian about the region of the western boundary he found the channel perfectly dry. Between the Canadian and Upper Arkansas Boone "found efflorescent salt in many places, as well as a superabundance of strongly impregnated salt-water; besides these, he visited two considerable salines."[64]

An item concerning Nathan Boone said that he passed Clintonville (a village in Bourbon County, Kentucky), in the summer of

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[63] Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-102; Appendix, pp. 181-237; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, "Salt Works in Early Oklahoma," by Grant Foreman, vol. 10, no. 4, p. 480; *ibid.*, "One Hundred Years Ago in the Region of Tulsa", by James H. Gardner, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 744; *ibid.*, "The History of Camp Holmes and Chouteau's Trading Post" by Howard Van Zandt, vol. 13, no. 3, p. 324.

[64] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, pp. 212, 244; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies,* Philadelphia, 1855, vol. 2, pp. 147, 187, 189.

1843: ". . . Was said to have been a rough, slovenly, indifferent looking man."[65]

Several expeditions were sent out from Fort Washita to encourage friendly relations with the Indians; the first was led by Pierce M. Butler, to Tawakoni Creek in Texas in the spring of 1843; in the autumn Lieut. Col. W. S. Harney, with eighty troopers, carried out a similar service.[66]

Deaths of officers were frequently reported from Fort Gibson and July 22, 1844, it was thought that Capt. Nathan Boone could not live, but he recovered and took part in several more expeditions. Cherokee Agent Pierce M. Butler wrote Chief John Ross at Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, from Fort Gibson, November 9, 1843, requesting him to deliver to Captain Boone, "commanding Fort Gibson, the three following prisoners, half-breed Cherokees, namely, Eli Starr, David Reese, and Joseph Starr, accused of the murder of citizens of the United States."[67]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford, on August 31, 1844, wrote to Captain Boone at Fort Gibson that it had been decided "at the instance of our sister Republic of Texas, and in conjunction with her," that a third effort should be put forth to make treaties with the wild Indians on the border between the two republics. The two previous expeditions had failed because of circumstances not likely to happen again.

Washington authorities had been informed that a council was to be held at Tawakoni Creek near the Brazos River on September 15 between the commissioner of Texas, Comanche and other Indians within her limits and the Texan government wished a representative from the United States to be present, empowered in promoting treaties and other matters affecting the tribes.

It was thought the Indians would not assemble before the end of the month and that they would wait for the agent from the United States. The secretary of war had selected Captain Boone as commissioner for the United States and he was directed to carry with him a company of dragoons "not from any apprehension of Danger to yourself or the Texan Commissioner, but to make an impression upon the Indians." As the time was short Boone was requested to set out as soon as possible.

A rough draft of the treaty was forwarded to Boone but he was advised to insert other obligations on the Indians if it appeared expedient to him. It was suggested that it might be difficult to collect the Indians; Boone was authorized to employ two or three runners to whom he was to supply a quantity of tobacco as presents

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[65] *The Filson Club Quarterly* (Louisville), vol. 10, no. 3, p. 168.

[66] Beers, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[67] Senate, Twenty-eighth Congress, *second session* [140] *Report* of the Secretary of War, No. 7 D.

for the Indians, to go among the tribes to notify them of the time and place of meeting.[68]

Acting Chargé d'Affaires Charles H. Raymond addressed a letter to Secretary of State Anson Jones from the Legation of Texas in Washington City, September 12, 1844, saying that Commissioner Boone, with his company of dragoons, would probably arrive at the council ground about the first of October. ". . . in any event it is to be hoped the Indians will be detained until his arrival."[69] It is plain to be seen that not enough time was given the troops to reach the treaty grounds and when they arrived on Tawakoni Creek the Indians had left. Boone returned to Fort Gibson after an absence of six weeks. His expedition was the third unavailing effort of the government to make a treaty between Texas and the Comanches, who were said to rely very little on Texan promises since the massacre of a number of their head men and warriors several years before.[70]

The Cherokee council, on October 30, 1843, enacted a measure by which all of the salines in the Cherokee country were to revert to the nation except the one granted to Sequoyah in 1828; this law worked a hardship on some of the Old Settlers who had been operating salt works for several years. Capt. John Rogers, a chief of that faction, who had operated The Grand Saline, near the present Salina, Oklahoma, was particularly exasperated against the tribal government; he and other members of the Old Settlers circulated a call for a meeting at Tahlontuskee on September 16, 1844. The authorities of the Cherokee Nation, fearing the meeting was called to divide the tribe and overthrow the government, prepared to prevent the assembly.

Secretary of War William Wilkins recommended to President Tyler that he send a commission to the Cherokee Nation to look into affairs of the tribe and learn if the laws were equably enforced on all factions; the president named Adjutant General Roger Jones, Col. Richard B. Mason and Cherokee Agent Pierce M. Butler to act in this matter. The commission organized at Fort Gibson on November 15 and held its first meeting at Tahlontuskee on November fifteenth. The Cherokee government resented having the commission meet a faction of the tribe remote from the capital of the nation and refused to participate unless the commission came to Tahlequah. As a result of their investigations the commission reported on January 17 that complainants had not been deprived of their property.[71]

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[68] Office of Indian Affairs, August 31st, 1844; Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson A Brief History*, p. 28.

[69] *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year* 1908, "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas," vol. 2, p. 310.

[70] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, I. T.), November 16, 1844, p. 3, col. 1.

[71] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, Norman, 1934, pp. 331-33.

"On January 8, 1845, Gen. R. Jones, commanding at Fort Gibson,[72] directed Capt. N. Boone and Lieut. Kirkman [sic][73] to examine the saline formerly occupied by Bluford West, and to estimate and report the value of the improvements." Captain Boone was ill and Captain S. Woods took his place. The letter of directions for carrying on the above work, dated Fort Gibson, January 8, 1845, was signed "R. Jones, U. S. A., Commissioner."[74]

In 1845 some Creek immigrants who settled in a remote section of their nation, near the site of the present Holdenville, became involved with a party of Osage and Wichita Indians, four of whom they killed. In a panic Creek women and children fled to Fort Gibson; traders on the Verdigris and Creek Agent James Logan also resorted to the post for protection. Captain Boone with his company of Dragoons, went to the mouth of Little River in February, but returned a week later, reporting that there was no cause for alarm.[75]

From Fort Smith, November 20, 1845, Gen. Matthew Arbuckle, commanding the Second Military Department, wrote George Lowrey, acting principal chief of the Cherokee Nation: "I have directed Captain Boone, with his company of dragoons, to remain near Evansville [Arkansas], and to notify all the refugees not to cross into the nation for the purpose of violence; that such a step on their part would forfiet for them the protection they now enjoy."[76]

Maj. B. L. E. Bonneville and Captain Boone sent a communication to General Arbuckle from "Camp near Evansville, Arkansas, December 31, 1845," which read: "This day came John Field, son of John Field of Stoney Creek; also a younger son of Archelaus Smith, both of the Cherokee nation. They report that, on Saturday evening the 27 inst., Charles, son of Archelaus Smith, was at a frolic at Joe Boling's on Caney, in the Illinois district. That while there, *Little* John Brown was boasting he was the one who killed Bean Starr. . ." This led to a fight between Smith and Brown; " . . . The same evening, Sunday the 28th inst., John Brown (a cousin of *Little* John Brown) came to the house of Charles' mother, near White Oak springs, in Tah le quah district, dragged Charles from his bed into the yard, where five or six men shot him dead."[77]

Bonneville and Boone wrote Captain James H. Prentiss, Assistant Adjutant General 2d Military Department, Fort Smith,

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[72] Roger Jones was adjutant general of the U. S. Army from March 7, 1825, to July 15, 1852, and was never in command of Fort Gibson.

[73] Ralph William Kirkham, a native of Massachusetts, was appointed to the Military Academy July 1, 1838. He served in the Sixth Infantry as a second lieutenant from February 27, 1843. He spent several years at Fort Gibson and was married there.

[74] House of Representatives, Sixty-second Congress, *Second Session*, *Report* No. 820, Part 2, p. 2.

[75] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, Norman, 1933, pp. 223-24.

[76] Senate, Twenty-ninth Congress, *First Session*, Part III, No. 7-D [298], p. 169.

[77] *Ibid.*, A - - No. 1, P. 185.

Arkansas, on January 2, 1846, reporting conditions in that part of the Cherokee Nation: " . . . No one charged with crimes by the Cherokee authorities is known to be receiving rations from the United States. Though idle and worthless individuals might escape the closest examination, yet, so soon as detected, they would at once be dropped from the provision list.

"2d. We are of the opinion that few, if any, of the common Indians who have left their homes could find a support there now; from the best of information we have, it is supposed most of their stock and grain has been destroyed.

"3d. Upon your suggestion, Captain Boone has excluded from his list all slaves, and such as he deems may be able to support themselves; thus reduced, the number to whom provisions will be hereafter issued will be 325 full rations, and 60 half rations.

"4th. We are of the opinion that children over five years of age should receive full rations; below that age, half rations.

"5th. The refugee Cherokees are living, by permission, in vacant buildings among their friends, scattered over a wide extent of country, without any intention of making a claim for such indulgences.

"There are many Cherokee families that have crossed the line about Beattie's prairie; but, from a report of Lieutenant Johnston, it is believed they can support themselves, and no issues will be made in that quarter unless otherwise instructed.

"Stand Watie is at old Fort Wayne with about 100 followers; they keep up an understanding with those near this. We do not apprehend any act of hostility on their part; they appear determined to abide the decision of the President of the United States upon their present situation."[78]

In the neighborhood of Fort Gibson were several houses to which the soldiers resorted when off duty. The most notorious was that of Polly Spaniard, where a fight occurred March 11, 1845, in which two Dragoons of Captain Boone's company were killed; the following night the house was attacked and burned by resentful soldiers who were tried and acquitted at Little Rock.[79]

The year 1845 was comparatively peaceful in the Cherokee Nation until the autumn, when there was great disturbance after the killing of James Starr and Suel Rider, owing to the old trouble between factions of the tribe; the white people of Arkansas were greatly disturbed and sent many sensational reports to General Arbuckle concerning the desperate situation. Major George Lowrey, acting chief during the absence of Chief Ross, received a letter from General Arbuckle in the middle of November, stating that the Cherokee Light Horse must be disbanded at once and the

[78] *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 191.

[79] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, I. T.), March 20, 1845; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, "Military Discipline in Early Oklahoma," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, vol. 6, no. 2, p. 144.

murderers of Starr and Rider arrested. Without consulting the Cherokee authorities he ordered Captain Boone's company of dragoons to the Arkansas line.

The Cherokees resented this high handed action and denied the right of the United States troops to invade their nation. The chief stated that the military force had been sent because of sensational rumors arising in Arkansas and not by his request.[80] Stand Watie had collected a band of sixty men at Fort Wayne and the *Cherokee Advocate,* on January 29, 1846, said that they had "some object in view inimical to the peace of the country."

Captain Boone reported on December 10, 1845: "There is much to be feared from the Old Settlers and the Treaty Party." He had heard that Stand Watie was organizing the Fort Wayne refugees for an attack.[81] General Arbuckle ordered two more companies of dragoons from Fort Washita to the border to prevent violence. "This force and the persuasion of Captain Boone and G. W. Adair prevented other recruits from joining Stand Watie. . . and organizing for a threatened aggressive movement against the established Cherokee officers." It was not until the summer of 1846 that a settlement of Cherokee affairs was brought about in Washington.

Several historians have written that Nathan Boone served in the Mexican War; a Missouri newspaper, in 1856, recounted that he had been eager to participate in that conflict but owing to his age he was retained in his old post.[82] From the regimental returns of the First Dragoons it appears that Captain Boone, in command of Company H, was stationed at the Dragoon camp near Evansville, Arkansas, from January to October, 1846. He was granted a leave of absence for six months, beginning October 18, 1846.[83]

When Maj. Eustace Trenor, of the First Dragoons, died in New York City February 16, 1847, Nathan Boone, senior captain of the regiment, was immediately appointed in his place. The end of the Mexican War came in the spring of 1848; Boone was at Fort Leavenworth that summer, as he wrote from there July 13, 1848, reporting the death of the commandant of the post, Lieut. Col. Clifton Wharton.[84]

When Gen. Richard Barnes Mason died July 25, 1850, Lieut. Col. Thomas Turner Fauntleroy of the Second Dragoons was pro-

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[80] Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest,* 176; *ibid., The Five Civilized Tribes,* 338, 341, 342; *ibid., Marcy and the Gold Seekers,* Norman, 1939, p. 340.

[81] Thomas Valentine Parker, Ph. D., *The Cherokee Indians,* New York, 1907, pp. 64, 65.

[82] *Weekly Jefferson Inquirer* (Jefferson City), Saturday, November 1, 1856, p. 1, cols. 1, 2.

[83] The National Archives, Washington, D. C., Adjutant General's Office, Special Orders No. 82, September 1, 1846.

[84] Albert G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry,* New York, 1865, p. 84; Pelzer, *op. cit.,* p. 169.

moted to fill the vacancy and Nathan Boone became lieutenant colonel of the Second regiment of Dragoons in his place.

An account depicting the boredom of garrison life after his many surveys, expeditions and battles shows Colonel Boone at the age of about fifty: "At present there are a few officers at this post [Fort Leavenworth] who indulge quite too freely for their own health, or for the comfort of their friends. The most remarkable one in this respect is Colonel B- - - -, [oone] of the Dragoons, who can sit up night after night for a week imbibing his toddy, and relating anecdotes by the thousand. The old gentleman's vivacity, wit, and humor are exceedingly entertaining to strangers. Some of his subordinates, however, who have been stationed at the same post with him for several years, say, that after he begins to relate over his anecdotes a few times, they cease to excite any mirth, and become a nuisance.[85] What a valuable historical record might have been preserved if some of the younger officers had made notes of the old Colonel's stories of his life instead of becoming bored with him. Dr. Lyman C. Draper of the University of Wisconsin was sufficiently interested in him and his father to write Colonel Boone in 1850, asking thirty-three questions concerning Daniel Boone's life, and after Nathan resigned from the army July 15, 1853, Dr. Draper visited him at his home in Greene County, Missouri, and compiled 294 pages of manuscript in interviews with him.[86]

Missouri historians appear to agree that Colonel Boone died in 1856; one of them gives October 16 as the time, while another states that he passed away November 16. Heitman says Nathan Boone died January 12, 1857. Olive Van Bibber Boone died November 12, 1858, in her seventy-fifth year. Some writers report that they had fourteen children, while it is stated in *A Pioneer History of Families of Missouri* that there were thirteen children. This book describes Nathan Boone as tall, square-shouldered; a powerfully built man, with blue eyes and light hair like his father.

It is said Boone became wealthy and at the time of his death that he owned 1200 acres of farm land and many slaves.[87] "Aunt Mary" Hosman related to her son many accounts of her father's expeditions; at times he would be away from home for months and his family would fear that he was dead; "then one fine day he would come tramping down the hillside, hale and hearty. . . . He would go into the bedroom and take off a concealed canvas belt on which had been sewed two canvas pockets. . . . These pockets would be full of gold, for the government paid its soldiers in gold. Then the family would gather around while Mrs. Boone held her hus-

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[85] R[odney] Glisan, *Journal of Army Life, San Francisco*, 1874, p. 20.

[86] "Draper Notes," State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 6 S 212-308 (*Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 88).

[87] Young, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

band's hat upturned to catch the shining gold pieces as he counted them.[88]

Six pages of one of the Greene County probate court record books were needed to inventory the estate of Nathan Boone; eleven of his slaves were sold at auction for prices ranging from $300 to $1257. Mrs. Boone paid $800 for Reuben; her son-in-law Alfred Hosman purchased Cork for $1202; another son-in-law, Franklin T. Frazier, bought Peter for $726; apparently the other Negroes were sold outside the family. The report of the sale of personal property listed fifteen books, a large library for the time and place.[89]

The statement has been made by many writers that Nathan Boone built the first stone house in Missouri, but this is a mistake, as there were such dwellings long before Boone's was completed in 1813. Both John Thomas Scharf in his *History of Saint Louis City and County* and Maj. Amos Stoddard in *Sketches Historical and Descriptive* mention stone houses which had been erected before that date. The blue limestone for Boone's home was quarried from a hillside on his property and cut into blocks. There were three rooms downstairs and four above, with wide halls between. In one of the rooms on the first floor the pioneer Daniel Boone died.[90] Daniel Boone, in September, 1820, after an attack of fever, regained his strength sufficiently to go for a visit to his youngest son, Maj. Nathan Boone. He suffered a relapse caused by an indiscretion in his diet and died on the twenty-sixth day of the month.[91]

Boone, his wife and several children are buried in the Missouri township named for him, a mile and a half north of Ash Grove. Only rough stones mark the graves which are covered with shrubs. No monument marks the grave of this man who bore such a fine part in the history of the West. In 1913 the Missouri State Legislature appropriated $3000 to place markers along the trail surveyed by Boone across the state, "yet the man who . . . laid it out . . . lies in an unmarked grave in an old field on the border of Greene and Dade Counties."[92]

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[88] Lucile Morris, "The Story of a Neglected Hero, Nathan Boone." This delightful history of Boone appeared serially in the Springfield (Mo.) *News and Leader*, commencing August 30, 1931, and continuing in the *Springfield Leader* through September 4, 1931.

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] Bakeless, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

[91] Cecil B. Hartley, *Life of Daniel Boone*, Philadelphia, 1865, p. 330. Nathan Boone consented to the removal of the bodies of his father and mother from Missouri to Frankfort, Kentucky, when the legislature of that state sent William Boone to ask for the transfer (Spraker, *op. cit.*, p. 132). An effort was made in 1927 in the Missouri legislature to have the state buy the Boone homestead and burial ground where a suitable memorial might be erected to the forgotten hero, but the bill died in committee (Morris, *op. cit.*)

[92] *History of Greene County*, Missouri, St. Louis, 1883, p. 623; *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 660-61; Young, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Mrs. Mary Hosman, the last child of Nathan Boone, died in 1915 at the age of ninety-three.

Nathan Boone's life was one of usefulness and true devotion to his country; he was well educated, if self educated, and was an accomplished surveyor. His name has been more honored in Iowa than in his home state, as a river and county are named for him there.[93]

A fine tribute to Colonel Boone was written by an army officer who said: "He was a most finished woodsman, and it is doubtful if he had any superior in that respect in our army. The paths leading out on the plains of the Great West were familiar to him, and he was able to pilot parties in any direction. He was a worthy son of Daniel Boone of Kentucky."[94]

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[93] *Weekly Jefferson Inquirer*, Jefferson City, Mo., November 1, 1856, p. 1, cols. 1, 2; *History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties*, Missouri, St. Louis, 1885, p. 192.

[94] Albert G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry*, New York, 1865, p. 130.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF MRS. HANNAH WORCESTER HICKS HITCHCOCK AND THE PARK HILL PRESS

By Muriel H. Wright

The first printing press in Oklahoma is said to have been a "Tufts Standing Press." It was originally set up at Union Mission in 1835, with John F. Wheeler as printer, under the superintendency of Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester. The same year the first book published in Oklahoma was printed on the press at Union Mission. It was a small primer in the Creek language, called *The Child's Book*, by Reverend John Fleming, a missionary by appointment of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.[1] The next year the printing press was moved from Union to its permanent location at Park Hill where it was operated in connection with the Park Hill Mission.

What became of the first printing press in Oklahoma has been a mystery. The question was raised during the One Hundredth Anniversary of Printing in Oklahoma and the dedication of the memorial marker on the historic site of Union Mission, Mayes County, in 1935, by the State Press Association.

The importance of the work done by this press may be estimated by the statement of the amount of printing up to 1860, issued by the Park Hill Publishing House just before the outbreak of the War between the States: a total of 14,084,100 printed pages for the Cherokees; 11,000,000 pages for the Choctaws, and a large amount for other Indian tribes. A handsome memorial tablet was erected on the site of the Park Hill Publishing House in the autumn of 1940, by the Oklahoma members of the Colonial Dames.

Personalities and their part in the life of a place make it memorable in history. Stories of the lives of many who made some of Oklahoma's outstanding historic sites worthy of remembrance still remain in obscurity. Mr. Herbert Worcester Hicks, of the Cherokee Nation and a grandson of Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, furnished the material for the following sketch of his

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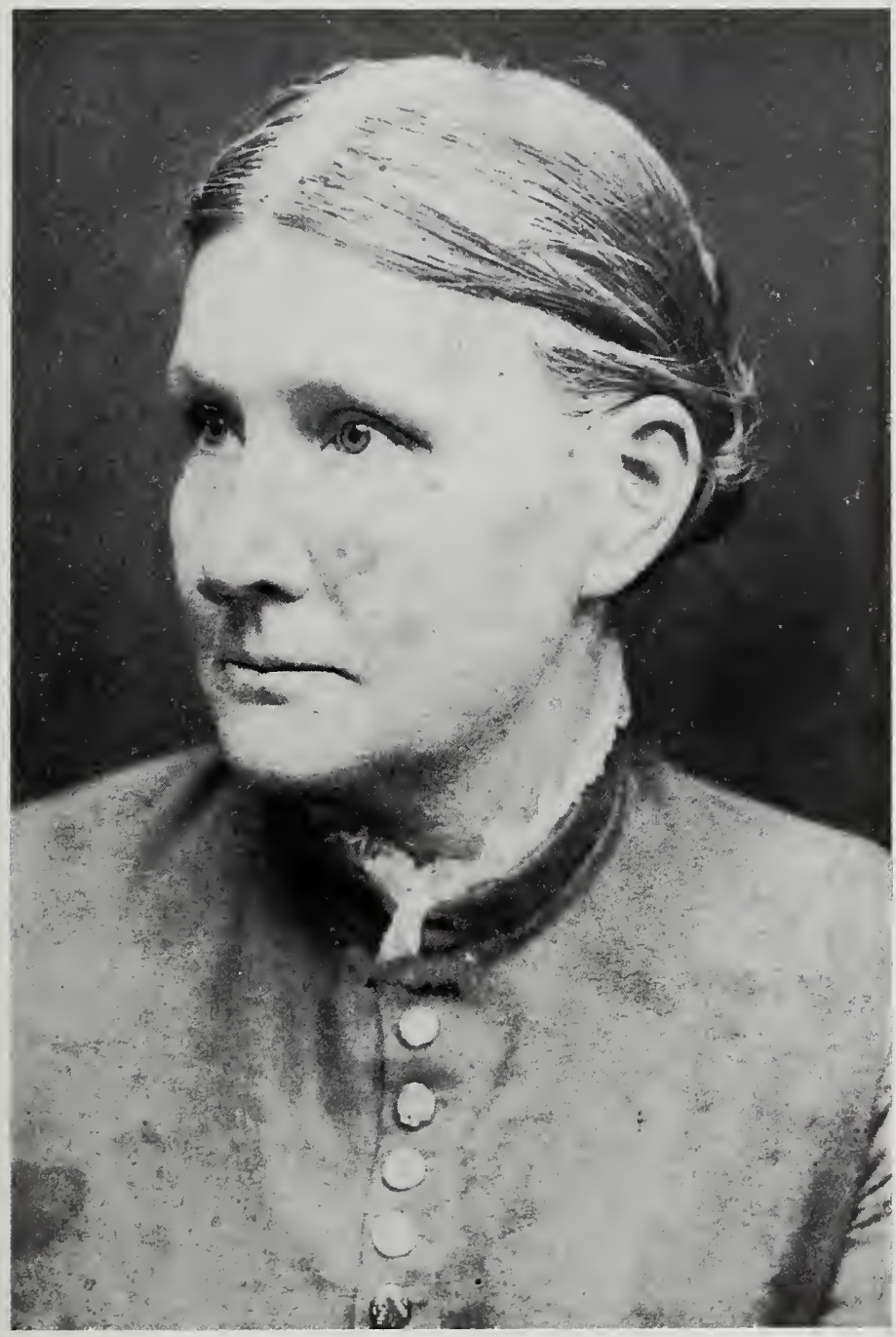
[1] Reverend John Fleming was a native of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. He graduated from New Jersey College in 1829 and from Princeton in 1832. Soon afterward, he was appointed by the American Board as a missionary to the Creek Indians, with the special assignment to prepare a textbook in the Creek language. This work necessitated the preparation of manuscript by a direct study of the Creek spoken language which had not been reduced to regular written form. Mr. Fleming arrived among the Western Creeks in the Indian Territory, January 2, 1833. He made his headquarters at Union Mission, the most convenient residence location near the Creek settlements of that day. A number of Creek children attended the mission school, which further gave him opportunity of direct study of the native language in preparing the textbook. Since the manuscript was ready for publication when Doctor Worcester set up the "Tufts Standing Press" at Union, in 1835, Mr. Fleming's small volume, *The Child's Book*, illustrated with quaint scenes of farm life, was the first book published in Oklahoma.



MRS. HANNAH WORCESTER HICKS HITCHCOCK

mother's life, which mentions her work in connection with the printing house at Park Hill.[2]

Hannah Worcester Hicks Hitchcock

Hannah Worcester, the third child of Samuel A. and Ann (Orr) Worcester, was born on January 29, 1834, at New Echota, Georgia.[3]

The Worcester family left Brainerd Mission, Tennessee, on April 8, 1835, for the Indian Territory, to make their new home and resume their missionary labors among the Cherokees west of the Mississippi River. They were fifty-one days on the way, arriving at Dwight Mission, Cherokee Nation West, on the 29th of May. Here they awaited the arrival of their household goods and the new printing press which had been shipped to the Indian Territory by water. They later settled at Union Mission where they lived until they moved to their permanent home at Park Hill, in 1836.

Hannah attended the Mission School at Park Hill though when a small child, during her free hours, she was generally found at the printing office where she loved to play. As the years passed, she devoted much of her time to helping her father in the work here, learning to sew and bind books. When she was old enough to leave home and go to school in the States like her older sisters, funds were not available to send her. Instead, she continued reading and home study, especially "constant study of Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary,*" which together with the association with her scholarly father in his work and with the teachers at Park Hill furnished educational advantages that prepared her thoroughly to meet the demands of life in future years. At the same time, she became an efficient helper and proof reader in the printing office.

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[2] Herbert Worcester Hicks is a member of the fourth generation of the Hicks family in the Cherokee Nation. Nathan Hicks, an English trader, settled among the Cherokees before the American Revolution. His wife was a Cherokee called "Nancy," a member of the Wolf Clan and a daughter of Chief Broom of Broom's Town. Nathan Hicks and his wife Nancy were living on the Hiwassee River, Cherokee Nation East, in 1767, when their eldest son, Charles, was born. Their other children were William and Elizabeth. Charles was one of the first prominent Cherokee leaders who had advantages of an English education. Both he and William were baptised members of the Moravian Church. Both, too, served as principal chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, William serving in this office after his brother Charles, in 1827-28, immediately preceding the election of John Ross as principal chief.

William Hicks married Sallie Foreman, a granddaughter of John Anthony Foreman, a Scotch trader, who had settled and married among the Cherokees about the time of the American Revolution. Abijah Hicks was the eighth child of William and Sallie (Foreman) Hicks. Herbert Worcester Hicks, the fifth and youngest child of Abijah and Hannah (Worcester) Hicks, married Rachel Cardwell in Washington County, Arkansas, on December 23, 1886. They are the parents of six children: Ethel Inez, Homer Wilton, Clifton A., Vera Clare, Ralph Conner, and Herbert Morris Hicks. Mr. and Mrs. Herbert W. Hicks are residents of Vinita, Oklahoma, where he is owner of the Vinita Book Store.

[3] The life of Rev. Samuel Austin Worcester is presented in the interesting volume *Cherokee Messenger* by Althea Bass (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.)

In January, 1852, Hannah Worcester married Abijah Hicks, a young Cherokee who had come west during the main emigration of his people from Georgia. His Cherokee name "Cornplanter" was significant of his success as a progressive farmer and cattleman. The young couple established their first home at the foot of old Park Hill where they built a two-story frame house with fireplaces at both ends upstairs and down. Here Abijah cultivated a good farm and raised a large stock of cattle.

Some years afterward, Doctor Worcester was severely injured in an accident when a ladder broke with him as he was going down to clean out a well. He was an invalid for a long period during which Hannah and Abijah lived at the Mission to help care for him. Abijah opened up a store on the Mission grounds at this time.

After the death of Doctor Worcester in 1859, the American Board sent Reverend Charles Torrey to take charge and continue the work at the Park Hill Mission and Publishing House. Threats of war between the States over a year later brought the work to a close. When the Mission buildings and property, including the printing press, were offered for sale a short time later, Abijah and Hannah bought them and established their permanent home at the mission.

They were the parents of five children with the birth of their son, Herbert Worcester Hicks, in May, 1861, before they moved their home from their first residence to the mission. Though they were a prosperous and happy family with farms, live stock, merchandise, and money saved up for emergency, war in the South and the Cherokee Nation a year later brought tragedy for Hannah and her children.

Abijah set out for Van Buren, Arkansas, to purchase goods for his store, on July 4, 1862. The same day, he was waylaid on the road, by a company of "bushwhackers" who threatened to kill him if he did not join them. He refused their demand and said that they would find him at his home if they looked for him again. As he drove on down the road, he was shot in the back and died instantly.

The following extracts are quoted from Hannah's Diary for 1862:

"Oh! what a year to remember, will this year ever be to me, and to us all. We thought we had some trouble *last* year, but how happy was that compared with this. On the 4th of July, my beloved husband was murdered, killed away from home, and I could not even see him; so far from it— he had been buried twenty-four hours, before I even heard of it; buried without a coffin, all alone, forty miles from home.

"My house has been burned down, my horses taken, but I think nothing of that. How gladly would I have given up everything if only they had spared my husband. Oh! for an end to this War. May God in his mercy, speedily bring Peace. Today (19th) the soldiers went to the house where Mrs. Vann's things were and turned them up at a great rate; took what they could, and promised to come back for more.

"Five Cherokees were condemned for desertion and shot at Tahlequah. James Pritchett has been killed. Captain Benge was wounded last Sahhath.

"I hegin to hear now that my poor husband was killed hy the 'Pins' hut through a mistake—they intended to kill another man—if it was a mistake, 'twas a terrible one for me. It is strange *very* strange anyway.

"This is the ninth Sabbath that I have heen a widow; two sad weary months. How many times in days past have I wondered what my future would he; but Oh! I could not think it would he as it is: left a widow at twenty-eight, with five children growing up around me, and Oh! most dreadful of all, my dear hushand murdered. God be mercyful to us and help us! He loved his children so: never a father hetter loved his children.

"This weary weary time of War! will the time of suspense never end? I know not what is to hecome of us: famine and pestilence seem to await us! On the morning of August First our house was hurned down; that was the first great trial that my husband was not here to share with me but truly, I hardly felt it a trial, so very little did it seem when compared with what I suffered in losing him, in such a terrible way. I helieve my heart is almost dead within me."

After a return trip to Fort Gibson, Mrs. Hicks again wrote in her Diary:

"Today (Sept. 10th, 1862) I went to the Printing Office. I did not know hefore, *how completely it had been cleaned out: the Press, types, papers &c. all carried off or destroyed* . . . . We hear today that the 'Pins' are committing outrages on Hungry Mountain and in Flint, rohhing, destroying property and killing. Last week some . . . men went and rohbed the Ross place, up at the Mill, completely ruined them: alas, alas for this miserahle people; destroying each other, as fast as they can: my heart cries out, O Lord, how long? Oh our God, send deliverance; make haste to help us, Oh God of our salvation.

"The Troops have mostly left Tahlequah for Maysville and Grand Saline: we have now only to wait as calmly as we may, to see what will happen next. Sabhath once more: I have worried through the day with my children, trying to keep them from evil, and to teach them some good; hut oh how poorly do I succeed!

"Mr. James Ward has been murdered, and Mr. Bishop taken and carried off.[4] William Spears was killed some weeks ago: his wife has heen searching for him until yesterday she succeeded in finding a part of his bones and remanents of his clothing. It is said that they told him to Pray and that he did so, and was kneeling in prayer a second time when he was shot.

"We heard today that the Osages had taken six prisoners (Federal) and that they escaped last night, handcuffed. The Federal prisoners that escaped were five Texas deserters and one Pin; they have not heen retaken.

"Rev. Stephen Foreman and family left their house and home, last Monday Sep't. 15th, intending to go to North Fork, Creek Nation.[5]

"Nov. 17th. Today we have had experience in heing rohhed. As soon as it was light they came and hegan: They took many valuahle things and overhauled every closet, trunk, hox and drawer they could find. The most valuable things are gone for good and all. So many things the rohhers took that I would regret so much if I felt that the loss of anything short of life itself, was worth regretting now. They took about three harrels of sugar, *all* my hlankets, most of my quilts, sheets, pillow cases, towels, tahle cloths, my teaspoons, all hut one, and oh, that large pretty white bed spread that Mrs. Ross had given me; so many little things that I most highly prized; ribhons, sewing silk, pins, needles, thread, buttons, hoxes of letters, my mantilla, calicoes, woolen stuffs, white cloth that I was saving to

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[4] For the story of James Ward and a hrief history of the Moravian missions among the Cherokees, see *Springplace, Moravian Mission, Cherokee Nation* hy Muriel H. Wright (Co-Operative Publishing Company, Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1940).

[5] Minta Ross Foreman, "Reverend Stephen Foreman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, (Septemher, 1940), XVIII, No. 1.

make up, part of my underclothes and stockings, with the childrens new shoes, their little shawls, &c.; from Mother they took some blankets, one shawl, her shears, mine also, her best shoes and all, some other things, the linen sheet and table cloth of my mother's weaving [Mrs. Ann Orr Worcester]. If the officers had not made them return *some* things, I and my children would have been left utterly destitute, for they bundled up *all* our clothing of every kind; (my knives, forks and large spoons were returned) they opened and overhauled the letter box which was under my bed, took some letters and some little things of Mrs. Vann's that I had put in to save. They tore the trimming off Susie's bonnett, broke open a chest which was locked, and took what they pleased. They drove off nearly all our cattle, but most of them got away and came back; one of the oxen was gone a week.

* * * *

"Hauling wheat and bolting flour this week; that wheat that Sarah, Nancy and I hauled from Mrs. Hoyt's in the hot sun was all taken out of the cribs by Marmaduke's men. Mr. Hoyt died last July.

"I went today to get a load of wood, which makes me remember my husband with renewed sadness as I think I know he would never consent, while he lived, that I should do such work. Oh! the sad sad changes that this year's course has brought to me and mine."

Members of the Worcester family were scattered in the midst of the War to different parts of the United States. Mrs. Hicks took her family of five small children to Fort Gibson for better protection, bereft as she was of husband and near relatives and having lost her home by fire and every vestige of property and live stock at the hands of plunderers. The Cherokee Nation was the border country during the War, scouting parties and detachments of regular troops of both the Union and the Confederate armies sweeping back and forth through the region during the four years of warfare. Further devastation of farm homes and livestock by bushwhackers and other guerilla bands literally wiped out former thriving communities in the Cherokee Nation. During this time the terms "Pins" and "Stand Watie's Men" were maledictions used by harassed citizens according to each one's sympathies in the War. There was no neutral ground, for the Cherokees themselves were hopelessly divided into two bitterly opposing lines. Thus, "Pins" applied to Union Cherokees and "Stand Watie's Men" to the Confederates became the two mysterious forces of evil in the legend of the war.[6]

Mrs. Hicks was married at Fort Gibson, after the War, to Doctor D. D. Hitchcock, physician and surgeon in the United

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[6] The "Pins" or "Pin Indians" were Federal scouts, mostly fullblood Cherokees, members of the Cherokee secret society called "Keetoowha." They were called "Pins" from the fact that each member wore a badge consisting of two pins crossed on the lapel of his coat.

Stand Watie was well known as the leader of the anti-Ross faction in the Cherokee Nation. Sympathetic with the cause of the Southern States, he was early aligned with the Confederacy and personally organized the first Confederate troops in the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokees of his command were noted during the War for their effective service as Confederate scouting parties. Stand Watie had the distinction of being the only Indian in the Confederate Army to attain the rank of brigadier-general.

States Army. They were the parents of one daughter. During an epidemic of cholera that swept Fort Gibson in 1867, Doctor Hitchcock worked day and night attending every case possible throughout the neighboring country. He himself was finally stricken with the disease and died in less than twenty-four hours. The infant daughter died later in the year.

Hannah W. (Hicks) Hitchcock lived to see her grandson, Homer Wilton Hicks, enlist in the Army for service in France during the World War. She died in 1917 and was buried by the side of her second husband and their daughter. Her grave is within the Officers' Circle in the old cemetery at Fort Gibson. Her son, Mr. Herbert W. Hicks, says that he thinks this one of the highest honors accorded a member of the Worcester family.

The following quotation from Mrs. Hitchcock's reminiscences describes some of the interests and scenes of her girlhood in the Cherokee Nation:

"'The Cherokee National Temperance Society' was organized by my father, Samuel Austin Worcester, or mainly through his efforts, in 1842. The Cherokee Council met at that time, in a large shed in the center of what is now the Capital Square of Tahlequah; and in that place the Temperance Society was organized and started. The Annual meetings were always held during the term of the National Council. Many of the members of the Society and officers were members of the Cherokee Council.

"The only qualification for membership in the Society was to sign the Society pledge as follows: 'We hereby solemnly pledge ourselves that we will neither use, nor buy, nor sell, nor give, nor receive, as a drink, any Whiskey, Brandy, Rum, Gin, Wine, Fermented Cider, Strong Beer, or any kind of intoxicating liquor.'

"Between annual meetings there were meetings held and Auxiliary Societies organized, in all parts of the Nation, the object being to have a live auxiliary society in every District.

"We went to many Temperance meetings in different parts of the Nation, some on the banks of the beautiful clear running streams, in the woods, or near some one of the many fine springs in the Nation. The people gathered from far and near; meat was barbecued so delicious as we never get these days—it seems to be a lost art—bread, cakes and pies were provided. At one time, I myself fried two bushels of doughnuts for one of the meetings.

"Through the courtesy of the Christian Commander of the Fort Gibson Post, Col Gustavous Loomis, my father was permitted to have at some of these meetings, the fine U. S. Army Band, then stationed at the Fort, and once a Choir of Nineteen soldier voices sang the Temperance songs. I never heard more delightful singing.[7]

"This fine Army Band was later ordered to the Mexican War and much to the regret of the community was never returned here."

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[7] A biographical sketch, "Gustavus Loomis, Commandant Fort Gibson and Fort Towson," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (September, 1940), XVIII, No. 1.

Interesting historical papers now in the collection of Mr. Herbert Worcester Hicks,[8] of Vinita, Oklahoma, include the original notice of eviction served on Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, by the State of Georgia, February 15, 1834; the original Bill of Sale to the Park Hill Mission property including the Printing Office, Press, Types and papers, made to Abijah Hicks, by Rev. C. C. Torrey for the A. B. C. F. M. Board, February 18, 1861; and the address of Chief John Ross to the first graduating class of the Cherokee National Female Seminary, 1851.

[8] The reader will be interested in the following data furnished by Herbert Worcester Hicks: Ever since "Appreciation Week" Oct. 6-13, 1935, which was the Centennial Statewide Anniversary of the first Printing Press operation in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, honoring Dr. S. A. Worcester as the first printer, there has been a question, so far unanswered, as to what became of this first Printing Press.

Being a grandson of Dr. Worcester, I am very much an interested party, and will give herein the results of my endeavors, for the benefit of all inquirers and coming generations.

There are now located at old Dwight Mission, two presses, both claiming to be the original Dr. Worcester press operated at Union and Park Hill Missions, from 1835 to 1861. Dr. Worcester died in 1859.

The smaller of these two presses is known as the Schaub press; the larger one, as the Chamberlain press. The Schaub is too small to be considered as the Worcester press.

The larger Chamberlain press was purchased by some of the Chamberlain relatives in New York, and shipped to Vinita to Rev. A. N. Chamberlain, and first used by him in Cherokee and English printing for several years near Vinita. Later it was moved to the vicinity of Tahlequah, used there several years, and eventually found its way to Dwight Mission, where it is now located.

After corresponding with Mr. S. W. Ross, and receiving a complete lineup on the first *Cherokee Advocate* press which was first used in 1844, at the same time the Worcester press was being used at Park Hill, we definitely removed all three of these presses from any possibility of identification as the Worcester press.

My next correspondence was with Mrs. Althea Bass, who wrote the life of Dr. Worcester entitled *The Cherokee Messenger* and had had access to practically all records of the A.B.C.F.M. of that period, now preserved in the Andover-Harvard Library. Quoting from her letters on the subject:

"I, too, have had a great desire to know what became of the 'Tufts Standing Press' set up at Park Hill. None of my reading in the files of the American Board, or elsewhere, brought me any information, as to the fate of the Printing Press. Of course you know that Dr. Charles Torrey succeeded Mr. Worcester at Park Hill in 1859, with the idea of continuing his work, but the Civil War broke up the undertaking in a short time, and Dr. Torrey went back East with his family. One of Torrey's daughters still lives, and has been greatly interested in the History of Park Hill. She does have some of her father's papers and books, and it is just possible that she may have some definite knowledge of the disposal of the Printing Press. If you write to her, address her as Miss Emily R. Torrey, 238 Williams St., Providence, R. I."

I quote from Miss Torrey:

"I am sorry that I cannot tell you definitely about the Mission Press. I have a recollection which I cannot vouch for, that I heard my father speak of the press as being destroyed by one of the raiding parties of either the Northern or Southern Army. You know of course that that section of country was swept over, first by one and then by the other Army, again and again, and everything destroyed that came in the path of the party in power; so it seems likely that my impression is correct."

Getting nothing definite and entirely convincing, I finally came across exactly what I was seeking, in my Mother's diary, written at Park Hill during the Civil War. I quote from it:

"Today I went to the Printing Office. I did not know before, how completely it had been cleaned out.

As my mother, Mrs. Hannah Worcester Hicks, at that time was on the ground, was the owner of all property of the A.B. C.F.M. by purchase, I think we may safetly say she certainly knew what became of the Worcester Press, and that her notes as quoted above, definitely settled the Matter for all time.

On June 22nd, 1839, Elias Boudinot (brother of Stand Watie) was murdered, between the Mission buildings and a house being built by Elias for his permanent home; he at the time was living in one of the Mission buildings. Elias Boudinot was translator of the Cherokee for Dr. Worcester; his death was caused by his signing a Treaty with a small faction of the Nation to remove all to the West.

After arriving in the West by way of "the Trail of Tears" the two factions failed in coming to an agreement to smooth out their difficulties and bury the hatchet. The smaller faction were considered as traitors to their country, and the leaders were marked for death, on a certain date. Three of them were found at home and the mandate carried out, but Stand Watie being one of those included for killing was warned by his friends, and was not found, thus saving his life.

Dr. Worcester described the Elias Boudinot tragedy as,

"Mr. Boudinot was murdered. Mr. Boudinot was yet living in my house. On Saturday morning he went to his home which he was building, a quarter of a mile distant. There some Cherokee men came up inquiring for some medicine, and Mr. Boudinot set out with two of them, to come and get it. He walked but a few rods, when his shriek was heard by his hired men, who ran to his help, but before they could come up, the deed was done: a stab in the back with a knife, and seven gashes in the head with a hatchet (Tomahawk) did the work."

Watie continued living in the Cherokee Nation, and upon the breaking out of the Civil War, he raised a Regiment of Southern sympathizers, and joined the Southern Forces, eventually being made a General.

THE FINAL REPORT OF THE CHEROKEE COMMISSION

By Berlin B. Chapman

In the federal management and disposition of lands of Oklahoma Territory there was no commission more important than the Cherokee Commission. When the Commission was organized on June 29, 1889, the members were General Lucius Fairchild of Wiscousin, chairman, General John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania, and Alfred M. Wilson of Arkansas. Each of the commissioners was allowed his railway fare and transportation expenses, and five dollars per diem during the time of actual service, in lieu of all other expenses, and was allowed a compensation at the rate of ten dollars per diem during the time of his actual service. Hartranft died on October 17, and Warren G. Sayre of Indiana was appointed in his stead. Fairchild said of Sayre: "He is a hard headed lawyer, pleasant and genial. Has a lot of sound, hard horse-sense, a valuable acquisition."[1]

Congress provided for the Cherokee Commission when by an act of March 2, 1889 the President was authorized to appoint three commissioners, not more than two of whom should be members of the same political party, to negotiate with the Cherokees and with all other Indians owning or claiming lands lying west of the ninety-sixth degree of longitude in the Indian Territory for the cession to the United States of all their title, claim or interest of every kind or character in and to said lands.[2] Any and all agreements resulting from such negotiations should be reported to the President and by him to Congress at its next session and to the council or councils of the nation or nations, tribe or tribes, agreeing to the same for ratification. By that act $25,000 was appropriated to enable the Commission to prosecute its work, and a lesser amount was appropriated each year during the next four years to enable the Secretary of the Interior to continue the Commission.[3]

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[1] Fairchild to "Frank" (his wife), Nov. 18, 1889, Fairchild Papers, State Historical Society, Madison, Wis. Manuscript materials used in this article, unless otherwise stated, are in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Professor J. H. Caldwell of the History Department of the Oklahoma A. & M. College, for a critical and helpful reading of this article.

[2] 25 *Statutes*, 1005.

[3] On May 26, 1890 Secretary John W. Noble recommended that the sum of $25,000 be appropriated to enable the Commission to visit all the tribes in Oklahoma Territory living west of ninety-six degrees. Sec. Int., *Rec. Letters Sent*, No. 65, pp. 239-240. The Indian appropriation act for 1891, approved Aug. 19, 1890, provided $20,000 for continuance of the Commission. 26 *Statutes*, 356. The Indian appropriation acts for 1892, 1893, and 1894 each provided $15,000 to enable the Secretary of the Interior to continue the Commission. *Ibid.*, p. 1008; 27 *Statutes*, 138; 633.

Among instructions given to the Cherokee Commission are two principal documents. On May 9, 1889 Commissioner Oberly transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior for the guidance of the Commission a compilation made in the Indian

After the Cherokee Commission made two unsuccessful attempts to negotiate with the Cherokees for a sale of the Cherokee Outlet to the United States, Fairchild resigned from the Commission on January 1, 1890. "Because I am not in physical condition to do the work," were the words in which he assigned the reason for his resignation.[4] When the Commission met at Guthrie on May 12 to resume its labors, and before any agreements were concluded, David Howell Jerome, formerly governor of Michigan, succeeded to the chairmanship.[5]

The Commission consisting of Jerome, Sayre and Wilson was continued until November 7, 1893, during which time it concluded eleven agreements with Indian tribes for the dissolution of reservations, embracing more than 15,000,000 acres in Oklahoma Territory. All the agreements, much of the correspondence of the Commission, and considerable material concerning its work are in the *United States Public Documents.* But a careful search does not reveal that the final report of the Commission has heretofore been printed. It is the purpose of this article to edit the report in full.[6]

The Cherokee Commission survived the administration of President Harrison, but the eleven agreements it concluded for the dissolution of reservations in Oklahoma Territory were made during his administration. Secretary John W. Noble was intimate with his Republican friends who held a favorable balance of power in the membership of the Commission. He took up with them enough matters informally or by personal correspondence to deduct considerable value from the files of his official papers in regard to the Commission. He was careful enough to keep Commissioner Thomas Jefferson Morgan of the Indian Office bridled[7] and to hurry up allotting agents, but he seemed to have been always content with the Commission and to have considered its judgment of high merit.[8]

Office concerning the legal status of the lands in Indian Territory, to which was appended certain "Instructions and Suggestions." The document is in OIA, *L. Letter Book* 184, pp. 165-258; also in OIA, Library, *Misc. Documents*, pp. 43496-43541. On July 6 printed copies were sent by Noble direct to members of the Commission. The compilation, or about five-sixths of the document, was transmitted by Noble to the Senate on March 12, 1890 and is printed in *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., ix(2686), no. 78.

The second principal source of instructions was a document approved by Noble on June 20, 1890. It is in OIA, *L. Letter Book* 200, pp. 342-347.

[4] In regard to the work of the Cherokee Commission under the leadership of Fairchild, and in regard to the half dozen persons offered a place on the Commission before Fairchild and Hartranft were named, see *Chron. of Okla.*, xiv (Sept., 1937), pp. 291-321.

[5] There is a sketch of Jerome's life in *Nat. Cyc. of Amer. Biog.*, v, 275.

[6] The final report of the Cherokee Commission is dated Aug. 21, 1893 and is in Sec. Int., 7801 Ind. Div. 1893. A photostatic copy of the report has recently been given to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[7] *Chron. of Okla.*, xvi (June, 1938), pp. 135-162.

[8] See for example Noble's letter to S. W. Peel, Jan. 23, 1893, *Cong. Record*, 52 Cong. 2 sess., p. 2136.

Secretary Hoke Smith, a Democrat from Georgia, did not hold the Commission in such high esteem. In a telegram to him from Saginaw, Michigan on Saturday, March 18, 1893 Jerome said: "Unless otherwise directed by you by wire the Cherokee Commission will leave on Monday next for Ponca agency, Oklahoma, to resume negotiations with the tribes on the east end of the Strip. Our address will be Ponca agency where we hope to receive any instructions you desire to give."[9] In a letter to Smith on March 20 Jerome stated that since he had heard nothing from him to the contrary he would proceed that evening to join his associates.[10] In a telegram to Jerome the next day, addressed to Saginaw, Smith said: "Your telegram was received Sunday night, giving no time for investigation. To announce a purpose of acting without giving time here to consider its propriety, was practically to determine the matter yourselves. I trust you have not acted with the haste which your telegram indicates."[11] Since the Commission was already en route, Assistant Secretary Chandler directed that necessary funds be placed to its credit for continuance of the work.[12]

Of the thirteen reservations in Oklahoma Territory, only the four occupied by the Poncas, Otoes and Missourias, Kaws, and Osages showed a tendency of stability when the Commission resumed its labors in the spring of 1893. The Commission considered it advantageous to its cause that Congress on March 3, 1893 had ratified agreements made with the Tonkawas, Cherokees, and Pawnecs; and the Commission thought that the opening of the Cherokee Outlet soon to homesteaders would favor the progress of negotiations decidedly. By March 20 the weather was suitable for tent life and the Commission hoped by pushing forward promptly to complete negotiations for the dissolution of the four remaining reservations before the midsummer heat drove them out. About April 6 the Commission began holding councils[13] with the Poncas for the sale of the surplus lands of their reservation and continued

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[9] Tel. from Jerome to Smith, Sec. Int., 2197 Ind. Div. 1893.

[10] Letter of March 20, 1893, Sec. Int., 2323 Ind. Div. 1893.

[11] Tel. from Smith to Jerome, March 21, 1893, Sec. Int., *Rec. Letters Sent*, No. 78, p. 322.

[12] Chandler to Com. Ind. Aff., March 23, 1893, Sec. Int., *Ind. Aff., Misc. Letter Book*, p. 446.

[13] The proceedings of the councils contain 237 pages and are in OIA, drawer labeled, "I. S. P." (Irregular Sized Papers). The period covered is from April 6 to June 6, 1893. The proceedings of all the councils the Commission held with the Poncas total more than 750 pages. In the proceedings there is a sprinkling of humor, several touches of pathos, a variety of proverbs and some tiresome repetition; but few documents send more piercing rays of light into the mental atmosphere of these Indians and into negotiations concerning the disposal of the surplus lands. We are left to surmise whether outside conversations and discussions, of which there is no record, may not have been as important as the notations made by stenographers.

without material interruption until June 21. Councils were held about once or twice a week.

The Leased district comprised the territory in what is now the southwest corner of Oklahoma, west of 98 degrees and south of the Canadian river. A treaty made in 1866 stated that the Choctaws and Chickasaws in consideration of the sum of $300,000 "hereby cede" the Leased district to the United States. If the cession clause is torn from its context in the treaty, and if the words in the clause are given their natural and ordinary significance, the meaning is clear enough. They import beyond question an absolute cession of the Leased district to the United States, unaccompanied by any condition in the nature of a trust, express or implied. If this was the meaning of the words "hereby cede", the context of the treaty and the construction placed on contemporary treaties, clothed the meaning in perplexing obscurity.

Within a half dozen years after the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1866 the Leased district, embracing about 7,713,239 acres, was divided into four distinct parts. The Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches, by article two of the treaty of October 21, 1867, secured a tract of 2,968,893 acres in the southeastern part of the district. A tract of 2,489,160 acres in the northwestern part of the district was included in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation established by executive order of August 10, 1869.[14] By the unratified agreement of October 19, 1872 a tract of 743,610 acres in the northeastern part of the district was set apart for the Wichitas. Finally there was Greer county, a tract of 1,511,576 acres west of the North Fork of the Red River. This tract was not assigned to Indians but was claimed by Texas as a part of its territory.

The question of paying the Choctaws and Chickasaws for a portion of the Leased district was effectively brought before Congress when the Cheyenne and Arapahoe agreement concluded by the Cherokee Commission in the autumn of 1890 was presented to that body for ratification. Neither Secretary Noble nor President Harrison favored additional payment to the Choctaws and Chickasaws for any portion of the district. Nevertheless by section fifteen of the Indian appropriation act approved March 3, 1891 the sum of $2,991,450, or $1.25 an acre for surplus lands, was appropriated to pay the Choctaws and Chickasaws for the Cheyenne and Arapahoe portion of the Leased district, estimated to embrace 2,393,160 acres not needed for allotments under the agreement.[15] The act plainly said that the lands in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation south of the Canadian river had been "ceded in trust" to the United States by the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1866.

[14] In a strict sense the Wichita reservation was a part of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation of 1869, but in a practical sense it was not; the area given does not include it.

[15] 26 *Statutes,* 1025.

Three-fourths of the above named sum should be paid to the Choctaws and the remaining fourth to the Chickasaws upon making absolute releases to the said lands, in manner and form, satisfactory to the President.

By a joint resolution[16] approved January 18, 1893 the appropriation of 1891 for the Choctaws and Chickasaws was reduced by $48,800 since it was ascertained by a recount of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe allottees to be by that amount more than was due the two tribes upon the purchase and settlement of their interest in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe portion of the Leased district. The resolution also provided that neither the passage of the original act appropriating the $2,991,450 nor the resolution itself should "be held in any way to commit the Government to the payment of any further sum to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians for any alleged interest in the remainder of the lands" in the Leased district. The $48,800 was deducted accordingly, and in June 1893 the sum of $2,942,650 was paid to the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

These facts are commonly known among students of Oklahoma history. It is not commonly known that the Cherokee Commission in 1893 offered the Choctaws $1,750,000 for a cession of all their right and claim to lands "remaining west of the 98th degree West Longitude," and that the offer was promptly declined. These facts are recorded in the final report of the Cherokee Commission. The Choctaws and Chickasaws, even to the Supreme Court of the United States, prosecuted their claim for compensation for portions of the Leased district not in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation, but without avail. The highest court found that the cession of 1866 of the Leased district was absolute.[17] It may be

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[16] 27 *Statutes*, 753; see also 28 *Statutes*, 898.

[17] United States v. Choctaw Nation and Chickasaw Nation, 179 U. S. 494 (1900). There is much material on the case of the Leased district. Extensive briefs on behalf of the plaintiffs and defendant are filed in the Court of Claims, *Printed Records*, vol. 164. See also Choctaws et al. v. The United States et al., 34 Ct. Cls. 17 (1899); *Senate Reports*, 71 Cong. 2 sess., ii (9186), no. 652, pp. 9-10; bill passed by Congress, and veto message of President Hoover, *Cong. Record*, 71 Cong. 3 sess. (Feb. 20, 1931), pp. 5467-5468.

In a decision on January 9, 1939 the Court of Claims gave special findings of fact and conclusions relative to the claim of the Choctaws and Chickasaws against the United States for just compensation for lands in the Leased district. In its conclusions the court said: "The plaintiffs have no legal or equitable rights and there has been no taking by the defendant of any lands of the plaintiffs for which the defendant has not paid a valid consideration . . . . There is no claim made against the defendant but solely a request for a gift, grant, or bounty. Whether a gift, grant, or bounty should be made is within the sound descretion of the Congress and, being political and not judicial, this court will not express an opinion thereon." The decision is in 88 Ct. Cls. 271.

Subsequently Senator Elmer Thomas, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, introduced in the Senate, bill 2001, authorizing an appropriation of $8,096,047.31 for payment in full to the Choctaws and Chickasaws for the Leased district. The bill was approved by the Committee and was reported to the Senate

of interest to the Choctaws and Chickasaws to meditate upon what appears as lost opportunity, but few crumbs of comfort are found in reflecting upon how things might have been. Certain it is that Congress ratified all the agreements the Cherokee Commission concluded, and the Commission in 1893 offered the Choctaws and Chickasaws $1,750,000 for a cession of their right and claim to lands "remaining west of the 98th degree West Longitude."

This explanation should clarify the final report of the Cherokee Commission, which is as follows:

St. Louis, Mo. August 21st., 1893

Sir:—

We, the subscribers hereto, constituting what has come to be commonly known, The Cherokee Commission, now have the honor to report that shortly after the 4th of March last, we repaired to the Indian Territory to further persue our labors in extinguishing the Indian title to lands therein, west of the 96th degree of West Longitude.

We first visited the Poncas whom we had visited before, and began holding councils with them early in April, and continued without material interruption until the 21st day of June last. Every possible condition and prospect was fully discussed and explained, but they absolutely refused to enter into any agreement whatever. We remained with the Poncas longer than would seem necessary, if reference be had only to their numbers or the area of their reservation. But the remaining tribes, viz: the Otoes and Missourias, the Kansas or Kaws, and the Osages are all the neighbors of the Poncas, and were constantly being advised of our progress or lack of progress with the Poncas. For these reasons the Ponca attempt was largely a test case, for failure with them was at least a vigorous promise of failure with the other tribes named.

It can be laid down as a rule of universal and unvarying application that no Indian tribe is willing in the first instance to make any new arrangement with the Government. The individuals of each tribe must be educated, as it were, and when they comply with the wishes of the Government, do so against their inclination.

Influences hostile to the purposes and plans of the Government can, all the time, be felt but rarely seen. We can surmise and assert what these influences are, but if called upon to prove the assertion, could not do it.

The Ponca and Otoe Reservations have been the highway for travelers and homeseekers from Kansas to Oklahoma, and from Oklahoma to Kansas. It would be difficult to determine which way the travel for the past two years has been the greatest, but going and returning, the road has been fairly crowded with emigrant wagons, and at night every watering place becomes quite a village of people, tents, wagons, horses, mules and cattle.

Indians are like white men in the particular that they want advice that will sustain their own preconceived notions. So that a vagrant cowboy or irresponsible and disheartened "Boomer," or a malicious meddler, can quietly and covertly advise an Indian against making an agreement, and such advice, comporting with the Indians desires, can hardly be over-

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June 3 (legislative day, May 28), 1940. The report is in *S. Reports*, 76 Cong. 3 sess., no. 1743.

For more than a third of a century after the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Leased district the Choctaws and Chickasaws contended that they should be paid more money for the district. And in support of that contention their attorneys went up and down Pennsylvania avenue, keeping warm the trail between Congress and the Court of Claims.

come in weeks by Commissioners representing the Government, whose only aim is to make the condition of the Indian better and his lot happier.

The practice of making cattle leases, we feel, is entirely antagonistic to the best interests of both the Indian and the Government.[18] The rental, ranging from three and one-half to fifteen cents an acre, yields a gross sum that results in a per capita distribution in money or checks. With the Poncas and Otoes this yeilds [yields] from seven to twelve dollars per annum to each member of the tribe. The father receives the money for his entire family, and is thus in possession of a fund or entitled to a credit at the trader's store that has cost him no labor. The Indian therefore prizes it much more highly than he does a crop of corn or wheat, for the corn and wheat have cost him much toil. Besides this, an influential Indian can occasionally receive from the foreman of a "cow ranch" a present of a live beef or can purchase one on credit. This enables him to give a feast to many, when the advantages of the system of cattle leases are extolled. A beef animal in hand, is worth much more to an Indian, than two such animals in prospect. The plan of the Government to allot lands to the Indians in severalty, and open the residue or surplus to settlement only promises a living to the Indians, as a price of some toil: A more meager subsistence that comes without toil is much preferred.

All these matters conspire to make the Indian stubborn in his unwillingness to change his condition. The lands of all the Indians above named are taken from the Cherokee Outlet, and were purchased by the Goverment from the Cherokee Nation for said tribes respectively, under the provisions of the 16th Article of the Treaty of 1866 with the Cherokees. That Article provides that the lands shall be conveyed in fee simple. The conveyances were made to the United States in trust for the use and benefit of the tribes respectively. On September 6th. 1890, the President, under the authority conferred upon him by the general allotment law of 1887, ordered the Poncas, Tonkawas, Pawnees and Otoes and Missourias to take allotments of land to be held by them respectively in severalty. The Tonkawas and Pawnees not only took their allotments, but sold their surplus land to the Government, and by the agreements their allotments were confirmed to them. But the Poncas and Otoes and Missourias were very much averse to doing so. A few of the Otoes and Missourias and about half of the Poncas selected their allotments, but all the others persistently refused to do so. Prominent men in the Cherokee Nation have advised them that they are not compelled to obey the order of the President; that they, the Cherokees, sold them the land which they now own in fee simple, and that they can do with it as they please. This being advice to their liking, they adopt it for their guidance and affect to believe that the President's order will be ineffectual.

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[18] In his letter to Secretary Smith on March 20, 1893 Jerome stated that the leasing of reservation lands to cattlemen had been a menace to the Commisison in previous negotiations with the Poncas, Otoes and Missourias, Kaws, and Osages. On April 6 Acting Commissioner Belt of the Indian Office advised the Secretary of the Interior that there were thirty-four leases of grazing lands in force on the Osage reservation covering in the neighborhood of 800,000 acres; on the Otoe and Missouri reservation, two leases covering about 90,000 acres, and on the Ponca reservation, two leases covering about 66,000 acres. Four leases on the Kaw reservation had expired April 1, and steps had been taken toward the leasing of pastures there for another year. Belt stated that each of the leases then in force contained a clause by which the lease should terminate when the Indian title to the lands covered thereby should be extinguished. He explained that a similar clause would be incorporated in any leases thereafter made. Letter of April 6, 1893, OIA, *L. Letter Book*, 256, pp. 20-25.

While with the Poncas, we met the Principal Chief of the Otoes and Missourias, who informed us that these Indians would not enter upon negotiations at all, being fortified in their notions by all the considerations that affected the Poncas; therefore, we held no formal councils with his people.

On June 22nd last, we went to the capital of the Osage Nation, Pawhuska, and proposed to and did enter into negotiations with the Osages. These Indians are expressly exempted from the operation of the general allotment law of 1887.

The Osages have a crude sort of Government with a written constitution and laws but a more crude intelligence as to its importance, powers or obligations. They were agreed however, that the power to enter into negotiations with the Government, resided in the people. Therefore we arranged for and held general councils and continued them from day to day until the first week of August. In the beginning all seemed opposed to entering upon the business for which we visited them, but as the desires of the Government were developed by discussion a considerable number, including quite all of the half or mixed bloods, expressed themselves as willing to adopt the new relation sought by the Government, if the details of an agreement could be made acceptable to them; but the majority of the tribe, composed almost entirely of the full blood element, refused even to discuss the propositions submitted to them.

They have what they are pleased to call unsettled differences with the Government, and finally proposed that if all these differences should first be adjusted, they would be ready to enter upon a new condition of life, as desired by the United States.

These differences referred to were 1st: That the Government had arbitrarily withheld some half million dollars of interest accrued upon their invested funds. This they call "dead money", and wanted it paid to them. 2nd. By a provision of the Treaty of 1867, the avails of the sale of fifteenhundred /1500/ sections of their lands in Kansas, was to be used as a "Civilization Fund", to be expended in the discretion of the Government, for the education and civilization of any Indians in the United States. This fund, the principal, amounts, it is alleged, to about three quarters of a million dollars. They claim that they did not understand the Treaty as now interpreted and intended that the fund should be used only for the benefit of the Osages. They wanted this adjusted in accordance with their own understanding.[19] 3rd. By a subsequent agreement, the United States bought the remainder of their lands in Kansas and agreed to account to them for the proceeds of said land as it should be sold to settlers. Some of this land, in the dry regions of western Kansas, has not been sold, and probably never will be, but the Osages insisted the United States should pay for all the unsold land in Kansas at the rate of one dollar and twenty five cents per acre.

These matters were not to form a part of an agreement negotiated by us, by which they take and hold allotments of land in severalty, but all were to precede any such agreement. An ill feeling had developed between the contending factions, and there was not even a hope of reaching an agreement at this time.

While with the Osages, we sought interviews with members of the Kansas or Kaw tribe, who occupy a small portion of the Osage Reservation. We ascertained from them that they would only follow when the Osages led, so we did not visit them at their homes.

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[19] In regard to the "Civilization Fund," see the Osage treaty of September 29, 1865, proclaimed January 21, 1867, Kappler ii, 673. After many years of dissatisfaction this question came before the Court of Claims in 1929. Osage Tribe of Indians v. United States, 66 Ct. Cls. 64. A literal construction of the treaty obtained and the claims of the Osages were not sustained.

We feel that the work done with all these tribes has in no sense been lost, for every Indian has been made to fully understand the policy of the Government, the reasons therefor, and the effect it will have upon the Indian. They have it all in mind and, until further efforts are made, will be constantly thinking and talking and getting ready to act.

With the Osages, we found another objection made by them to any present new arrangement of their relations with the Government. The Cherokees have invited them to hold out with them and to yield only when the Cherokees yielded, and an ambition had been aroused among the Osages to become the "Sixth Civilized Tribe", and finally a part of the "Indian State" which they fondly hope may be in the near future organized and recognized.

While we were at the Capitol of the Osage Nation, Pawhuska, we made an appointment to meet with accredited delegates of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations at St. Louis, Missouri on the 14th day of August, for the purpose of negotiating a surrender or relinquishment to the United States of a claim of these Nations of a reversionary interest in and to the lands occupied by the Wichitas and affiliated bands, and by the Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches west of the 90 degree West Longitude. It would hardly be proper, surely not profitable, for us to enter upon any argument at this time, for or against the validity of this claim. It has been fully and freely discussed in both branches of Congress within the past three years, as well as in executive messages. After the action of Congress upon a like claim in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Country, we were advised by the then Secretary of the Interior, to enter upon such negotiations, but upon a basis to keep, if possible, within the price for which the Government could be reimbursed by settlers; that is to say that the aggregate price paid to the Indians occupying said lands and the Choctaws and Chickasaws should not exceed the amount for which the Government could probably dispose of the lands to settlers.[20] The Whichitas and affiliated bands occupy their reservations, as did the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, viz: by unratified agreements, Executive or Departmental orders. The Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches hold their lands by reason of a treaty with the United States, made after the Treaty of 1866 with the Choctaws and Chickasaws for the same land. Their title is very much like the title of the Sacs & Foxes, the Pawnees and the Seminoles in the Creek lands, made by treaty with those tribes respectively, after the Treaty of 1866 with the Creeks.

In communicating to Congress upon the Creek sale of Oklahoma in 1889, the President had occasion to speak of the rights of the Creeks in and to the Seminole, Sac and Fox and Pawnee lands. That his mind may be refreshed as to the views he then held upon that question, we respectfully call his attention to his message to Congress upon that occasion. It is proper to add that the Choctaws and Chickasaws strenuously contend that the position taken by him in the Creek sale, in no way applies to their claim. We knew the course of Congress and the Executive in relation to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe lands.

The Choctaw and Chickasaw delegates, agreeable to their appointment, met us in St. Louis, near the day mentioned. The matter was considered with them carefully and resulted in an offer to them of one million seven hundred and fifty thousand /1,750,000/ dollars for a cession of all the right and claim of the Choctaws and Chickasaw remaining west of the 98th degree West Longitude. We had already made an agreement with the Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches for their surplus land, agreeing to pay

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[20] See Noble to Jerome, May 19, 1892, Sec. Int., *Rec. Letters Sent*, No. 75, pp. 431-433; Jerome to Noble, Oct. 7, 1892, Sec. Int., 7722 Ind. Div. 1892; tel. from Noble to Jerome, Oct. 12, 1892. Sec. Int., *Misc. Letters*, p. 358½; and Jerome to Noble, Nov. 14, 1892, Sec. Int., 8706 Ind. Div. 1892.

to them a sum equal to eighty cents per acre, which agreement is now before Congress for ratification. We had also made an agreement with the Wichitas for their surplus land, the price however to be fixed by Congress. This agreement is also before Congress awaiting ratification. From all these sources of information and matters of inducement, we made to the Choctaws and Chickasaws the above offer, including in the proposition that their relinquishment to the Government should include any possible reversionary interest in the country known as Greer County, Texas. The Choctaw and Chickasaw delegates promptly declined the proposition and the conference ended.

The appropriation for the support of this Commission was already exhausted, so the Commission adjourned without day.

We hold our appointments during the pleasure of the President, and while we have been over all the work assigned us, and having temporarily failed with the Osages, Poncas, Otoes and Kaws, we believe agreements can be made in a few months with these tribes. Whatever may be the desire or judgment of the President in the premises, will meet with our ready acquiescence and approval. Should it be desired that we continue the work, we will cheerfully do so, but should it be desired to adopt some other course, that will be equally agreeable. Therefore, whether the Commission should continue or be dissolved finally, we respectfully submit for your consideration.

For the information of the President, we submit a succinct statement of the agreements made by the Cherokee Commission with the tribes in the Indian Territory.

We, have the honor to be very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servants:

David H. Jerome
Alfred M. Wilson — Cherokee
Warren G. Sayre — Commissioners

To the President

A Statement of the tribes with which the Cherokee Commission has concluded successful negotiations, the area of the respective Reservations, the money considerations, and the number of Indians taking allotments under the several agreements:[21]

TRIBES	DATE OF AGREEMENT	ACRES IN RESERVATION	PRICE	INDIANS
Iowas	May 28-1890	228 418	84 350	111
Sac & Foxes	June 12-1890	479 668	485 000	528
Pott. & Ab-Shawnees	June 25-26-1890	575 870 42	225 000	2050
Cheyennes & Arapahoe	Nov-14-1890	3554 195 58	1500 000	3265
Wichitaws & A. T.	June 4-1891	743 610	To be fixed by Congress	1060
Kickapoos	Sept-9-1891	206 466	64 650	280
Tonkawas	Oct-21-1891	90 711	30 600	70
Cherokees	Dec-21-1891	6022 754	8595 736 12	Outlet
Kiowas C & A	Oct-21-1892	2968 893	2000 000	3103
Pawnees	Nov-23-1892	230 014 04	$1.25 per acre for surplus	1045
TOTAL		15 100 600 04		11 512

[21] There were eleven agreements. The agreement with the Pottawatomies was concluded June 25, 1890. The agreement with the Absentee Shawnees was concluded the next day.

The members of the Cherokee Commission were paid up to and including August 16, 1893.[22] The final report of the Commission was transmitted by Wilson to Secretary Hoke Smith on October 15. In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior on November 3 Commissioner D. M. Browning summarized the final report and concluded:

> "In view of the fact that the commission has concluded agreements with all of the tribes located west of the 96th degree, except the Poncas, Otoes, Osages and Kaws, with whom there is no probability of securing agreements for some time to come, at least, nor with the civilized tribes for lands west of the 96th degree, with which tribes another commission has recently been appointed to negotiate, I do not deem it advisable that the commission known as the Cherokee Commission should longer be continued. I therefore have the honor to recommend that the commission be finally dissolved."[23]

In a reply of November 7 Secretary Smith said that by direction of the President the Commission "is hereby dissolved."[24] The final report of the Commission is not a model in the use of the English language. The report rests however on the foundation of intimate knowledge acquired during four years of negotiations with tribes in Oklahoma Territory.

A few words should be said about the work the Cherokee Commission left undone. The full blood Osages claimed that the names of many persons were on the Osage rolls that were not entitled to be there. The full bloods did not want such persons to participate in the disposition of tribal property, and were so bitter about the matter they insisted that the rolls be purged as a preliminary step to negotiations. The Department of the Interior, content to request a list of the names of those charged with fraudulent enrollment and the evidence,[25] proceeded to send a commission to the reservation in 1894 to negotiate with the Osages for the surrender to the United States of such portion of their reservation as they might be willing to cede. On May 18 the Osage Commission consisting of James S. Hook, chairman, John A. Gorman and John L. Tullis was appointed for the purpose. Under instructions[26] approved by the Department of the Interior on May 25 negotiations were to be had with a full council of Indians and any agreement concluded should be assented to by a majority of male adults in order to be valid. The Commission was advised not to use "undue pressure," but to present the matter plainly and care-

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[22] Com. D. M. Browning to Sec. Int., Feb. 9, 1894, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 273, pp. 388-390.

[23] Letter of Nov. 3, 1893, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 267, pp. 462-464. The commission recently appointed was the Dawes Commission.

[24] Smith to Com. Ind. Aff., Nov. 7, 1893, Sec. Int., *Appointment Division*, vol. 112, p. 142.

[25] The full bloods, who urged an investigation of the enrollment, were handicapped because the records prior to 1893 were lost when the Council House burned.

[26] The letter of instructions, under date of May 23, 1894, is in OIA, *L. Letter Book* 281, pp. 176-183.

fully for the consideration of the Osages. The question of allotment was bound up with that of the cession of surplus lands.

The story of the Osage Commission and its failure need not be told here. When we consider that the question of the tribal rolls was a source of bitter contention on the reservation, that the Osage Commission was successor to the "Jerome Commission" which was of bad repute among many Indians in Oklahoma Territory, and that the Osages had a good Indian title, it is not singular that Hook, Gorman and Tullis, unable to cooperate well in drawing up and presenting an offer, met outright failure. The Osage Commission was discontinued on February 12, 1895 by order of the Secretary of the Interior. On the reservations of the Osages, Kaws, Poncas, and Otoes and Missourias allotments were made, but no agreements were made by which surplus lands were opened to white settlement.

TRANSPORTATION IN CARTER COUNTY, 1913-1917

By Gilbert L. Robinson

Three types of transportation served the operators in the Healdton Field, but in the earliest days of the development of the field freight by wagon was the only service available. When the Oklahoma, New Mexico and Pacific Railroad had been built from Ardmore to a point southwest of Healdton, freight by rail became a possibility. When the Magnolia Petroleum Company became convinced of the potential importance of the field, they provided for transporting part of the crude oil produced at Healdton by building a six-inch pipe line from the field west to Addington, Oklahoma, then south to their main line which terminated at Fort Worth, Texas.

News of the bringing in of the Franklin number one was published August 10, 1913, just six days after the driving of the first spike in the Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Pacific Railway by Governor Lee Cruce and Mr. Jake Hamon. It is evident that all of the drilling equipment used in the early months of development had to be hauled by teams and wagons from Ardmore, about twenty-eight miles east on the Santa Fe railroad, or from Waurika, about the same distance west on the Rock Island railroad.

It would be well to deal with the various types of transportation in the order in which they appeared in the field. There are no records available on the number of teams used prior to January 11, 1914, on which date, however, in the records of the new railroad town of Wilson the first information on the subject appears: with a population of only eight hundred, the town served as drayage headquarters for the oil field and five hundred teams were quartered in or near the town. This new settlement was unusual in that it had more horses and mules than people. An oddity among these teams was that of four oxen pulling an eight horse load.[1]

The roads in the western part of the county were no worse than country roads in any other part of Oklahoma in 1913-14. They were poorly graded section line roads of clay and sand, and it takes little imagination to visualize how the hauling of hundreds of wagon loads of freight over these roads each day kept them cut up badly. These loads weighed more than a ton each and the oxen dray pulled loads as great as four or five tons. Recalling that these wagons had rather narrow-rimmed, steel-tired wheels, it can be seen further the havoc such heavy traffic played with the oil field roads.

The weather formed an important factor to consider in the development of transportation in this field. A drouth in August and September, 1913, was followed by heavy rains in November and December. Because of the muddy roads, the speed of extensive

[1] *The Daily Ardmoreite*, January 11, 1914.

drilling, tank building, and pipe line activities was delayed greatly. Four carloads of tank steel for the Magnolia Pipe Line Company's first fifty-five thousand barrel storage tank were unloaded in Wilson, December 9. This material was moved to its destination, seven miles northwest of Wilson, under the greatest of difficulty. There was a minimum of one hundred tons in this one shipment representing about sixty-five wagon loads.[2]

The distance to the field by road was shortened when the oil operators and citizens of Joiner City won their fight with Jake Hamon over establishing a "stop and siding" on the railroad at their town. Since Joiner City was (it no longer exists) located about four miles due south of the heart of the field, this meant a reduction of three miles in the distance of wagon trips to the railroad.[3]

Jealousy arose between Ringling (city) and Ardmore as to which place should receive date line credit for oil field news in the papers. Mr. A. McCrory of Ringling and Mr. Wirt Franklin of Ardmore carried on an amusing tilt over this matter. But underneath the surface, there was real concern in Ardmore for fear that Ringling, being the western terminal of the Ringling railroad, might secure a monopoly of the oil field trade. Since Ringling was about twenty-three miles nearer the field than Ardmore, it was natural for Ringling to get a great deal of the trade from the field workers in addition to becoming a sending and receiving point for a great amount of oil field freight. These fears led some citizens of Ardmore to circulate contribution papers for the up-keep of a subscription road in the oil fields. On May 22, 1914, a total of $250 a month had been subscribed.[4] This money was entirely inadequate to take care of a main road over thirty miles long, in addition to many miles of section line roads surrounding the productive properties in the field.

By June, 1914, from forty to sixty freight cars daily were unloaded in Wilson and Ringling. These cars varied in size from thirty to fifty tons' capacity, but taking the minimum for an average, it would mean a total of eighteen hundred tons unloaded along this line daily. That would be about twelve hundred wagon loads of freight to be hauled each day.[5] Wilson lost its position of serving as headquarters for the greatest number of teams to Ringling in 1915, but it still boasted a total of one hundred and fifty teams in August, 1915, when it was estimated that fifty teams daily hauled rig timbers and supplies to the field and that one hundred teams daily were hauling pipe and supplies south from Wilson for a new pipe line being built for the Producers

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[2] *Ibid.*, December 9, 1913.
[3] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1914.
[4] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1914.
[5] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1914.

Refining Company of Gainesville, Texas.[6] The demand for teams in Ringling was greater than the supply and the freight yards became badly congested. This town witnessed the spectacle of five hundred teams leaving early each morning, rushing as fast as possible, pulling their heavy loads, working frantically, trying to ease the jam of freight traffic in the Ringling yards. Much of the equipment, such as boilers, was so heavy that teams varying in size from four to twelve horses were required to pull one load. It can be conservatively estimated that twelve hundred teams were in service in the field during this boom period. Each new day brought a mad race between sweating, cursing, hard-driving teamsters to see who could set a new record for a round trip to the field. Just as the drillers raced one another to set speed records in drilling time, these teamsters took great pride in competing with each other for the honor of being the best teamster in the field.[7] Team contractors received from five to six dollars daily for the services of the teams in addition to the pay which the teamsters received.

Because road conditions continued to be bad in 1916, Wirt Franklin, Sam Apple and Roy Johnson sought a charter for the purpose of building a toll road from Ardmore to the oil field. Immediately, one hundred and twenty thousand dollars was subscribed to stock in the proposed company but this plan did not materialize.[8] A study of the map of Carter County shows that two-thirds of the population lived in the east third of the county. Due to a light commissioners vote in the oil field area, there never was a proper feeling of responsibility on the part of the county commissioners for the rough roads which the most valuable part of the county had to tolerate.

The oil field area was finally promised relief through the efforts of Frank McPhail, Jack Hyde, Jim Saverline, and Mayor W. S. Rimbey of Healdton, who appeared before the Board of County Commissioners early in January, 1920, and presented such a strong plea that the Commission finally voted to allot all Federal funds received in 1920, for the construction and maintenance of the oil field road.[9] Bill Krohn expressed the general opinion of the oil field population as he wrote,

> . . . . But even at that Ardmore and Carter County have not advanced as they might have, and one of the Chief reasons for their failure to do so is the fact that, with few possible exceptions, the roads leading to the oil field districts are and have been for quite some time, in a deplorable condition . . . . First consideration should be given members of the oil fraternity for it is to them that Carter County owes its worth . . . .[10]

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[6] *Ibid.*, August 3, 1915.
[7] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1915.
[8] *Ibid.*, December 3, 1916.
[9] *Ibid.*, January 8, 1920.
[10] *Ibid.*, editorial, June 26, 1922.

At the time of this editorial the horse and wagon era had passed, since motor trucks had firmly displaced the older, slower method of hauling freight.

On January 8, 1913, the Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Pacific Railway received a charter from the state of Oklahoma capitalizing the company at $2,400,000 and granting them the right to build a standard gauge railroad from Ardmore to Lawton via Waurika. The company was controlled by John Ringling through ownership of all outstanding shares except directors' qualifying shares.[11] The original purpose for building this line was to provide an east to west railway service for the people of southern Oklahoma, particularly the farmers, between Ardmore and Lawton.

The officials of the line never anticipated that an oil field would be drilled less than five miles north of their line about twenty-eight miles west of Ardmore.[12] The building of the line was to be a conservative business deal from which the officials, by careful and patient management, hoped eventually to recover their money. This is a typical example of the part which fate, or luck, often plays in the business world.

Construction of the Ringling road began about May 1, 1913, and was completed, as far as Ringling, the first week in January, 1914.[13] The road bed grade was finished about August 1, with the remaining five months spent in laying the track. The building time of eight months was rather short, but it can be attributed chiefly to two causes. John Ringling had entered into a contract with the citizens of Ardmore to build a railroad from Ardmore to some point on the Rock Island line and have his line in operation before January 1, 1915, provided these citizens would guarantee a twenty thousand dollar bonus and a right of way through Ardmore. It was further agreed that when twenty-five miles of the line was completed and operating, Mr. Ringling would receive one-half of the bonus.[14] The second reason was the desire to start shipping oil field freight as soon as possible.

As the right of way was being surveyed, Jake Hamon (Mr. Ringling's business agent for the railroad) drove the best possible land bargains with the villages located along the proposed right of way. Hamon placed a rather high valuation on the privilege of having a depot located in a town. Although the road was built through the edge of Lone Grove, a town of about three hundred people located eight miles west of Ardmore, Mr. Hamon made it plain that it would be just as convenient to locate the station one mile farther west. The community leaders subscribed

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[11] Valuation Docket No. 504, for Interstate Commerce Commission, April 3, 1925, pp. 1, 10, and 11.

[12] Interview with Mr. Wirt Franklin, June 15, 1937.

[13] Valuation Docket No. 504, for Interstate Commerce Commission, April 3, 1925, p. 7.

[14] *The Daily Ardmoreite*, April 29, 1914.

a two thousand dollar cash bonus in addition to giving the railroad fifty town lots upon which to build the depot.[15]

When the town of Hewitt, located on a hill nine miles west of Lone Grove, was approached on the subject of a depot, they proved their eagerness for such a concession by making a final offer of two thousand, five hundred dollars cash and two hundred town lots. But Mr. Hamon must have thought since Hewitt had about one hundred more people than Lone Grove had, that a depot should be worth more to them than the bonus they offered. So, on September 22, 1913, Mr. Hamon announced that New Wilson, located one mile south and one mile west of Hewitt, would get a depot instead of Hewitt.[15] New Wilson was only a townsite laid out on the bare prairie, and it was purely a commercial venture on the part of the railroad. The inhabitants of Hewitt became angered over this turn of events and employed Judge J. M. Dickerson to force the railroad, by law, to build a depot in their town. This effort to have the Corporation Commission coerce the railroad failed, however, when George Henshaw, chairman of the Corporation Commission ruled that it was the privilege of the railroad to place depots wherever it pleased.[17]

Continuing westward, the railroad passed through Joiner City (a small village of less than one hundred people) toward Cornish, a village in Jefferson County. This town was approximately twenty-nine miles west of Ardmore and was considered a good cattle town. Several good native stone buildings were located along the main street and there was a conservative air of permanency about the place. But when negotiations between Mr. Hamon and Cornish had ended, an announcement was made that another new townsite, Ringling, would be built on the railroad, with construction to begin in May, 1914. The new townsite was one-half mile east and one mile north of Cornish and its nearness ruined Cornish. It is obvious that Ringling was named for the famous show man, John Ringling, but it is not so generally known that Wilson was named for Mr. Ringling's personal secretary, Charles Wilson, instead of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States at that time.[18]

The Ringling Railroad prospered at the beginning, but a group of Ardmore business men threatened to interfere with the monopoly which the Ringling road enjoyed. Mr. F. B. McElroy and associates organized the "Ardmore Western Interurban Railway" and announced plans for an eight mile line beginning in the heart of the oil field and joining the Ringling line at some point south of the field. They further stated that the right of way had been secured, the finances were available, and that work would begin

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[15] *Ibid.*, September 13, 1913.
[16] *Ibid.*, September 22, 1913.
[17] *Ibid.*, October 2, 1913.
[18] *Ibid.*, January 5, 1914.

when the Bonding Company engineer had approved the project.[19] The other threats of competition for oil field freight traffic caused Mr. Ringling to announce that he would be in Ardmore not later than October 10, 1916, to plan a branch line from the oil field to join the main line at either Ringling or Wilson. The people of Ardmore were predicting that the Santa Fe Railroad would build a new line through to the north edge of the field, and a new firm, The Ardmore Railway Company, started a survey to determine the cost of building a traction line from Ardmore to the field.[20]

Ardmore became genuinely alarmed upon discovering that the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad had sent engineers to Lindsay, Oklahoma, with instructions to make a survey south of the town of Fox, which was located eight miles north of Healdton. It was apparent that the Santa Fe intended to connect the oil field with its main line at Pauls Valley, via Lindsay, and a great protest was raised in Ardmore immediately. On Monday, October 16, 1916, the Ardmore Chamber of Commerce declared it was necessary that a railroad be built from Ardmore to Fox (where oil had also been struck) and that if others would not relieve the situation, they (the Chamber of Commerce) would. A committee, composed of Judge S. M. Davis, I. M. Putnam, and B. A. Simpson, was selected to confer with President Ripley, of the Santa Fe, about the new road.[21]

John Ringling and Jake Hamon had been busy during this time, however. On November 23, 1916, a charter was granted by the Corporation Commission to the Ringling and Oil Field Railway Company, capitalized at $600,000.[22] The Board of Directors was composed of Jake Hamon, John Ringling, Charles C. Wilson, H. A. Coomer, P. C. Dings, and C. L. Anderson. The charter provided for the line to begin at a point on the Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Pacific, near Ringling and proceed north to Oklahoma City eventually.[23] The first town on this new line was to be located in the west half of section two, four south, three west, one mile west of Healdton and two miles east of Wirt.

In less than a month, work was begun on this new townsite designated as New Healdton. Over fifty tents were staked near the location and a large crew of men, with one hundred and fifteen teams, was rushing construction of the road bed and line. By January 2, 1917, two miles of track was completed, and freight was sent up the line from Joiner City, the point selected as the southern end of the Ringling and Oil Field road. Mr. Jack Langston, a business associate of Mr. Hamon's, had established head-

[19] *Ibid.*, January 15, 1914.
[20] *Ibid.*, October 1, 1916.
[21] *Ibid.*, October 17, 1916.
[22] Valuation Docket No. 504, for Interstate Commerce Commission, April 3, 1925, p. 12.
[23] *The Daily Ardmoreite*, November 28, 1916.

quarters at the townsite and was supervising the planning of the proposed town.[24] Town lots sold rapidly, for on January 9, the first day of the sale, over three hundred and fifty lots were sold, and by February 19, three new banks were established in New Healdton and the post office at (old) Healdton had been moved to New Healdton. The Post Office Department authorized that New Healdton become just Healdton, and Jake Hamon ordered the name of the town to correspond with that of the post office. An unofficial census of Healdton on March 18, placed the population at two thousand people and the business district at about fifty establishments. Thirteen days later, the last spike in the Ringling and Oil Field road was driven and by April 26 a total of two hundred freight cars had been shipped to Healdton over the new line, regular freight service having been established April 15, and a passenger schedule announced one week later.[25]

Healdton was built at a very favorable time, since the price of oil had started advancing steadily. The field was "booming" and the payroll was heavy, due to higher wages and new men finding employment. Then, too, Healdton held an advantage over Wirt since the latter was not a railroad town. Healdton rapidly, but surely, became the trade center for the oil field people and it has held that distinction continuously ever since.

It is apparent that the Ringling railroads played an important part in developing the Healdton field, but it is just as obvious that the railroads benefitted equally in a financial way. An idea of how profitable this undertaking proved to be can be obtained from the following figures: the cost of building the 29.981 miles of line from Ardmore to Ringling was $908,800 and the cost of the 5.193 miles of spur track to Healdton was $132,327. The net income, on an investment of $1,041,127 for the period from October 1, 1913, to December 31, 1917, was $335,844.64.[26] There is no doubt but that some other enterprise would have built a railroad into the Healdton field if John Ringling had not, and to prove the desirability of such a line, The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway leased the Ringling line in July, 1925. The line was then sub-leased to the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe and this lease was approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission July 23, 1926.[27] About a year later, the Santa Fe bought the Ringling road, paying a little over one million dollars for the line. The name was changed to the Healdton and Santa Fe Railway and the value was listed at $1,189,222.[28]

Shipping oil from the field was a greater problem to the producers than bringing drilling rigs and supplies into the field. By

[24] *Ibid.*, January 2, 1917.

[25] *Ibid.*, April 26, 1917.

[26] Valuation Docket No. 504, for Interstate Commerce Commission, April 3, 1925, p. 12.

[27] *The Daily Ardmoreite*, July 23, 1926.

[28] Annual Report of Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway Company to Oklahoma State Corporation Commission, year ending December 31, 1927.

the end of 1915 the daily potential of the field was one hundred and eighteen thousand barrels and it was September, 1917, before the production dropped to sixty-five thousand barrels daily and the pipe line capacity of the field became sixty-six thousand barrels daily. Pipe line running of the oil was the only practical way to care for the production. Shipping one hundred and eighteen thousand barrels of oil each day by train was too expensive, too slow, and very nearly impossible. Tank cars range in size from one hundred and forty-five barrels to two hundred and thirty-eight barrels each, which would have meant that ten trains of sixty-two tanks cars would have been necessary to handle this huge traffic daily.

The Magnolia Pipe Line Company, the first to enter the field, finished its six-inch line from the field on March 7, 1914. The line capacity was ten thousand barrels daily, while the potential production was only six thousand, five hundred barrels.[29] This favorable ratio was reversed by March 23, however, when the production had increased to ten thousand barrels daily, but the Magnolia Pipe Line Company gave oral notice that their daily runs would be cut to four thousand barrels. This announcement coupled with a cut price of oil to fifty cents a barrel by April 20, caused an angry protest from the militant independent operators.[30] This condition also caused these operators to look for new purchasers and carriers for their production.

Many Healdton producers attended an organization meeting of the independent operators in Oklahoma City, April 23, 1914, and there elected C. F. Colcord, President; M. C. Brown, Secretary; and E. E. Brown, Wirt Franklin, and Robert Galbreath, the Board of Directors. Everyone enjoyed the speeches fired at the "Standard Oil and its henchmen," and finally the group agreed to name the organization The Independent Development League. Following the organization of the meeting, resolutions were adopted, beginning

> *Resolved*, that we urge upon the President and Congress of the United States the pressing necessity and importance of immediate legislation to protect the oil industry from the monopoly which now controls prices to both the consumer and the producer, and we suggest and recommend the following legislation.

Sections one and two are unimportant here, but section three bears evidence of a new deal spirit influencing these men in 1914. Section three reads:

> That the Government construct and own a pipe line from some point in Oklahoma to the Gulf of Mexico for the purpose:
>
> a. Of procuring oil at reasonable prices for the use of the Government;
> b. Of enabling the Indian wards of the Government to dispose of their oil at reasonable prices;
> c. Of competing with and thereby compelling the monopolistic pipe line companies to carry and transport oil at reasonable prices.[31]

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[29] *The Daily Ardmoreite*, March 11, 1914.

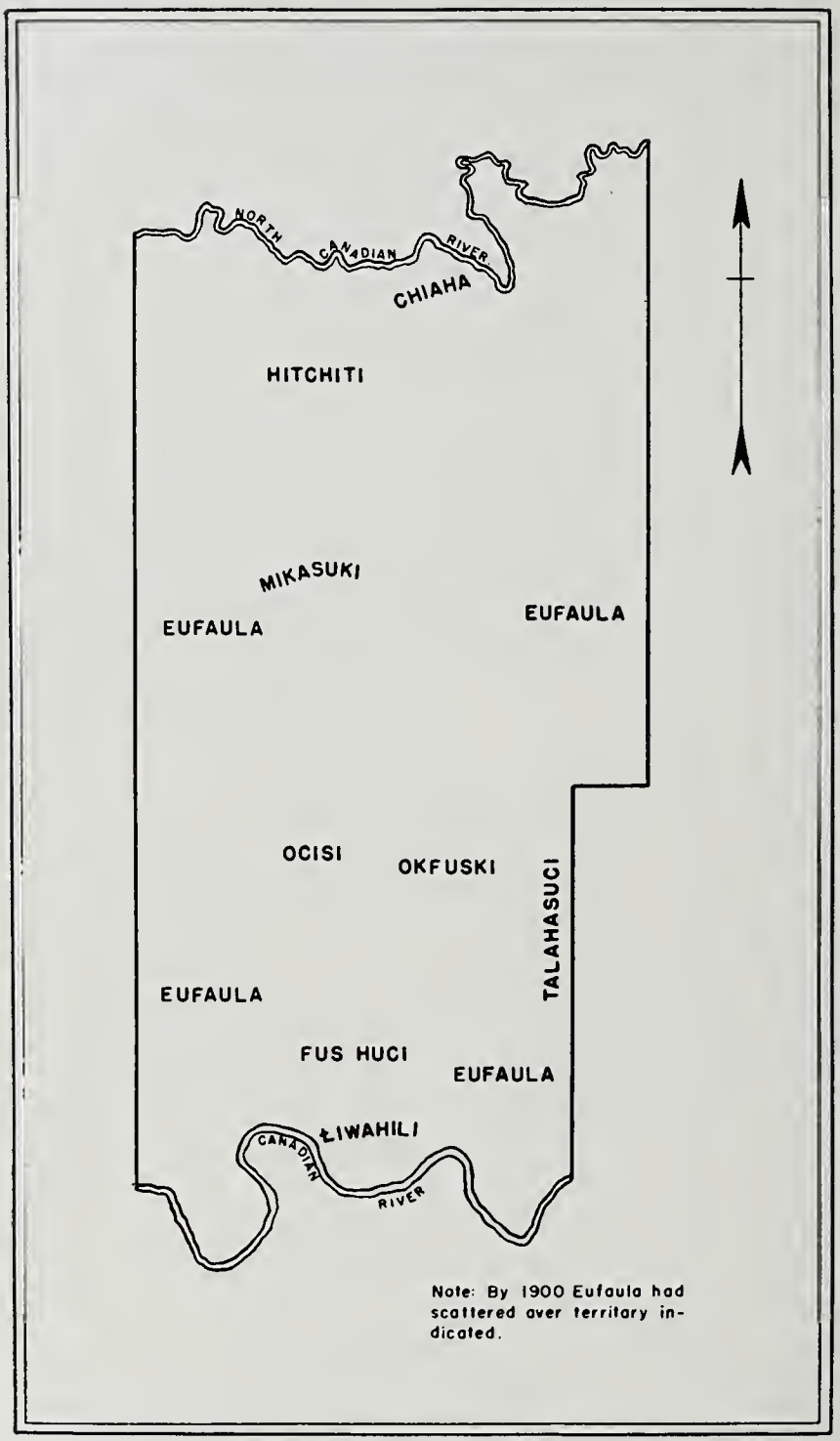
[30] Department of Commerce; Bureau of Corporations; *Conditions in the Healdton Oil Field*, March 15, 1915.

[31] *The Daily Ardmoreite*, April 24, 1914.

Other recommendations followed but this was the most extreme suggestion in the resolutions. A Government pipe line never materialized, of course, but the meeting accomplished much good insofar as informing the public and building sentiment in favor of the Independents was concerned.

The second large outlet for Healdton production was assured when the Producers Refining Company announced plans for an eight-inch pipe line from Healdton to Gainesville, Texas, where they were to build a ten thousand barrel refinery. This pipe line was capable of running thirty-five thousand barrels a day, if necessary, providing sufficient storage tanks were available in Gainesville.[32] It must be remembered that this refinery was still to be built, and the potential for the field at that date, April 21, 1915, was more than fifty thousand barrels daily. At the same time, pipe line service was unable to run as much as fifteen thousand barrels daily from the field. By February 25, 1917, this condition was remedied when a total of six pipe lines with a combined capacity of seventy-three thousand barrels daily was serving the field which now had a potential of about sixty thousand barrels daily.[33] From that date, ample carrier facilities were assured for the Healdton operators and the problem of receiving a fair price for their oil was solved.

[32] *Ibid.*, April 21, 1915.
[33] *Ibid.*, February 25, 1917.



SEMINOLE TOWNS IN 1900

OKLAHOMA SEMINOLE TOWNS

By Alexander Spoehr

When the Seminoles were still living in their old country in the southeastern part of the United States, an important form of local grouping among them was the town (*talw'a*). At the time of removal, the Indians transferred this feature of their social organization to their new habitat in the west and though the town became politically subordinate to the newly formed tribal government and though it changed in other respects, it continued to be a significant aspect of Seminole life. The following remarks concern the character and location of the Seminole towns as they existed in Oklahoma prior to the allotment of Indian lands.[1]

Swanton has pointed out that the Seminole towns in Florida moved about so frequently and altered their names so often that it is next to impossible to follow their history in any connected manner.[2] Even after they had settled in Oklahoma it is difficult to unravel their later vicissitudes. In this there is a distinct difference between Seminole and Creek towns, for the latter each had a proud traditional history that the Seminole towns, which had a composite origin and relatively later formation, lacked. Even today this difference is noticeable, the surviving Upper Creek towns still being more provincial as far as town matters are concerned, and on the whole exhibiting greater cohesion, even though their members may be scattered.

In 1845 the Seminole were said to have twenty-five towns.[3] These became greatly reduced in number, as in the memory of my informants there were only fourteen represented on the tribal council of the Seminole Nation. Two of these towns, or bands as they are now called, consisted entirely of Negro freedmen and the remaining twelve of Indians. The names of the Indian towns were as follows:

1. Hitchiti
2. Mikasuki
3. Chiaha
4. Eufaula No. 1
5. Eufaula No. 2
6. Eufaula No. 3
7. Thliwahili
8. Ocisi
9. Okfuski
10. Talahasuci
11. Fus Huci
12. Newcomers

Though there was a high degree of cultural homogeneity among the Seminoles, two linguistic divisions were represented in the tribe. Hitchiti and Mikasuki towns spoke variant but mutually understandable dialects of the Hitchiti language; the remainder spoke

[1] I am greatly indebted to Wesley Tanyan, my interpreter, for his friendly interest and aid and to Allie Tanyan, Nina Tanyan, Rina Coker, Dave Cummings, and numerous other informants for their invaluable assistance.

[2] J. R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73, pp. 406, 414.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 412-13.

Muskogee proper. The difference in language resulted in a certain social barrier between Hitchiti and Mikasuki on one hand and the other towns on the other, for Muskogee and Hitchiti are mutually unintelligible. Hitchiti town and Mikasuki are said to have visited each other more than the remaining towns, and though Hitchiti was on very friendly terms with Chiaha, its neighbor to the north, the Mikasukis are reported to have kept mostly within their own linguistic division.

Ideally speaking, a Seminole town consisted of a fairly compact group, which in addition to being a political subdivision of the Seminole Nation, maintained its own ceremonial square ground where the town dances, ceremonies, and festivities were held. The towns comprising the list given above did not all conform to these criteria. The three Eufaula towns were separate local divisions, but were apparently formed by the segmentation of one original group, and continued to participate in ceremonies at a single square ground. Fus Huci was originally an old Creek town which migrated to Florida; after moving to Oklahoma, it gave up its square ground and joined tiwahili, although continuing in existence as a separate local group.[4] The latter town also incorporated Kan Hatki, a second Creek town.[5] I was told by Rina Coker, a very old Seminole who was born in Florida and came west at the time of removal, that Newcomers town, to which she belonged, kept together for a short period after the Civil War, but then scattered among the other towns and ceased to maintain a square ground, although retaining its representation on the tribal council. In addition, there may have been small towns which were completely incorporated into larger and more flourishing ones and whose names have been forgotten. Thus one old informant said he believed that a small town had once been split between Ocisi and Okfuski, but could not remember its name. Another elderly Seminole said that a little town was virtually wiped out by an epidemic of smallpox over sixty years ago; in which town the few survivors settled I was unable to determine.

The size of the Seminole towns varied greatly. It is very difficult to obtain accurate estimates, but Hitchiti was reported to number at the close of the century barely a dozen families—a mere hamlet—whereas Mikasuki was said to count well over a hundred. This variation in size may have affected the degree of compactness of the local settlements, though the pattern of house distribution was apparently much the same. Each household possessed its own log cabin and cultivated its own fields. The placing of the former was directly related to the available water supply, so that a typical

[4] cf., *ibid.*, p. 269. Swanton states that tiwahili was the name of the Fus Huci square ground. Dave Cummings, the present chief of the tiwahili square ground said, however, that tiwahili was also a Seminole town separate from Fus Huci. Cummings himself belongs to Fus Huci town.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

settlement was built along the low ridges flanking one of the numerous small creeks in the region. The houses might be anywhere from fifty to several hundred yards apart; apparently the settlement tended to spread in later times, so that in spacial terms the community exhibited a loose grouping of cabins along a water course. The fields too were not all contiguous, but were likewise scattered, with single areas of cultivation rarely exceeding five acres and usually consisting of one one or two. The land in the Nation was of very unequal quality and the Seminole tended to utilize the small areas of bottom land; consequently, a family's fields might be a half a mile or more from the cabin which housed them. The distribution of houses and fields indicates that in spacial terms the town was actually a small, loosely gathered settlement.

Socially, however, the local group seems to have been a relatively compact unit. In the late spring and summer, particularly at the time of the Green Corn dances and the tribal council meetings, there was considerable mingling of people from up and down the Nation. Also the men had a wider range of social contacts than the women. But for the most, according to my old informants, the members of a town kept largely to themselves. Marriages were said to have been seldom contracted outside the local group. In case such a marriage took place, whether the man or the woman left his or her town to take residence in that of the spouse seems to have been dictated by circumstances. In either instance, change of residence theoretically did not result in change of town affiliation, the absentee retaining his or her membership in the town of birth. Children of such a couple were supposed to belong to the town of the mother.

The town was active in three spheres: the ceremonial, the political, and the economic. The ceremonial organization reflected its Creek origin and was closely similar to Creek practice. The town square ground was situated in a pleasant spot easily accessible from the nearby homes of the people. Here the town dances were held, the most important being the Green Corn dance in the late spring or early summer. The officers, arrangement of the grounds, the seating of the different clans in the various beds, and the ceremonial procedure all followed a similar pattern, which has been well described by Swanton.[6]

In the political sphere the town was a subdivision of the Nation, being represented on the national council by three members.

[6] J. R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," *Forty-second Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 174-242. Missionary work among the Seminoles tended to disrupt the solidarity of the town in ceremonial matters. At the time of allotment, however, the christianized Indians were still in the minority, while many of them continued to attend the old traditonal ceremonies at the square ground as well as those at the church. Nevertheless, the ceremonial functions of the town were certainly affected by the work of the missionaries.

The degree of political autonomy which the town possessed in relation to the larger national unit was slight, at least in later times. Apparently there was a fairly early consolidation of political power in the hands of the tribal government, with the result that the distinctions between the Seminole towns became less and less. This may well account for the tendency of the town members to scatter in later years.

The economic activities of the town were under the supervision of a third set of leaders. According to Dave Cummings, these consisted of the "little chief" (*mi-kkocí*) and from two to four assistants, who directed what little communal labor the townspeople undertook. There were no communal town fields and such labor usually consisted only of rail splitting, though one informant said that in the old days the townspeople also plowed their fields in common. Also once a year at a stated time, every male citizen was supposed to devote several day's work to repairing the few wagon roads that ran through the Nation.

Seminole towns were originally classed by the Indians according to a dual division. Some towns were known as "white" towns, others as "red." The towns belonging to a single division were said to be of the same "fire." This dual division of towns apparently lost its significance rather early among the Seminoles. It determined the sides for the intertown ball games, but these were relatively infrequent; perhaps because their tribal unity was greater, the Seminoles were much less given to such games than the Creeks. Also at the time of the Green Corn dance a town would send special invitations to other towns of the same division or fire. But aside from this I could discover no other functions of the white-red dual division. There was apparently no great feeling of solidarity among towns of the same fire, nor of opposition to those of the opposite fire. Propinquity became of greater importance than the old dual division. The northernmost town in the Nation, Chiaha, and the southernmost, tiwahali, never cared greatly for each other though they belong to the same fire, and in the old days there was a certain amount of political rivalry between the southern and northern districts of the Nation. The two northernmost towns, Chiaha and Hitchiti, seem always to have been on friendly terms, and when Hitchiti gave up its stomp ground the non-Christians danced at Chiaha, though one town was white and the other red. Inasmuch as one would expect the dual division to be particularly important in such ceremonial matters, one can infer that it had lost a great deal of its importance to the Seminole.

The accompanying figure shows the approximate location of the Seminole towns or settlements about the year 1900. Certain towns are difficult to locate, particularly Eufaula, which had largely scattered by this time. It should also be noted that under the laws of the Seminole Nation neither individuals nor the so-called towns owned land; this was held by the Nation.

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

1862 (*Continued*)

By Dean Trickett

III.

On assuming command of the Department of Indian Territory in November, 1862, General Albert Pike ordered the construction of a new fort to serve as headquarters of the department. The site selected by General Pike for the new military post was "a point on the south side of the Arkansas River, nearly opposite to and a little above the mouth of the Verdigris River."[1] The post was named Cantonment Davis, but it was commonly known as Fort Davis.

"It is my intention," said Pike in a letter to Secretary of War Benjamin, "to throw up works there to command the crossing just below of the Arkansas River by the great road running from Missouri to Texas . . . . The site is a very formidable one, on high ground commanding the crossing of the river, healthy, well watered, and well timbered."[2]

The buildings at the fort were erected under the supervision of William Quesenbury, brigade quartermaster.[3] At one time Quesenbury had been a field clerk for Superintendent Elias Rector, and in the spring of 1861 he refused an appointment by the Federal Government as agent for the Creeks. During the negotiation of the Indian treaties, he acted as secretary to Albert Pike.

The statement made by a contemporary authority[4] that the "Confederate Government expended upwards of a million dollars" in the construction of Fort Davis is undoubtedly a gross exaggeration. "In the erection of the buildings all possible economy is being observed," said Pike. "The buildings. . . consist of quarters for myself and staff officers, kitchens, and other necessary small buildings, all of them of planks or logs, and put up as cheaply as possible."[5]

General Pike was detained in Richmond through the months of November and December. The Indian treaties were submitted

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[1] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1904), Series I, LIII, 764. Hereafter cited as *O. R.* The site is about a mile northeast of Bacone Indian College, on the outskirts of the city of Muskogee. See Grant Foreman, "Fort Davis," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), XVII (1939), 147-50. A plat of Fort Davis is shown.

[2] *O. R.*, Series I, LIII, 764.

[3] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), 334. Quesenbury to Leeper, Nov. 28, 1861.

[4] Wiley Britton, *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border*, 1863 (Chicago: Cushing, Thomas & Co., 1882), 72.

[5] *O. R.*, Series I, LIII, 764.

to the Provisional Congress by President Davis on December 12,[6] but Congress did not complete their ratification until the last day of the year.[7] On December 24 President Davis approved an act by Congress "making appropriations to comply in part with treaty stipulations with certain Indian tribes."[8] Under the provisions of that act, $681,869.15 in Treasury notes and specie was placed in the hands of General Pike for delivery to the superintendent of Indian affairs, Elias Rector, at Fort Smith, Arkansas.[9] The specie—$265,927.50, all in gold except $65,000 in silver—was obtained partly in Columbia, South Carolina, where Pike arrived about the 5th of January,[10] and partly in New Orleans.[11]

By the time General Pike reached Little Rock, Arkansas, late in January, 1862, he was well aware that the large sum of money he carried had aroused the cupidity of various persons. Writing to Superintendent Rector, he said:

"The Treasurer of the Choctaws means to sell the coin his people get, buy Confederate paper, and put the difference in his pocket. We must stop that. I think the best way will be for you to notify the Chief, Hudson, the amount to be paid in coin, and that you will pay it to the Treasurer only in the presence of three Commissioners appointed by himself. . . .

"About 150 gamblers are here, following up the Indian moneys. I enclose an order requiring passports, that will keep them out of the Nation."[12]

Pike expected to start for Fort Smith January 31. "It will take me, I suppose," he wrote to Rector, "six days to reach Fort Smith with the money. This will bring me to the 5th, 6th or 7th of February."[13]

While Pike was in Little Rock, Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn arrived there to take command of the newly created Trans-Mississippi District, which embraced the Indian Territory. "He told me," said General Pike, "that he left me the sole control of the Indian country, and agreed that I should have three regiments of infantry then being raised in Arkansas."[14]

But shortly after his arrival at Fort Smith, General Pike received orders from Van Dorn to march all the Indian troops to Mount Vernon, in Lawrence County, Missouri.[15] He was to co-

[6] *Ibid.*, Series IV, I, 785.

[7] Congress of the Confederate States of America, *Journal* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-5), I, 601, 602, 610, 611, 633, 634, 635. The treaties with the Osages and the Senecas and Shawnees were ratified Dec. 21; those with the Seminoles and Cherokees, Dec. 23; and those with the prairie Comanches, Reserve Indians, Choctaws and Chickasaws, Creeks, and Quapaws, Dec. 31.

[8] *Ibid.*, 620.

[9] Abel, *op. cit.*, 321. Scott to Rector, Jan. 1, 1862.

[10] *O. R.*, Series I, LIII, 795-96.

[11] *Ibid.*, VIII, 722. See also Abel, *op. cit.*, 320. Pike to Rector, Dec. 29, 1861.

[12] Abel, *op. cit.*, 323-24. Pike to Rector, Jan. 28, 1862. In addition to the Indian moneys, Pike had in his custody "$445,734, funds for the department quartermaster; part of $25,000 for the purchase of arms, and $5,000 for engineer service." *O. R.*, Series I, XIII, 975.

[13] Abel, *op. cit.*, 323.

[14] *O. R.*, Series I, XIII, 861.

[15] *Ibid.*, 819; VIII, 749, 750.

operate "in any emergency" with General Sterling Price, commanding the Missouri troops encamped near Springfield, but his command was "intended for defense alone or as a corps of observation on the Kansas border." General McCulloch, whose division was in winter quarters near Fayetteville and at Van Buren, Arkansas, also was ordered to send all his infantry, under command of Col. James McIntosh, to Springfield, and to move with his cavalry to Pocahontas, in northeastern Arkansas, where General Van Dorn had established headquarters. The order came too late.

"I received it," said General Pike, "after the enemy, pursuing General Price, had invaded Arkansas, and was thus relieved of the necessity of disobeying it."

"When information of this movement of the enemy reached Fort Smith," continued Pike, "and General McCulloch, disobeying the order to march to Pocahontas, ordered his command to Fayetteville, I sent orders to the two Cherokee regiments and the Creek regiment to advance toward Fayetteville and receive orders from General McCulloch."[16]

The appointment of General Van Dorn to the command of the Trans-Mississippi District was due to dissension that had long existed between General Price and General McCulloch. Their failure to act in full harmony during the fall of 1861 had led to indecisive results in the military campaigns in Missouri. Partisan writers in the press widened the breach,[17] and the Provisional Congress finally took notice of the matter by adopting a resolution of inquiry January 3, 1862:

"*Resolved*, That the President be requested to cause the Secretary of War to transmit to Congress all the information, including correspondence, within his possession or control, in regard to the cause of the troops under the command of Brigadier General Ben. McCulloch not having hitherto cooperated, and not now cooperating with the forces under General Sterling Price, in the State of Missouri; . . . ."[18]

After making an agreement in June, 1861, to respect the neutrality of the Cherokees and not to enter their country with troops, General McCulloch removed his two regiments of Arkansas and Louisiana volunteers from Fort Smith to Camp Jackson, near Maysville, in northwestern Arkansas,[19] where he planned to organize an army and carry out instructions to protect the Indian Territory from invasion from any quarter. For that purpose the location of the camp was excellent, being only two miles from the boundary line between Arkansas and the Cherokee Nation and seven miles from the Missouri line.

Before the removal of the regiments had been completed, McCulloch received information that Governor Jackson and the Mis-

[16] *Ibid.*, XIII, 819.

[17] W. H. Tunnard, *History of the Third Regiment, Louisiana Infantry* (Baton Rouge, La.: The Author, 1866), 154.

[18] *Journal*, I, 637.

[19] *O. R.*, Series I, III, 600. Camp Jackson was named in honor of the governor of Missouri (Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 41), but it was sometimes called Camp Walker (*O. R.*, Series I, III, 611). See also William Watson, *Life in the Confederate Army* (New York: Scribner & Welford, 1888), 181.

souri State Guard were retreating south from the Missouri River, endeavoring to reach General Price's camp in southwestern Missouri, and that Federal troops were attempting to cut them off. McCulloch marched to their rescue at once, leaving Camp Jackson on the 4th of July with Churchill's regiment of Arkansas mounted riflemen and some Arkansas state troops. On the following day the cavalry, under Colonel Churchill and Capt. James McIntosh, McCulloch's adjutant, captured a company of Federal infantry stationed at Neosho, Missouri; and on the 6th McCulloch formed a junction about twenty miles north of Neosho with Jackson and the State Guard, which the previous day had fought a running battle north of Carthage with Federal troops under Colonel Sigel. McCulloch returned to Camp Jackson July 9.[20]

The three generals—McCulloch of the Confederate Army, N. B. Pearce of the Arkansas state troops, and Price of the Missouri State Guard—spent several weeks in organizing and drilling their forces, which under the command of General McCulloch fought the Federal Army at Wilson's Creek August 10.

After the battle, the Missourians took possession of Springfield, McCulloch's force remaining near the battlefield. The dissension between Price and McCulloch dates from that time.

"In their departure from McCulloch," says Tunnard, the historian of the Third Louisiana, "the Missourians carried with them the battery taken by the Louisiana troops, by what authority was not discovered. They claimed the honor of capturing the guns, causing much exasperation among the men of the regiment. This soon became a subject of serious dissension between the State Guard and the Confederate troops, being the foundation of the differences, heart-burnings, and jealousies which existed afterwards and followed McCulloch to his death. The guns, however, were finally returned stripped of almost everything movable about them."[21]

Furthermore, McCulloch did not like the rough-and-ready ways of the Missourians, their numerous camp followers, their lack of discipline, their appropriation of property belonging to his command, and their failure to return borrowed guns and ammunition. He accorded them, however, an equal share in the glory of the victory: "Soldiers of Louisiana, of Arkansas, of Missouri, and of Texas, nobly have you sustained yourselves."[22]

General Price resumed command of the Missouri State Guard August 14 [23] and requested General McCulloch to march with him to the Missouri River. McCulloch declined, first, because his force was required for the defense of Arkansas and the Cherokee Nation, the Arkansas state troops having disbanded and marched for home; and, second, because of a serious shortage of ammunition.[24] He returned again to Camp Jackson.

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[20] *O. R.*, Series I, III, 606-7, 743-44.
[21] Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 78.
[22] *O. R.*, Series I, III, 108.
[23] *Ibid.*, LIII, 727.
[24] *Ibid.*, III, 747.

"As the regiment crossed the Missouri line, and when in sight of Camp Jackson, they cheered long and vociferously," says the historian of the Third Louisiana. "It seemed like reaching home once more, after having traveled over 500 miles, fought a desperate battle, and endured untold hardships and sufferings."[25]

Later on, in November, after General Hunter had withdrawn the Federal Army which under General Fremont had occupied Springfield, Price again asked McCulloch to accompany him to the Missouri and again was refused.[26] "Whilst General Price and myself have ever been on the most friendly terms personally," wrote McCulloch, "yet we never could agree as to the proper time of marching to the Missouri River."[27]

In December General Price made a third request for an advance to the Missouri.[28] General McCulloch at that time had gone to Richmond to explain to Secretary of War Benjamin his failure to pursue the enemy,[29] but Col. James McIntosh, left in command of McCulloch's Division, was forced to decline, as he had just received an urgent call from Colonel Cooper for aid in his campaign against Opothleyoholo.[30]

The solution of the impasse lay, of course, in a unified command. Governor Jackson, apprehensive of discord, had suggested that remedy even before the battle of Wilson's Creek. He called President Davis' attention to "the fact that the present military division of the territory contiguous to Missouri is not such as to insure concert of action. . ."[31]

When General Albert Sidney Johnston was assigned to the command of the Western Department in September, it was believed by the War Department that "he would proceed at once to the west of the Mississippi and conduct the campaign in Arkansas and Missouri."[32] Johnston, however, was detained in Kentucky by an advance of the Federal Army and never crossed the river.

In October Governor Jackson suggested "the name of General Sterling Price as the man fit for the place, and under whose lead the troops of Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas will rally as one man."[33] In November, at the suggestion of General McCulloch,[34] Jackson proposed the appointment of General Braxton Bragg to the general

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[25] Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 82.

[26] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 730. Price, on the other hand, objected to McCulloch's proposal to fall back into Arkansas, "saying his men would not consent to go out of the state of Missouri." *Ibid.*, III, 748.

[27] *Ibid.*, III, 747.

[28] *Ibid.*, VIII, 702. See also VIII, 730.

[29] *Ibid.*, VIII, 699, 701-2. See also III, 743.

[30] *Ibid.*, VIII, 712-13.

[31] *Ibid.*, III, 639.

[32] *Ibid.*, VI, 788. The Western Department was also known as Department No. 2.

[33] *Ibid.*, III, 718.

[34] *Ibid.*, 734.

command.[35] Late in December he again brought forth the name of General Price.[36]

In the meantime, President Davis had made up his mind to appoint no one to the command who was a resident of Missouri, Arkansas, or Texas, and so informed the Missouri delegation to Congress when they arrived in Richmond early in December. He further informed them that he had already appointed Col. Henry Heth, ex-captain in the U. S. Army, as major general to command west of the Mississippi. The Missourians forthwith obtained pledges from every delegation in Congress against confirmation of the appointment, and a few days later Heth requested President Davis to withdraw his name.[37]

The command was then offered to General Bragg;[38] but as he was loath to accept,[39] General Van Dorn was finally selected and assigned January 10, 1862:

"That part of the State of Louisiana north of Red River, the Indian Territory west of Arkansas, and the States of Arkansas and Missouri, excepting therefrom the tracts of country east of the Saint Francis, bordering on the Mississippi River, from the mouth of the Saint Francis to Scott County, Missouri (which tract will remain in the district of Major General Polk), is constituted the Trans-Mississippi District of Department No. 2, and Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn is assigned to the command of the same. . . ."[40]

General Van Dorn, a native of Mississippi, was a graduate of West Point and served with distinction in the War with Mexico as a lieutenant of infantry. In 1855 he was appointed captain in the Second Cavalry. He was severely wounded on the morning of October 1, 1858, in an attack on a Comanche camp adjacent to the Wichita Village, near the present site of Rush Springs, Grady County, Oklahoma.

"My first wound was in the left arm," said Van Dorn in a letter to his wife, "the arrow entered just above the wrist, passed between the two bones and stopped near the elbow. The second was in my body; the arrow entered opposite the ninth rib on the right side, passed through the upper portion of the stomach, cut my left lung, and passed out on the left side between the sixth and seventh ribs. . . . I killed the Indian that shot me, and his horse, in two shots, going at full speed. My little horse *Fink* acted nobly, and when I pulled the arrows from me, staining his shoulders and mane with my blood, and dismounting, the poor fellow stood perfectly still over me and seemed to feel sorrow for me. . . ."[41]

He was promoted to major in 1860 and resigned his commission January 31, 1861. After a short service with the Mississippi state

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[35] *Ibid.*, LIII, 755.
[36] *Ibid.*, VIII, 725.
[37] *Ibid.*, LIII, 762. See also VIII, 701.
[38] *Ibid.*, VI, 788-89.
[39] *Ibid.*, 797-98.
[40] *Ibid.*, VIII, 734.
[41] *A Soldier's Honor.* By his comrades. (New York: Abbey Press, 1902), 39. Van Dorn to his wife, Oct. 12, 1858.

troops, he entered the Confederate Army and was promoted to major general September 19, 1861.[42]

On assuming command of the Trans-Mississippi District, General Van Dorn called on the governors of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas for men and began preparations for an active campaign.[43] Writing to General Price from Pocahontas February 14, he said: "I design attempting St. Louis."[44] That plan was never consummated, for on the previous day General Samuel R. Curtis, commander of the Federal Army in southwestern Missouri, had entered Springfield, and Price was in full flight toward Arkansas.[45]

Col. Clay Taylor arrived at Pocahontas February 22 with dispatches informing Van Dorn that Price had fallen back from Springfield to the Boston Mountains in northwestern Arkansas, that McCulloch was near him, and that the Federal Army was but two marches distant.[46] "For reasons which seemed to me imperative," said Van Dorn in his official report of the campaign, "I resolved to go in person and take command of the combined forces of Price and McCulloch."[47] The ride across Arkansas was a remarkable feat of horsemanship.

"We took a steamer for Jacksonport," said Col. Dabney Maury, Van Dorn's adjutant, "whence, on February 23, we mounted our horses and started upon our ride across the state to Van Buren.[48]

"Van Dorn rode a fine thoroughbred black mare he had brought from Virginia. I was mounted on a sorrel I had bought in Pocahontas a few hours before we set out. Except my sorrel mare, Van Dorn's black mare was the hardest trotter in the world, and as we trotted fifty-five miles every day for five or six days, we had a very unusual opportunity of learning all that a hard trotter can do to a man in a long day's march. Had it not been that we slept every night in a feather bed, that soothed our sore bones and served as a poultice to our galled saddle pieces, we would have been permanently disabled for cavalry service forever."[49]

At it was, in crossing Little Red River the second day out—"the horses by swimming and we one by one in a light canoe"—Van Dorn was upset in the river, and as a consequence of the immersion contracted a heavy chill and fever. During the battle of Pea Ridge the following week, he was too ill to mount his horse and was taken to the battlefield in an ambulance.[50]

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[42] Marcus J. Wright, *General Officers of the Confederate Army* (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1911), 22. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), II, 69-70.

[43] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 749.

[44] *Ibid.*, 750.

[45] *Ibid.*, 59.

[46] *Ibid.*, 283; R. S. Bevier, *History of the First and Second Missouri Confederate Brigades* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1879), 93-94.

[47] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 283.

[48] Bevier, *op. cit.*, 94.

[49] Dabney H. Maury, "Van Dorn, the Hero of the Mississippi," *Annals of the War* (Philadelphia: Times Publishing Co., 1879), 461.

[50] *A Soldier's Honor*, 73-74. See also p. 71: Van Dorn to his wife, Apr. 6, 1862.

After an all-day ride from Van Buren over an ascending mountain road in bitter cold weather, General Van Dorn reached Price's headquarters in the Boston Mountains at dark on the evening of March 2. He was welcomed by salutes from the Missouri artillery.[51] The Missourians were encamped on Cove Creek, near the Cane Hill road, about twenty miles southwest of Fayetteville.

The following morning Van Dorn crossed over the intervening mountain ridge to McCulloch's camp on the Telegraph road a few miles to the east.[52] Driven back with Price by the advancing Federal Army, McCulloch had burned and abandoned his winter camp at Cross Hollow, evacuated Fayetteville, and retired to the mountains.

After a conference with McCulloch, whose thorough knowledge of the roads and country was much relied on by Van Dorn in that campaign, orders were issued to move on the 4th to attack Curtis, whose main camp was on Sugar Creek, northeast of Bentonville, a distance of about fifty miles. Price was to lead the advance, followed by McCulloch.[53]

On the morning of the 3d the following order was sent to General Pike:

"I am instructed by Major General Van Dorn to inform you that he will move from here tomorrow morning with the combined forces of Generals Price and McCulloch in the direction of Fayetteville. He wishes you, therefore, to press on with your whole force along the Cane Hill road, so as to fall in rear of our army. . . ."[54]

Later in the day a second order was sent to Pike:

"The general commanding desires that you will hasten up with all possible dispatch and in person direct the march of your command, including Stand Watie's, McIntosh's, and Drew's regiments.

"The route indicated this morning in the order to you and to those colonels is such that they may not reach their position by the time desired. I am therefore directed to modify those orders, so that your command will be near Elm Springs (marching by the shortest route) day after tomorrow afternoon."[55]

When Pike arrived at Fort Smith in the fore part of February, Superintendent Rector was absent in the Indian Territory, where he had gone to take charge of the public property at the Creek Agency and to meet a delegation of Comanches and Kiawas with whom Pike expected to effect treaties.[56]

"When I returned to the [Indian] country in February," wrote Pike afterward, "I brought with me, besides the funds for the quartermaster, the moneys due the Indians under treaties. These moneys, partly specie and

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[51] Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 129; *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 197. Maury (Bevier, *op. cit.*, 94) gives the date March 1; Van Dorn (*O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 283) gives March 3. Both are apparently in error.

[52] Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 128; Bevier, *op. cit.*, 95.

[53] Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 129; Bevier, *op. cit.*, 95; *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 283. Properly Little Sugar Creek; Big Sugar Creek is farther north along the state line.

[54] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 763-64.

[55] *Ibid.*, 764.

[56] Abel, *op. cit.*, 328. Rector to Scott, Feb. 28, 1862. See also pp. 324-25: Rector to Scott, Feb. 1, 1862.

partly Treasury notes, the superintendent refused to receive, and I was compelled to retain them, pay out part myself, and send the others by private hands to be paid. . ."[57]

Rector, however, on his return to Fort Smith late in February, wrote to Acting Commissioner Scott in Richmond: "Genl. P— did not leave the money here to be paid over to me but tuck it in the Indian country to his headquarters, where he will I presume pay it out to the Indians himself."[58] Several days later Rector protested to Scott against a payment Pike had made to Agent Dorn, who had not yet made bond.[59]

News of the retreat of Price from Springfield and the invasion of Arkansas by the Federal Army reached Pike at Fort Smith about the 17th of February, as the order to Col. Stand Watie to advance with his regiment toward Fayetteville bore that date. Watie went on ahead of the regiment and reported to McCulloch, but on returning to his camp in the Flint district found his regiment had marched to Fort Davis. In a letter to Pike on the 27th, he branded a report that Opothleyoholo was advancing from Kansas as "altogether an error," and recalled his regiment to the Flint district.[60]

On the way to his headquarters at Fort Davis, Pike reached the mouth of the Canadian, where Colonel Cooper's Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment was encamped, on the night of February 22.[61] Accompanied by the regiment, he arrived at the fort on the 25th. Col. D. N. McIntosh's Creek regiment also arrived there that evening. Awaiting Pike at the fort were delegations of Osages, Comanches, and Reserve Indians, and the payment of Indian moneys and other dealings detained him three days.[62]

He was delayed further by the refusal of the Creeks and the Choctaws and Chickasaws to march until they were paid off. As provided by their treaties, they could not be taken out of the Indian country without their consent. The Creek treaty stipulated:

"The men shall be armed by the Confederate States, receive the same pay and allowances as other mounted troops in the service, and not be moved beyond the limits of the Indian country west of Arkansas without their consent."[63]

The Creeks, in refusing to march, were influenced by rumors circulated by Opothleyoholo in the preceding fall:

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[57] *O. R.*, Series I, XIII, 938.

[58] Abel, *op. cit.*, 328. Rector to Scott, Feb. 28, 1862.

[59] *Ibid.*, 328. Rector to Scott, Mar. 4, 1862.

[60] Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 114. Watie to Pike, Feb. 27, 1862. Flint district was a small, triangular district in the southeast part of the Cherokee Nation, its base lying along the western boundary of Arkansas.

[61] Abel, *op. cit.*, 327. Pike to Rector, Feb. 23, 1862. This probably was the camp known as Camp Dardenne (see *O. R.*, Series I, XIII, 896).

[62] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 286-87.

[63] Creek treaty, Art. XXXVI (*ibid.*, Series IV, I, 434). Similar provisions were in the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty, Art. XLIX (*ibid.*, 457); the Seminole treaty, Sup. Art. (*ibid.*, 526); and the Cherokee treaty, Art. XL (*ibid.*, 679).

"They are incredulous people," said Pike, "and those who fought against us under Opothleyoholo were chiefly alienated by the belief, induced by that crafty old man, that we would get them to become soldiers, take them out of their own country, first into Arkansas, then into Missouri, then across the Mississippi, and when their young men were thus all gone would take and divide out their lands."[64]

The Choctaws and Chickasaws were not so averse to crossing the line, but were influenced by merchants whom they owed. The payment of that regiment took three days.[65]

On the morning of the third day, March 2, Pike left Fort Davis with Welch's squadron of Texas cavalry—attached to the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment—and the Creek regiment and marched to Park Hill. He induced the Creeks to move by a promise to pay them at the Illinois River, near Park Hill.[66]

Not being overtaken by the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment, as he expected, Pike moved the following day with Welch's squadron toward Evansville, and on the 4th to Cincinnati—in Arkansas near the Cherokee line—where he overtook Stand Watie's regiment of Cherokees.

Pressing on the next day, with Watie's regiment and Welch's squadron, he reached Freschlag's Mill; and on the following day, Thursday, March 6, overtook Colonel Drew's regiment of Cherokees at Smith's Mill—also known as Osage Mills—about six miles south of Bentonville. On receipt of Pike's order from Fort Smith, that regiment had marched toward Fayetteville.

"I accompanied the troops," said Chief Ross in a letter to Pike, "some twelve miles east of this [Park Hill], and I am happy to assure you in the most confident manner that, in my opinion, this regiment will not fail to do their whole duty, whenever the conflict with the common enemy shall take place."[67]

Late that afternoon Pike came up with the rear of McCulloch's Division and encamped with his force within two miles of Camp Stephens, one of a number of camps established by McCulloch the preceding fall and located about seven miles northeast of Bentonville.[68] It was close to Sugar Creek, on the northern bluffs of which, though several miles to the east, the Federal Army was entrenched.

Van Dorn had decided against a frontal attack across Sugar Creek valley. He learned from McCulloch and McIntosh, who knew the locality thoroughly, that by making a detour of eight miles he could reach the Telegraph road, leading from Springfield to Fayetteville and Van Buren, and thus gain the rear of Curtis'

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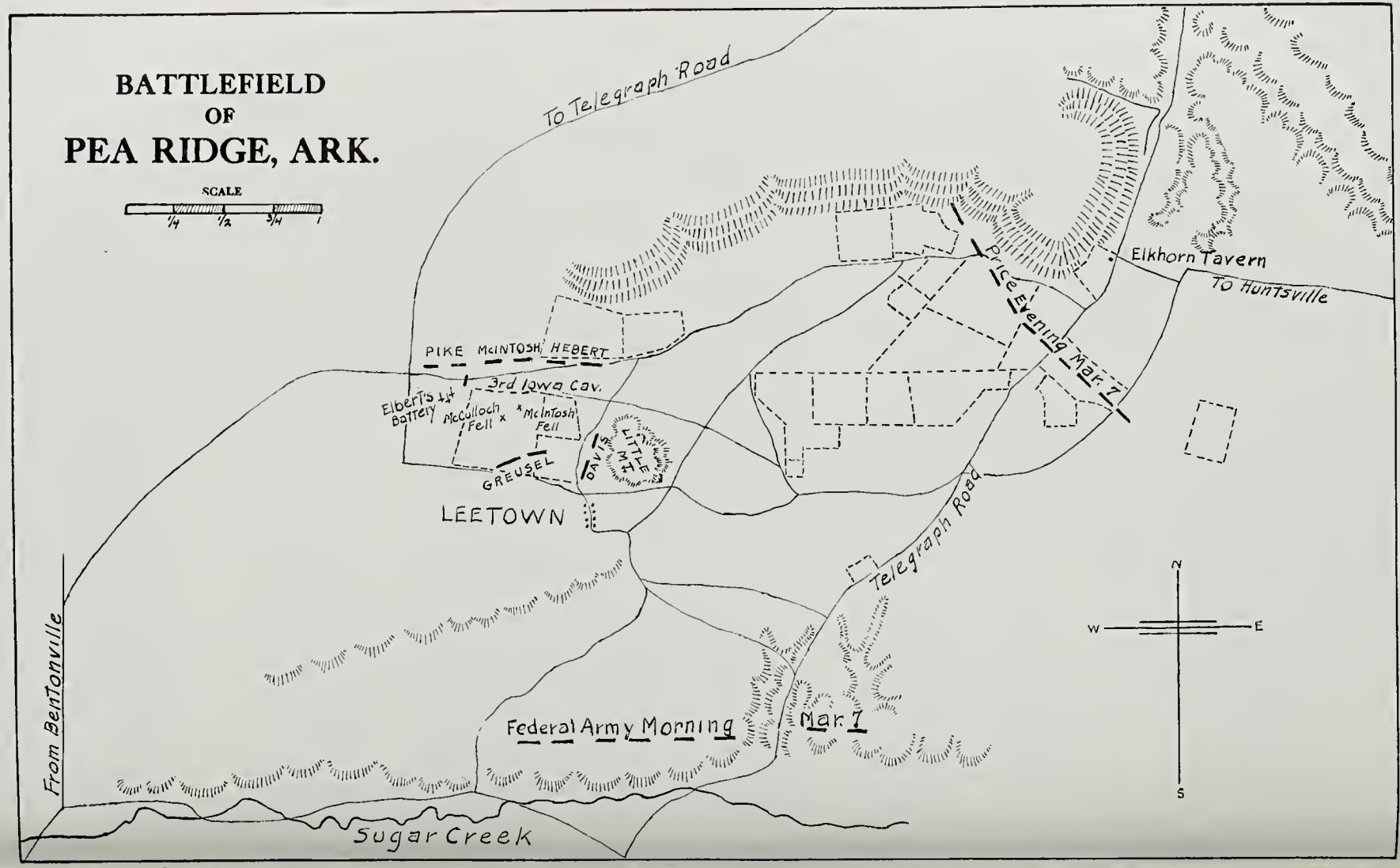
[64] *Ibid.*, Series I, XIII, 819.

[65] *Ibid.*, 820; VIII, 287.

[66] *Ibid.*, VIII, 287. Subsequent movements of Pike are taken, unless otherwise stated, from his official report of the Pea Ridge campaign (*ibid.*, 286-92).

[67] Joseph B. Thoburn, ed., "The Cherokee Question," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), II (1924), 189. Ross to Pike, Feb. 25, 1862.

[68] Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 42-43, 136.


BATTLEFIELD
OF
PEA RIDGE, ARK.
SCALE
1/4
1/2
3/4
1
To Telegraph Road
Elkhorn Tavern
To Huntsville
Price Evening Mar 7
PIKE
McINTOSH
HEBERT
3rd Iowa Cav.
Elbert's 4th Battery
McCulloch Fell
McIntosh Fell
DAVIS
LITTLE MT.
GREUSEL
LEETOWN
Telegraph Road
From Bentonville
Federal Army Morning Mar 7
Sugar Creek
N
W
E
S

army. Price was again to lead the advance, followed by McCulloch.[69]

The battle of Pea Ridge had already begun. A detachment of the Federal Army under the personal command of General Sigel loitered in Bentonville that morning until the Confederates entered the town about 11 o'clock, and Price's advance guard drove them back to Sugar Creek in a running battle lasting four or five hours.[70] It was bitter cold. On Wednesday snow had fallen all day.[71]

Price began the advance at 8 p. m., but Van Dorn's order of march was not received by Pike until 9:30 o'clock. He was instructed to follow McCulloch's Division. On inquiry, he was informed by McCulloch that the road would be clear for him at 12 o'clock. Moving with his command at that hour, he overtook and passed McCulloch's train, but had to wait at Sugar Creek until sunrise while McCulloch's infantry was crossing on a narrow bridge of rails. Price was delayed by obstructions of felled trees made by the Federal troops the night before and did not reach the Telegraph road in force until about 10 o'clock Friday morning.[72]

Pike's command, following McCulloch, had passed the west end of Pea Ridge and temporarily halted, when Sims' Ninth Texas Cavalry countermarched past them, an officer informing Pike that he was to follow the other troops to the rear. McCulloch had requested and been given permission to attack the Federal Army on the flank.[73] By giving assent, Van Dorn separated the wings of his army a distance of some three miles.

Pea Ridge, terminating on the east in a rocky hill fronting Elkhorn Tavern and the Telegraph road, lies in an east-west direction, parallel to Sugar Creek, which is about three miles to the south. Between the two is a rough and, at that time, wooded country, broken here and there by small prairies and fenced clearings. The Federal Army was entrenched, facing south, on Sugar Creek. A mile to their north and rear was the village of Leetown.

Pike's command followed McCulloch's troops—infantry under Colonel Hebert, cavalry under General McIntosh—leaving the Bentonville road and marching through the woods in a southeasterly direction. Pike was informed by a staff officer that they were going to attack a "little place called Leetown," four and a half miles distant, which the Federals had fortified.

"We had marched from the road in a southeasterly direction about a mile from the point where we left it," said Pike in his report, "and were passing along a narrow road, between a piece of woods on our left and a fenced field on our right, when we discovered in front of us, at the distance of about 300 yards, a battery of three guns, protected by five companies of regular cavalry. A fence ran from east to west through the woods, and be-

[69] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 283.
[70] *Ibid.*, 210, 283.
[71] *Ibid.*, 197; Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 136.
[72] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 283.
[73] Bevier, *op. cit.*, 98.

hind this we formed in line, with Colonel Sims' regiment on the right, the squadron of Captain Welch next to him, and the regiments of Colonels Watie and Drew in continuation of the line on the left."[74]

When General Curtis received reports that morning of Van Dorn's movement, he made a quick change of front and ordered Colonel Osterhaus, a division commander, to advance with a detachment of cavalry and light artillery, supported by infantry, in the direction of Leetown and attack the probable center of the Confederate Army.[75] As Osterhaus was moving out, word reached Curtis that the Confederates were across his line of communication and retreat. He ordered Colonel Carr and his division to Elkhorn Tavern to meet Price on the Telegraph road.[76]

Three regiments of infantry, with two batteries of artillery, under command of Colonel Greusel, took position in the open fields north and west of Leetown.[77] Osterhaus, with the cavalry and Elbert's battery of three pieces, under the immediate command of Colonel Bussey, moved forward, passed through a belt of timber and came in sight of McIntosh's and Pike's cavalry. The battery took position and Elbert opened fire on Pike's troops as soon as they formed in line behind the fence. Two companies of Iowa cavalry, charging to cut off supports, ran unexpectedly into Hebert's infantry, received a volley at short range, and were thrown back in confusion.[78] A moment later McIntosh's and Pike's troops charged, routing and dispersing the cavalry and capturing the battery.[79]

"My whole command," said Pike, "consisted of about 1,000 men, all Indians, except one squadron. The enemy opened fire into the woods where we were, the fence in front of us was thrown down, and the Indians (Watie's regiment on foot and Drew's on horseback), with part of Sims' regiment, gallantly led by Lieutenant Colonel Quayle, charged full in front through the woods and into the open ground with loud yells, routed the cavalry, took the battery, fired upon and pursued the enemy, retreating through the fenced field to our right, and held the battery, which I afterwards had drawn by the Cherokees into the woods. Four of the horses of the battery alone remained on the ground, the others running off with the caissons, and for want of horses and harness we were unable to send the guns to the rear."[80]

The charge was made just at noon. The Federal cavalry fell back upon and through Greusel's line, but the infantry held firm, the artillery driving the Confederates back.[81] About 2 o'clock a division of Indiana and Illinois troops under Col. Jeff Davis came up in support.[82] Heavy fighting took place on Greusel's front. General Ben McCulloch and General James McIntosh were both

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[74] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 287.
[75] *Ibid.*, 198-99.
[76] *Ibid.*, 199.
[77] *Ibid.*, 217, 226.
[78] *Ibid.*, 217, 232-34.
[79] *Ibid.*, 298.
[80] *Ibid.*, 288.
[81] *Ibid.*, 226.
[82] *Ibid.*, 218.

killed there. McCulloch rode forward through the brush on the northern edge of the field, supposedly to reconnoiter, and was killed by a shot said to have been fired by Peter Pelican, a skirmisher of the Thirty-sixth Illinois.[83] McIntosh was killed shortly afterwards near the same place.[84]

General McCulloch, a native of Tennessee, was in command of the artillery in Houston's army at the battle of San Jacinto in Texas, April 21, 1836. During the next ten years he saw much Indian fighting; and as commander of McCulloch's Rangers in the Mexican War became famous throughout the South. He went to California during the Gold Rush in 1849 and was sheriff of Sacramento for a time. Returning to Texas, he served as United States marshal for eight years. Early in 1861 he was in command of the Texas troops to whom General Twiggs surrendered at San Antonio. He was 51 years old when killed.[85]

The capture of the battery apparently demoralized many of the Indians. Describing the situation following the charge, Pike said:

"Colonel Drew's regiment was in the field on our right, and around the taken battery was a mass of Indians and others in the utmost confusion, all talking, riding this way and that, and listening to no orders from anyone. I directed Capt. Roswell W. Lee . . . to have the guns which had just been taken faced to our front . . . but he could not induce a single man to assist in doing so."[86]

A Federal battery dropped two shells into the field, and the Indians rushed back to the woods. Knowing that they would not face artillery fire in open ground, Pike ordered them "to dismount, take their horses to the rear, and each take to a tree." The battery shelled the woods for two hours and a half, but the Indians held their position. When the captured battery was drawn back into the woods, the Cherokees burned the carriages.[87]

It was 3 o'clock before Pike heard of the deaths of McCulloch and McIntosh and assumed command. Firing on the field had about ceased, the Confederates being badly disorganized and widely scattered. Pike was "totally ignorant of the country and the roads," and knew next to nothing of the numbers on either side. He gathered together what troops he could and resolved to lead them to General Van Dorn.

Placing Welch's squadron in front, followed by infantry and a battery of artillery, with Watie's Cherokees on the flanks, he

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[83] *Ibid.*, 226. See also L. G. Bennett and Wm. M. Haigh, *History of the Thirty-sixth Regiment, Illinois Volunteers* (Aurora, Ill.: Knickerbocker & Hodder, 1876), 148.

[84] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 303. McIntosh is buried in the Federal Cemetery at Fort Smith, Ark., section 3, grave 549. Arkansas Historical Association, *Publications* (Fayetteville and Conway, Ark., 1906-17), II, 294.

[85] Tunnard, *op. cit.*, 152-53; Bevier, *op. cit.*, 107-8. McCulloch is buried in Texas.

[86] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 288.

[87] *Ibid.*, XIII, 954.

marched the command to the Bentonville road and north on it to the Telegraph road, reaching Van Dorn's headquarters at Elkhorn Tavern long after dark. Price had driven Carr back during the day, but that night Van Dorn learned that the ammunition was almost exhausted and that the ordnance officer could not find his wagons.[88] He made dispositions, however, to continue the battle the next day.

Pike's order to withdraw failed to reach Colonel Drew, and his Cherokee regiment was the last to leave the field,[89] marching to Camp Stephens, where they caught up with the retreating train. There they met Colonel Cooper, with his regiment and battalion of Choctaws and Chickasaws, and Col. D. N. McIntosh, with 200 men of the Creek regiment, who had arrived too late for the battle. They all remained with the train until it reached Elm Springs, then marched with their own train to Cincinnati.[90]

On Saturday morning Pike gave Welch's squadron permission to join one of the Texas regiments and posted part of Stand Watie's Cherokees on the hill behind Elkhorn Tavern, the remainder being stationed on a ridge on the opposite side of the Telegraph road. They were ordered to observe and give warning if the Federals attempted to turn Van Dorn's left flank.

The battle on the 8th of March was short. Van Dorn began to withdraw his army at 10 o'clock over the Huntsville road, leading east.[91] When the Thirty-sixth Illinois, "with its dark-blue line of men and its gleaming bayonets," swarmed over the hill, Watie and his Cherokees retreated along the ridge and made their way to Camp Stephens. Two hundred of Watie's Indians were detailed by General Green, commander of the train, to escort ammunition wagons to Van Dorn, but the army had gone before their arrival. They rejoined the train, by a circuitous route, at Walnut Grove, southwest of Fayetteville.[92]

General Pike narrowly escaped capture by riding north on the Telegraph road, along which the artillery was retreating. After several unsuccessful attempts to induce a battery to make a stand, he turned into the Bentonville road, where he was joined by two other officers. Pursued by Federal cavalry, they took to the woods, skirted Pea Ridge, and rode westward between the Pineville and Bentonville roads.

Owing to the circuit they were forced to make, it was several days before they reached Cincinnati and rejoined the Indian troops. They then learned that Van Dorn and Price were marching from Huntsville to Van Buren. "I did not know," said Pike, "until I

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[88] *Ibid.*, VIII, 284.
[89] *Ibid.*, XIII, 820.
[90] *Ibid.*, VIII, 290, 292.
[91] *Ibid.*, 284.
[92] *Ibid.*, 291, 318; XIII, 820.

reached Cincinnati what had become of the main body of our forces."[93]

On Sunday, following the battle, General Van Dorn sent a burial party back to the field under a flag of truce with a request that they be permitted to collect and bury the Confederate dead.[94] Permission was granted, and on completion of the task the officer in charge of the party was given a letter by General Curtis to deliver to Van Dorn, in which Curtis said:

"The general regrets that we find on the battlefield, contrary to civilized warfare, many of the Federal dead who were tomahawked, scalped, and their bodies shamefully mangled, tnd expresses a hope that this important struggle may not degenerate to a savage warfare."[95]

Colonel Maury, Van Dorn's adjutant, replying March 14, assured Curtis that the Confederate commander will "most cordially unite with you in repressing the horrors of this unnatural war." Curtis had not named the Indians, but Van Dorn naturally made that assumption.

"He hopes you have been misinformed with regard to this matter," Maury wrote, "the Indians who formed part of his forces having for many years been regarded as civilized people . . . . he desires me to inform you that many of our men who surrendered themselves prisoners of war were reported to him as having been murdered in cold blood by their captors, who were alleged to be Germans."[96]

To that countercharge, Capt. H. Z. Curtis, assistant adjutant to General Curtis, replied March 21, quoting a letter from General Sigel, "addressed to me before the receipt of yours," in which Sigel said:

"While Capt. Elbert's three pieces were taken by the enemy, and our men serving the guns were surrounded, they were shot dead by the rebels, although seeking refuge behind the horses."[97]

"As 'dead men tell no tales,' it is not easy to see how these charges may be proven," conceded Curtis, "and the general hopes they are mere 'camp stories,' having little or no foundation."[98]

General Curtis later forwarded to the Federal Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War four affidavits signed by members of the Third Iowa Cavalry, which was driven back in the charge made by Pike and McIntosh at noon March 7. In one of the affidavits, Adjutant John W. Noble stated "from personal inspection of the bodies of the men of the Third Iowa Cavalry, who fell upon that part of the field, I discovered that eight of the men of that regiment had been scalped."[99]

That there was some truth in the charges made by the Federals was intimated by Pike himself. Following his return to Cincin-

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[93] *Ibid.*, VIII, 292.
[94] *Ibid.*, 193-94.
[95] *Ibid.*, 194.
[96] *Ibid.*, 195.
[97] Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* (New York: G. P. Putnam, D. Van Nostrand, 1861-68), IV, 264 (Doc.).
[98] *Ibid.*, 264.
[99] *O. R.*, Series I, VIII, 206-8.

nati, he spent several days at Dwight Mission in the Cherokee Nation, where he wrote his report of the battle of Pea Ridge.[100] On March 15 he issued an order to the Indian troops, in which, after expressing his horror at seeing in the action of March 7 a person unknown to him, "and who immediately passed beyond his sight," shoot a wounded enemy begging for mercy, he said:

"The commanding general has also learned with the utmost pain and regret that one, at least, of the enemy's dead was found scalped upon the field. That practice excites horror, leads to cruel retaliation, and would expose the Confederate States to the just reprehension of all civilized nations. . . . Against forces that do not practice it, it is peremptorily forbidden during the present war."[101]

The Cherokee National Council, on April 30, adopted a resolution expressing their opinion that the war should be conducted on the "most humane principles which govern the usages of war among civilized nations" and "recommended to the troops of this nation. . . to avoid any acts toward captured or fallen foes that would be incompatible with such usages."[102]

Little is known of the losses of the Indians in the battle of Pea Ridge, but they probably were small. Two of Colonel Drew's men were killed and one wounded in the charge on the battery. In his report of the battle,[103] Van Dorn made no mention of the part played by the Indians. Writing to Secretary Benjamin, Pike said:

"I regret that no other allusion is made by General Van Dorn in his report of 27th March of the action at Elkhorn to the Indian troops engaged than the simple statement that he had ordered me to join him with my force. I did not expect that any credit would ever be given them in orders for any gallantry displayed, since that would be contrary to all precedent, but surely it would have been wise and politic to mention their presence, and not to have assigned to others the whole credit of what they at least aided in doing."[104]

(To be continued)

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[100] Dwight Mission was near the military road from Fort Gibson to Fort Smith, two or three miles southwest of the present Marble City, Sequoyah County. See Grant Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1930), 23.

[101] Sam'l Prentis Curtis, "The Army of the South-West, and the First Campaign in Arkansas," *The Annals of Iowa* (Iowa City), VI (1868), 149.

[102] *O. R.*, Series I, XIII, 826.

[103] *Ibid.*, VIII, 288.

[104] *Ibid.*, VIII, 820.

PIONEER WOMAN STATUE

PROGRAM AT THE PIONEER WOMAN STATUE

By H. L. Schall

September 1893 was re-lived in the minds of hundreds of Pioneers and before the eyes of thousands of younger spectators when Ponca City celebrated the 48th anniversary of the Cherokee Strip on September 16. No celebration could possibly bring back the clouds of dust and the waves of heat that hovered over the barren prairie on that memorable day, nor the excitement, the tension and the sometimes bitter rivalry that accompanied the winning or the losing of a new home in a new land. But the Ponca City celebration, even though it was staged on the clean, paved streets and in the well kept parks and modern buildings of this newly built city, fittingly honored the hardy men and women of an earlier generation and their heroic deeds in a most commemorable manner. Although the affair, sponsored by the Ponca City Chamber of Commerce, was originally billed as a one day celebration, it was opened in a big way on the night of the 15th when an estimated 20,000 people came to the free street dance and stayed until long after Bob Wills' orchestra had packed up and gone home. On the official day of the celebration a pioneer parade passed down the length of Ponca City's main street from 10 o'clock until 11:30 presenting a panorama of historical floats, pioneer vehicles, walking units, appropriately decorated commercial floats, Indians in full regalia, cowboys and cowgirls, riding clubs, high school and college bands and other musical organizations.

Leading the parade was Wm. H. McFadden, now a resident of Fort Worth but still considered a leading citizen of Ponca City, riding one of his beautiful Palomino horses. Following him in old time vehicles or on horseback were Governor Leon C. Phillips, Lieutenant Governor James E. Berry, and a group of other dignitaries. The leading units in the parade were the thrilling and colorful spectacle of 100 massed flags under the command of the American Legion Post of Ponca City and a group of flags carried by Camp Fire Girls representing all of the Central American and South American countries. Practically every unit in the parade received the applause of the spectators.

Among the musical organizations in the parade were: Oklahoma Military Academy of Claremore, Kiltie Girls of Oklahoma City, American Legion Junior Drum and Bugle Corps of Seminole, Sons of the American Legion Drum and Bugle Corps of Tulsa, Northern Oklahoma Junior College of Tonkawa, and most of the high school bands of Northern Oklahoma. Following the parade to the Pioneer Woman Statue, the large crowd saw a group of representatives of the several southwestern state historical societies, place wreaths on, and pay tribute to, the Pioneer Woman. Included in this group were: George W. Miller of Ponca City, representing the former Governor E. W. Marland, donor of the statue; Dallas T. Herndon of Little

Rock, Arkansas, Executive Secretary, Arkansas History Commission; Frank Phillips of Bartlesville, Oklahoma, representing the State Historical Society of Iowa; Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Oklahoma, representing the Historical Society of New Mexico; R. E. Spencer of Des Moines, representing the Iowa Department of History and Archives, Iowa State Department of History; C. E. Beck of Arkansas City, Kansas, representing the Kansas State Historical Society; James W. Moffitt of Oklahoma City, Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society. Governor Leon C. Phillips delivered a pioneer address and closed by dedicating the newly erected flag pole on the Pioneer Woman State Park Grounds. President L. R. Northcutt presided as master of ceremonies. The governor was introduced by Senator Charles B. Duffy. The invocation was conducted by the Reverend Gordon V. Smith and the Ponca City Kiwanis Glee Club sang.

Climaxing the day's activities was the Indian ceremonial held at night under the flood lights of Blaine Park Athletic Stadium. Making full use of the colorful regalia of the war dancers and the costumes of the historical figures, the green grass of the field, the white tepees in the background, and the artistic use of flood and spot lights, the ceremonial wove before the eyes of the spectators a tapestry which showed in accurate detail the many phases of Cherokee Strip history. Of special interest was the parade of flags which have flown over the Cherokee Strip territory; the Red Cross flag of England, the Spanish flag of Coronado's time, the English flag with the white cross of St. Andrew, the French flag of La Salle's time, the United States flag of 1803 with its circle of white stars in the blue field, the Oklahoma state flag, and the United States flag with its 48 white stars of 1941. All of the famous dances of the Ponca tribe, sung and performed as from time immemorial were presented: war dances, scalp dances, shield dance, snake dance with special numbers, flute solos, Indian poems, and other traditional rites of this tribe.

Woodson Tyree, director of dramatics in the Ponca City High School, wrote the pageant and Joe Miller, grandson of Colonel George W. Miller founder of the 101 Ranch, was the commentator. A group of British cadets from the British Air School at Ponca City were special guests. Other events of the celebration included a rodeo and a street carnival of old-fashioned games and contests during the afternoon. In the opinion of many observers, a noticeable feature of the entire celebration was its commemorative spirit. With fun making and light-heartedness present in wholesome quantities, there still was the evident desire and purpose to honor the pioneers of a bygone day.

INDIAN DANCERS

HISTORICAL NOTES

Edited by James W. Moffitt

The Institute of Historical Research of the University of London reports as follows:

In forwarding for your acceptance a copy of their *Annual Report for 1939-40,* the Committee of the Institute of Historical Research take the opportunity to describe its activities at the present moment. Although the library remains closed to readers, a small staff is still in daily attendance, and arrangements have been made, by the courtesy of the London School of Hygiene, for books and periodicals from the Institute to be consulted at the School. As in the past, the Institute's staff will do their best to answer enquiries on such matters as the bibliography of historical research and the location of manuscripts. It is hoped to publish the *Bulletin* of the Institute twice a year. The *Theses Supplement* will be suspended during the war, its place being taken by a list, to be printed in the *Bulletin,* of completed theses only; the *Supplements to the Guide to Historical Publications of Societies of England and Wales* will appear only in alternate years, beginning in 1942. Work on the main volume of this *Guide* is going forward. Work on the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* is also continuing, though only in respect of those counties (Oxfordshire, Sussex and Warwickshire) for which funds were raised locally before the outbreak of war. Enquiries about any of the foregoing matters, and requests for library facilities at the London School of Hygiene, should be addressed to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, W. C. I.

The Oklahoma Historical Society, founded in 1893, is one of the oldest learned societies in the State. It has become a center for the discovery, preservation and dissemination of information relating to the history of Oklahoma, the Indians and the Southwest. Through its publications and especially in its service to scholars, in accumulating large collections of research materials, it has contributed much to the cultural life of our State. The friends and members of the Society are invited to contribute collections of family, political or business records, letters, diaries, newspapers, maps, prints, photographs and historical relics to the end that important historical materials relating to our history might be permanently preserved in the Society's fireproof building for the use and benefit of the public.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is fortunate in having as a life member, J. Garfield Buell, Tulsa, who has presented a bound file of eighteen volumes of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* to the national library of the Sons of the American Revolution in Washington.

On October 23, 1941, Dr. Grant Foreman presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society the picture of the Reverend Jesse Bushyhead, the gift of Mrs. Callie McSpadden of Tahlequah. Dr. Foreman also enriched the Society's collections in giving to it a collection of "Adair Papers" which had been accumulated by Judge John H. Adair. A saddle blanket of Allyn K. Capron, Troop L, Rough Riders, which had been sent to Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman by Captain Capron's mother for presentation to the Society was received. At this time, Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presented to the Society a photostat copy of a letter dated March 15, 1865, and a copy of another letter written September 2, 1864, by the father of P. A. Norris, Ada, to become a part of the Norris Collection. Another interesting gift came from Hon. J. B. Milam in the form of a gavel made of wood from the old Treaty Tree which stood in front of the Cherokee Capitol in Tahlequah, with a handle made of wood from the Old Female Seminary occupied in 1851. On behalf of Waddie Hudson, Muskogee, he presented a block of type set up to print "the Lord's Prayer" in Cherokee. Mrs. Blanche Lucas introduced Mrs. Emmett Thompson, Ponca City, who presented to the Society two group pictures of seven Kaw hereditary chieftains which she had obtained from the Catlin Collection in Washington City. A collection of books was added to the Historical Library by Mrs. Frank Korn as the gift of the Business and Professional Women's Club, El Reno.

During the period from June 1 to October 1, 1941, there were visitors in the Oklahoma Historical Society building from all of the States except Delaware, Vermont and Wyoming, with one hundred or more coming from Texas, Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, California, Arkansas and Louisiana. Every county in Oklahoma was represented ranging from three from Delaware County to 1,895 from Oklahoma County.

The attention of our readers is called to an article entitled "English Settlers in Illinois" by Dr. Grant Foreman, appearing in the September, 1941, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.*

Berwyn, Oklahoma, became officially Gene Autry in honor of the radio and screen singing cowboy star at exercises in his honor on November 16, 1941.

An interesting article in *The Army and Navy Courier,* February-March, 1927, by Col. Martin L. Crimmins, U. S. A., Retired, entitled "The Border Command," relates the military history of Gen. David S. Stanley who was graduated from West Point in the class of 1852, which produced six major generals in the Civil War and four briga-

dier generals in the Confederate service. Young Stanley was the quartermaster and commissary of the surveying party of Lieut. A. W. Whipple, which left Fort Smith, July 24, 1853, and reached San Diego, California the following March. After service in Texas and duty in Kansas and Nebraska during the fights between the Abolitionists and Pro-Slavery parties Stanley arrived at Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory, in October, 1858.

". . . just prior to his arrival Major Earl Van Dorn, 2nd Cavalry (the present 5th Cavalry), had attacked a Comanche village at Wichita and Lieutenant Camp who had distinguished himself in fights around Camp Verde, Texas, was killed and Lieutenant Fitzhugh Lee was shot through the right lung and had to be carried in a horse litter 200 miles to Camp Radzminiski, Indian Territory.

"An active life on the frontier was kept up, to be succeeded by events that led up to the Civil War, and the saving of valuable supplies at Forts Smith, Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb and the march to Fort Leavenworth during which Lieutenant Stanley performed very creditable service. Then followed the Civil War and Lieutenant Stanley rose to the rank of Major General and was wounded twice in battle."

Stanley was brevetted three times for gallant and meritorious service and he was awarded a medal of honor March 29, 1893 for his distinguished bravery in the battle of Franklin, Tennessee, November 30, 1864. He died March 13, 1902.

Clayton A. Staples, a member of the faculty of Wichita University, addressed the Oklahoma Art League on "The Evolution of Art" in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society on November 10, 1941. He used fifty of his own paintings and showed colored slides by way of illustrating his lecture.

The atmosphere of the early history of our country was recreated for an hour November 12, 1941, in the heart of one of the last states, as the Oklahoma Daughters of the American Revolution bequeathed their state museum to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mayor R. A. Hefner, a member of the board of directors of the State Historical Society, accepted the gift of the Daughters of the American Revolution with a tribute to the patriotic spirit he said this organization has kept alive. Witnesses were 135 invited guests, including D. A. R. officers, board members and members of the staff of the Historical Society. Others appearing on the impressive program were Mrs. Lawrence Cannon, State Chaplain; Mrs. John B. Cheadle, State Chairman, on the correct use of the flag; Mrs. John P. Cook, State D. A. R. Museum Chairman; Mrs. James J. McNeill, Golden Jubilee State Regent, and Mrs. Nathan Russell Patterson, State Regent of the D. A. R. Music for the processional, during which the officers carried the Star and Stripes to the platform was "Wave the Flag," played on the organ by its composer, Lila Gene George. Singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" was led by Mrs.

John R. Abernathy. Mrs. McNeill, at the close of the dedication ceremonies, cut the ribbon opening the museum's doors while Mrs. Patterson presided.

The museum, undertaken as a project as its observance of the D. A. R.'s Golden Jubilee anniversary, is a parlor filled with authentic furnishings given by descendants of Revolutionary War soldiers and D. A. R. chapters or duplicates from originals. This room, representing the late colonial and early federal period, was furnished by chapters and members throughout Oklahoma with a melodeon, mantle, large and small spinning wheels, grandfather clock, pictures, sewing table, candelabra, sofa, chairs and other heirlooms.

Mrs. Myron E. Humphrey, Chickasha, outlined the history of Fort Sill, November 17, 1941, to members of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in Oklahoma. Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, State President of the organization, introduced the speaker and presided at the luncheon at which Mrs. John A. Pearson, Norman, was hostess in the Officers' Club at Fort Sill. Following luncheon, a tour was made of the old historical buildings, including the stockade and building, now a museum where Geronimo was imprisoned. The tour, conducted by Lieut. Millard Purdy, was the annual pilgrimage made in observance of statehood day. Each year a site of historical interest is visited by the group. Before returning to various points in the state, members visited the new landscaped replacement center, barracks of the colored battalion and the new officers' quarters and buildings. The guests were welcomed to the fort by Mrs. George R. Allin, wife of the Commandant, Brigadier General Allin, and Mrs. L. R. Wingfield. Seated at the long tables which were decorated with bowls of yellow chrysanthemums from the post gardens, were Mrs. Hickam, Mrs. R. J. Edwards and Mrs. Jason C. Clark, honorary presidents, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lee Clinton and Mrs. William K. Kellam, Tulsa; Mrs. Humphrey. Mrs. Edwin Humphrey, Mrs. Frank M. Bailey and Mrs. Reford Bond, Jr., Chickasha; Mrs. James L. Patterson, Mrs. C. D. Cund and Mrs. William Brown, Duncan; Mrs. Marvin Heyser, Governor's Island, New York; Miss Eleanor Smith, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Pearson, Norman, and Mrs. W. Thomas Thach, Mrs. Reford Bond, Mrs. S. E. Clarkson, Mrs. George C. Sohlberg, Mrs. Ralph K. Alexander, Mrs. B. V. Gill, Mrs. Norman E. Reynolds, Oklahoma City, Mrs. Wingfield and Lieutenant Purdy of Fort Sill.

Personal reminiscences were given by Mrs. Bailey who was born at the post and had attended school, church services and dances in the old chapel; by Mrs. Patterson whose father was an army chaplain stationed at Fort Reno; and by Mrs. Heyser. Mrs. Bond's contribution to the program was a family incident. Mrs. Bond,

Oklahoma City and Chickasha, told of the experience of her uncle, J. B. Quigley, St. Louis, Missouri, who was on his first surveying trip following his graduation from Washington University, St. Louis. As he and his party stopped at Fort Sill to pick up an escort of soldiers before going to the Texas panhandle, an Indian dashed into the reservation and announced that the captain and his men were all dead. The message of the massacre of George A. Custer and his 276 soldiers had been sent that day by smoke signals from Little Big Horn, Montana, to Fort Sill June 25, 1876. Two weeks later the message was confirmed from Washington, she stated.

The No Man's Land Historical Society met on September 30, 1941, at the Panhandle Agricultural and Mechanical College in Goodwell, Oklahoma. Among those appearing on the program were Boss Neff, President of the Society; E. L. Morrison, President of the College; E. L. Hoover, Canadian, Texas; F. Hiner Dale, District Judge; Senator Julius Cox; Representative Wallace Hughes; H. G. Bennett, President, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College; and James W. Moffitt, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The following are officers of the No Man's Land Historical Society: President, Boss Neff; Vice-President, Charlie Hitch; President Emeritus, Dr. Claude Fly; Secretary-Treasurer, Lida Mulkin; Historian, Mrs. Fred Tracy; Directors, William E. Baker; Julius Cox; Cy Strong; Mrs. Mary England; Charlie Hitch; Henry Hitch; Stella Stedman; Maude Thomas; Fred Tracy; E. L. Morrison. The Society maintains a museum at the College which displays the historical relics of this interesting region.

Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, inaugurated its third season with an opening October 6. During the summer, extensive alterations were made to the building and a new wing added. Mr. and Mrs. Waite Phillips, who gave the building and grounds to Tulsa two years ago, and remodeled it into a museum, made an additional gift last spring of $70,000 to be used for remodeling the building and for the addition of an auditorium. The new auditorium will seat 400 and another 100 may be seated in the foyer. The open south terrace rooms have been inclosed in glass, which afford a beautiful setting for flower shows. The attic has been remodeled for the art school and skylights added, and even the Indian room has undergone several changes.

For the opening exhibition the Director, Eugene Kingman, took for his theme "Phases of Western History—the Artists' Record." By the use of maps the historical background of the central plains is fully explained. Six large maps depict the story of this region from 1800 to the present day. A thorough study of western history

was made by the Director, and by Elizabeth Y. Kingman. Trips were made to Arkansas, Missouri and historical places in Oklahoma for material. Dealers' galleries in New York and old print shops in the east were visited.

The Roberta Campbell Lawson memorial exhibition, on display in the Indian room, contains representative examples of crafts from the plains of woodland Indians and several examples from the Five Civilized Tribes.

Director Kingman delegated various organizations with the task of assembling the material for such displays. For instance, the Tulsa Stamp club arranged the display of stamps, tracing the postal history of the United States; the Early American Glass club arranged the display of glass, and prepared all documentary labels; the development of architecture in Oklahoma was arranged by Frederick Vance Kershner with an accompanying exhibit of nineteenth century architectural renderings, lent by Mrs. Phil W. McMahon, Tulsa; the Weavers' guild of Tulsa arranged the exhibit of old spinning wheels and looms. Days could be spent at Philbrook studying the development of art in the west.

On October 12, 1941, the Creek County Historical Society was organized at Bristow, Oklahoma. Among those addressing this group were Mrs. E. H. Black and James W. Moffitt, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Officers elected were as follows: Mrs. E. H. Black, President; Mrs. J. C. Vickers, Vice President; Mrs. Mary Warren Oldham, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. R. A. Shaw, Director of Publicity; Board of Directors, Don W. Walker; Lew Allard; John Young; Ray Gearhart. In the near future a committee representing the various communities of Creek County will be appointed to collect interviews with pioneers, early letters, newspapers, maps and other historical data. It was also suggested that the senior pupils in the high schools be encouraged to write accounts of their lives and that of their parents with their historical background. Eventually the Society expects to sponsor the writing of a history of this county with such a colorful background.

On the afternoon of November 23, 1941, the Payne County Historical Society met in the Public Library at Stillwater. President C. S. Bassler introduced Paul Boone who presented a paper on "The Early Telephone History of Payne County." The Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society then addressed the group. The closing number on the program was a paper on "The Early History of Stillwater," by J. H. Swope, a pioneer citizen, which was read by Mabel Davis Holt, Secretary of the Payne County Society. A number of early pictures and manuscripts, throwing light on the early history of Payne County, were presented to the Society.

On October 28, 1941, the Garfield County Historical Society was formed at Enid, Oklahoma. Those appearing on the program were President Emeritus I. N. McCash of Phillips University and the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Officers were elected as follows: President, I. N. McCash; Program Vice-President, H. F. Donnelly; Membership Vice-President, Ed Stinnett; Secretary-Treasurer, Mable McClure; Reporter, Mrs. F. L. Crowe. The Society set as one of its objectives the preservation of manuscripts and other historical materials dealing with the history of Garfield County.

Newest among historical societies in Oklahoma is the Stephens County Historical Society which was organized at Duncan, November 24, 1941, after addresses by Judge J. G. Clift and James W. Moffitt. With Judge Cham Jones presiding the following officers were elected: Judge Clift, President and Sue Salmon, Secretary. Plans were discussed for collecting and preserving the historical materials of this county. It was also suggested that the pupils in the schools write sketches of their pioneer parents, including their historical background.

Thurman J. White, State Supervisor for the Statewide Museum Service, reports that on November 1, 1941, there were forty-five units of this part of the Federal Works Projects Administration sponsored by the Extension Division of the University of Oklahoma. In sixteen of the Schools where museum units are maintained, clubs have been organized among the student bodies. The purpose and aim of each club is adapted to the interests of the members; the only requirement being that these interests shall be to the advancement of the museum, school and community. The names chosen for some of these clubs indicate the trend of these activities; such as Girls' Progressive Museum Club, Camera Club, Travel and Nature Study Club, Science Club, Local Historical Society.

These forty-five museums stretch across the state from Kenton to Broken Bow, and the exhibits on display and various collections assembled are of valuable historical interest. Other collections reflect the geological, industrial, military, cultural and economic development of the state.

Readers of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* are requested to send in news of the activities of local, county and regional historical societies; of historical museuma, pioneer associations and patriotic societies; of manuscript collections pertaining to Oklahoma; of monuments and markers erected; of anniversaries and historical events to the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, so that such items may be published in this section of *The Chronicles.*

The Secretary represented the Society at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Atlanta, Georgia, on November 6, 7, and 8, 1941. Among the topics discussed were "Southern Transportation and Trade"; "Newspapers as a Factor in Southern Development"; "Some Post-War Southern Leaders"; "Some Aspects of Latin American History"; "Southern History"; "History and Population in the Middle Ages"; "Local Historians and the Development of Southern Historical Scholarship." Those participating on the last named program were William D. McCain, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; William J. Van Schreeven, Virginia State Library; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina; C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Historical Commission; Dan Lacy, Work Projects Administration; James W. Moffitt, Oklahoma Historical Society. Among the historical collections of interest seen were the antiques of the Atlanta Historical Society; the exhibit of Confederate research materials belonging to the Keith Read Collection in the Emory University Library, and the Cherokee and Creek manuscripts in the Georgia Department of Archives and History.

During recent months death has claimed three members of the Society who were former governors: Frank Frantz and W. M. Jenkins who served during territorial days and E. W. Marland who was governor of Oklahoma from 1935 to 1939. Their biographical sketches will appear in a subsequent issue of this magazine.

Hon. J. S. Latimer, eighty seven year old pioneer for whom Latimer County was named, died at his home near Wilburton of a cerebral hemorrhage, October 29, 1941. Latimer was a delegate to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention.

Fred D. Bearly, sixty eight year old head of the Bearly Lumber Company and a life member of the Society, died September 21, 1941, at his home in Oklahoma City. For many years he was a leader in state Republican circles and served at one time as a member of the state Republican central committee. He belonged to the First Methodist Church, Oklahoma City, and was a Mason.

BOOK REVIEWS

Narrative of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542. Edited by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. *Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications,* Vol. II. (Albuquerque: the University of New Mexico Press, 1940. xii + 413 pp. Frontispiece, notes, and index, $3.00.)

For many years much interest has been manifested in the expedition of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado which took place during the years 1540 to 1542. This has been true not only in the Southwest, but throughout America as a whole. With the approach of its four hundredth anniversary Congress provided for a United States Coronado Exposition Commission while the legislature of New Mexico created the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission of New Mexico which has authorized the publication of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Series of which this is the second volume.

It is a large and very attractive book and will be a welcome addition to the library of anyone at all interested in the history of the Southwest. An introduction of thirty-three pages gives a short sketch of Coronado's early life and a brief account of the expedition itself. The setting of the story having thus been laid, the remainder of the volume is given over to the English translations of all known documents relating to Coronado's journey. These are twenty-nine in number. They include three letters of Coronado and two of the viceroy, Antonio Mendoza, to King Charles I of Spain, and two letters of Coronado to Mendoza. Coronado's appointments as governor of New Galicia, and as leader of the expedition are also given as well as the instructions issued to Fray Marcos of Niza and the latter's report of his journey made in the spring and summer of 1539.

One very important document given is the Muster Roll of the expedition. This was discovered by Professor Arthur S. Aiton of the University of Michigan, and the Spanish text published by him in the *American Historical Review,* Vol. XLIV, while his English translation was issued in 1939 by the William L. Clements Library of that University as Bulletin XXX.

By far the longest document included in the volume is the history of the expedition by Pedro de Castaneda de Najera, undoubtedly the most famous of the chroniclers of the journey. This covers 192 pages of the text and gives a fairly detailed and complete account of the entire expedition. Casteneda's narrative was written some years after Coronado's return to Mexico, however, and is open to the charge that the author's memory may at times have been faulty.

Other important documents included are the accounts of the Coronado and Cardenas trials which had never been previously translated into English. Most of the shorter documents have been translated from photostatic copies of the originals in the archives of the Indies at Seville.

While the volume does not contain the Spanish text of any

document, it is in all other respects considerably more comprehensive than the account of the Coronado expedition published by George Parker Winship in the *Fourteenth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which has been the standard work on the subject since its publication in 1896. An excellent picture of present day Compostela, capital of the province of New Galicia in 1540, adds to the attractive features of the volume.

This book will be of real interest to Oklahomans who desire to know more of the history of their state since it is generally agreed that Coronado must have traveled entirely across Oklahoma from south to north in his search for Quivira, usually designated as having been located on the Arkansas River in the present state of Kansas. He must also have crossed the Panhandle on his return journey from Quivira to the place where his army was encamped on the Rio Grande a short distance above the site of the present city of Albuquerque. The volume is beautifully printed and bound, has an adequate index and ample foot notes and citations to other works on the same subject add much to its value.

University of Oklahoma. Edward Everett Dale

Arkansas, a Guide to the State. Compiled by the makers of the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Arkansas. *American Guide Series.* (New York; Hastings House, 1941. xxvii + 477 pp. Illustrations, bibliography and maps, $2.50.)

The reader who has had occasion to think that the literary work of the W P A must of necessity be amateurish and immature, will find in this book reason to revise his judgment.

It conforms to the formula of W P A Authority, but fortunately there are departures suggested by the knowledge, experience and imagination of those locally in charge that have made it a contribution of real merit, interest, and significance. If a guarantee were needed of the historical accuracy of the book, it lies in the names of the consultants, and particularly of Dallas T. Herndon, Miss Clara Eno, Professor Lemke and the lamented Charles J. Finger, who recently died while the book was in process of construction.

This reviewer believes that the early part of the book is a literary achievement of real merit, though he questions the reference to sources such as Pope's and Hempstead's histories, of which he has a poor opinion.

As Arkansas and Oklahoma together constituted Arkansas Territory after 1819, a book purporting to cover Arkansas Territory after that date must necessarily interest Oklahomans, and should of course, until 1836, include many items inseparable from that part of the territory that afterward became Oklahoma. That this book does not undertake to incorporate any of this information is, in the judgment of this reviewer, a serious defect probably attribut-

able to the authorities in Washington who prescribed the formula for the work. That formula is doubtless carried out in part III, which comprises 117 tours of places of local interest and value. The beautiful illustrations give one a graphic picture of the state and its many historical activities and events. There is a bibliography of 12 pages, and a long list of consultants who are supposed to have contributed each in some measure to the book. An excellent index of 23 pages is another feature that commends itself.

Muskogee Grant Foreman

The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778. By Alfred Barnaby Thomas. *Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications.* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940. xv + 232 pp. Bibliography. $3.50.)

Border relations of Spanish New Mexico and the nomadic Southern Plains Indian tribes were much like those of Anglo-American New Mexico in that there were raids and counter raids, temporary treaties, broken promises, renewed wars, and other periods of truce. The whole represents the clashing of hostile cultures, one of which was primitive and nurtured by a desert-like region and the other was mature, having been cradled in a foreign land.

Professor Thomas's *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778,* is but an interesting mosaic unit of our general border picture. It is a volume consisting of three parts: (1) "Historical Introduction"; (2) "The Frontier Policy of Governor Don Thomas Velez Cachupin"; and (3) "The Frontier Policy of Governor Don Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta." The last two divisions consist of more than seventy well chosen and interesting documents. In general, this study bears all the ear-marks of scholarship usually found in other books by the same author and is invaluable in a study of Indian relations during the period involved.

This reviewer finds little to criticize adversely. Perhaps a better title could have been chosen for the book, for obviously the emphasis of the documents presented is on Spanish administration and not the Indians, as the titles of the last two divisions of the study would suggest. More editorial notice of place names, Indian tribes, and location of ranges would have added to the value of the book. It seems hardly necessary to list in the introduction (pp. 21-24) the trade goods seized from the French intruders when they are found in greater detail in an accompanying document (pp. 91-93 and 95-101). And "Bolton, 'French Intrusions into New Mexico, op. cit., p. 391" (p. 75, fn. 11) should have been given in full, since it is the first time that a Bolton reference is found in this series of footnotes. But these errors, if errors they are, are only minor and do not detract from the generally fine quality of the study.

The volume is accompanied by a satisfactory bibliography and index, and is done in an unusually attractive format.

University of Oklahoma Carl Coke Rister

Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg. Edited by Maurice Garland Fulton; with an introduction by Paul Horgan. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1941. xvii + 413 pp. Illustrations and bibliography. $3.50).

This book appears as one of the volumes of the *American Exploration and Travel Series,* inaugurated a few years ago by the University of Oklahoma Press. The discovery of unpublished diaries and letters of Josiah Gregg is a matter of major importance in American letters, and particularly in Oklahoma, where every person who is at all well read is familiar with his classic *Commerce of the Prairies.* It is natural for the literate Oklahoman to expect to find in this book notes and diaries from which Gregg wrote his *Commerce of the Prairies,* but in this he is doomed to disappointment, as the only part of the book that relates to his travels across Oklahoma has to do with his return from Santa Fe in 1840, and carries the reader from the Texas Panhandle into Oklahoma only about as far as Blaine County, where he crossed the Canadian River and continued his journey to Van Buren on the north side of that stream. From this crossing of the river eastward the book is silent. Perhaps it is just as well, so far as the annotation of the book is concerned, for the editor got into difficulties as he approached the neighborhood of Chouteau's trading post near the present Lexington, Oklahoma. His footnote 15 on page 67 confuses this trading post occupied by A. P. Chouteau in 1836, with Edward's post near the mouth of Little River, not identified historically in any way with Chouteau.

The remainder of the book is made up in the main of interesting diaries and letters touching Gregg's life in later years in Missouri, Arkansas and Texas. From page 195, May to September, 1846, the diary relates to the regiments of Arkansas volunteers on their adventure into the Mexican War, about which the book contains descriptions of much interest. It continues in chronological order and, with 38 pages of appendix, presents correspondence between Gregg and his relatives carrying the reader along to 1851.

Except for that brief extract of the diary dealing with Oklahoma, and the editor's mistake in connection with Chouteau's trading post, this reviewer does not pretend to be familiar with essential facts dealt with in the documentation of the book, which otherwise seems to have been done with meticulous care.

The polished introduction by Mr. Horgan adds much to its value, and gives the reader some necessary historical background that adds much to the pleasure and profit of its perusal. The book has an excellent index. It is a beautiful piece of work, and well sustains the enviable reputation heretofore earned by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Muskogee, Oklahoma Grant Foreman

The Loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution. By Robert O. DeMond. *Duke University Publications.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940. x + 286 pp. Bibliography and appendices. $3.00)

In these days when the British Empire is being shaken to its foundations a renewed interest in loyalty to the ideals and heritage of our once mother-country is manifesting itself in the United States. The enthusiastic reception of the novels of Kenneth Roberts, Robert Graves and Van Wyck Mason which portray the loyalist side of our Revolutionary War, are eloquent of an inescapable trend in circles of enlightened American public opinion. These books reach readers who never heard of Wilbur Siebert, Moses Coit Tyler, Lewis Einstein, Isaac Harrell, Epaphroditus Peck, Egerton Ryerson, or Lorenzo Sabine.

Mr. DeMond's book is a welcome addition to the scholarly studies being made in various parts of the country regarding the strength and nature of the loyalists. Too often hitherto treated biographically as isolated and unfortunate individuals we are gradually being enabled to see the civil war in its true colors and as a whole—or at least in patches—patches making up communities, counties or colonies. This study is therefore of unusual interest to the American historian, despite the fact that it is somewhat marred by repetitiousness, frequent misspellings, other minor careless errors, and a stodgy, wooden style. This reviewer would wish that the author, having presumably digested a great mass of material, had given more conclusions, estimates and judgments, rather than being largely content to rely on statements from less scholarly predecessors.

The materials used are chiefly drawn from the *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina,* buttressed by numerous unpublished manuscripts and the standard printed records, newspapers, books and articles. The omission of maps is regrettable in such a study.

Mr. DeMond states that a majority of the inhabitants of North Carolina were loyal to the crown; this despite the fact that they had been disloyal to its governors shortly before. This switchover is not adequately explained. In fact nowhere in the book is sufficient attention given as to why this or that action occurred. One is largely left in the dark as to why the commoners of North Carolina would fight for local freedom, but not for freedom for the colony and the potential nation.

The book is especially valuable for the factual information it contains but one looks in vain for the historian's delight: a clear, concise and reasoned narrative. It is not the definitive study on loyalism in North Carolina.

University of Oklahoma Alfred B. Sears

Red Carolinians. By Chapman J. Milling. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. xxi + 438 pages. Illustrations, Bibliography, Index. $4.00.)

This scholarly book gives the entire history, so far as it can be traced, of all the Indian tribes that inhabited the Carolinas at any time since the coming of the white man. It is of interest to Oklahomans because so many of these tribes are now merged in the composite citizenship of the state.

There were the gifted Cherokees, who lived in the North Carolina mountains and the region to the south and west, and whose achievements have shaped so much of the early history of Oklahoma. There was also a branch of the Chickasaws, detached from the parent tribe in Mississippi, who lived for a time on the Savannah. Several of the tribes were associated with the formidable Creek Confederacy of the Georgia-Alabama region, later the Creek Nation of Indian Territory days. Among this number were the powerful Cussetas (Cofitachiqui), whose thriving, populous country was plundered by De Soto, and who were among the founders and leaders of this redoubtable Confederacy. Oklahomans will remember that Isparhecher, leader of the "Green Peach War" of the 1880's and Chief of the Creek Nation 1895-99, was a Cusseta, and many present-day Oklahoma Creeks trace their descent from the same tribal "town." There were the Euchees, a distinct linguistic stock, who joined the Creek Confederacy at an early period, and who now live in the vicinity of Sapulpa; and the Savannahs, a southern branch of the Shawnees, now as in early days, close friends of the Euchees. The Apalachicolas also formed a "town" of the Confederacy, which under the name of Tulwa Thlocco still claims the allegiance of numerous Oklahoma Creeks. A few Catawbas, members of a Siouan tribe of the Carolina coast, came during the late 1800's to settle with the Creeks in the Indian Territory, and several prominent families of the Eufaula vicinity can still trace their descent from this group. On the other hand the Yamassees, who were Christianized and colonized in Florida by the Spanish, were destroyed by the Creeks; and the story of their extermination is still told as an Oklahoma Indian legend. The Cusabos, the Westos, the tribes of the Guale province, the Iroquoian Tuscaroras, the Apalachees of northwestern Florida, and many obscure Siouan tribes also figured in Carolina colonial history, but they are unknown to Oklahomans.

Although Dr. Milling is interested mainly in his Indians as Carolinians, he has not slighted the Oklahoma part of his research. His book also is written with the detachment characteristic of Oklahomans who write Indian history; his Indians are neither fiends nor noble red men, but people who committed depredations and at the same time suffered grievous wrongs. It is difficult to read; its style is that of the *World Almanac,* and it assumes too much knowledge of local Carolina history on the part of the reader. But it is beautiful in format and a marvel of comprehensive research and accurate scholarship. It deserves a place in the reference library of every Oklahoman interested in the origins of the Indians of his state.

Marshall, Oklahoma Angie Debo

America's Economic Growth. By Fred Albert Shannon. (New York: MacMillan Company, 1940. viii + 867 pp. Maps, tables, annotated bibliography and index. $3.75.)

This volume is essentially a revision of Professor Shannon's *Economic History of the People of the United States* (1934). In both format and content the new edition is superior. The economic growth of the United States is logically divided into five major parts: The period of Colonial Dependence, to 1789; The Period of Dominant Sectionalism, 1789-1865; The Rise of Capitalism, 1865-1900; The Climax of Capitalism, 1900-1929; The Crisis of Capitalism, Since 1929. The earlier edition omitted the last section, incorporating its limited discussion of the passing of rugged individualism and the inauguration of the New Deal as the final chapter in the former section. This has now been completely reorganized and ample consideration is given to the economic trends of the past decade concluding with a chapter on "Symptoms of Reaction." Three rather lengthy and unwieldly chapters in the earlier portions of the book have been wisely sub-divided.

Designed as a one semester text, the earlier edition was found by nearly all instructors to be too long. The present book, despite the addition of material bringing the story to date, is much shorter. The omissions and excisions have been carefully made. A much improved format adds definitely to readability. It is to be regretted, however, that the maps and tables, both of which occur in sufficient abundance, are not listed. Why should an economic history shun illustrations? In the opinion of this reviewer a few wisely chosen illustrations would be informative and would enliven this valuable account of the economic development of our country. Twenty-seven pages of annotated bibliography and a good index are given.

Professor Shannon has a lively style and a gift in the coinage of forceful expressions. In the evaluation of issues, he seldom leaves doubt as to his own personal views. Evaluations are arrived at, he says, not by "whether the fact was good or bad, but whether it tended toward growth or decline of institutions and society." The reader, however, does not feel compelled to accept these judgments nor are they given in a pontifical manner; a sense of historical balance and a judicial mind prevent the pitfall of dogmatism.

University of Oklahoma William E. Livezey

Three Virginia Frontiers. By Thomas Perkins Abernethy. (University Louisiana; Louisiana State University Press 1940. xiv + 96 pp. $1.50.)

The need for an adequate interpretation of the sources of American democracy finds expression in Professor Abernethy's recent book, *Three Virginia Frontiers.* The volume is made up of three essays, entitled "Tidewater", "Piedmont and Valley", and "Kentucky", which were presented as the Fourth Series of the Walter Lynwood

Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University in 1940. Believing that generalizations about the significance of the frontier in American history should await conclusions supported by detailed studies, the author traces "the development of the conflict between European institutions and frontier conditions in one specified area—Virginia, our first frontier— as her boundaries existed at the time of the Confederation." Although giving due acknowledgment to the frontier thesis as an important factor, he shows that in regions fairly representative—the Tidewater, Piedmont, Valley, and the territory constituting West Virginia and Kentucky—American development was conditioned not by one but by many factors, and moreover, that at times the frontier was only a temporary influence and far from being the chief one.

To counterbalance the tendency to idealize the transforming influence of the frontier, Professor Abernethy presents a realistic study of conflicting currents. "European customs and traditions, British legal systems, and the methods by which public lands were disposed of," largely offset the leveling tendency of the frontier. He makes clear, for instance, that in the tidewater section social stratification was due to such factors as transportation difficulties, land ownership, difficulties of adjustment, emphasis upon the family as the fundamental social unit, and the type of laws and the administration of the government. In tracing the checkered course of democracy in Virginia in the seventeenth century, he makes the point that Bacon's Rebellion instead of being a manifestation of frontier democracy represents just as does the Puritan Revolution in England, the desire of the people to safeguard their customary rights. Such a conclusion is strongly supported, in the opinion of the reviewer, by contemporary material dealing with those sections of Virginia early settled; the wind of democracy was blowing not merely from the west but from other directions as well. For the latter part of that century, the author reminds us that illiberal policies formulated overseas, rather than the frontier, determined development. He then gives data for the Piedmont Valley, West Virginia, and Kentucky regions to illustrate his thesis that democracy did not gain "new strength each time it touched a new frontier" and that something more than free land and advance westward are needed to explain American growth and expansion.

An interpretation of our national life that, without denying the influence of the frontier, pays due regard to the social and political heritage of the Old World and that recognizes the play and counterplay of various forces, is a timely contribution. Professor Abernethy, moreover, by testing his conclusion in the light of factual evidence within a specific portion of the area to be historically charted, has taken an important step toward arriving at a sound generalization for the whole.

Susie M. Ames

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

Pascua, A Yaqui Indian Village in Arizona. By Edward H. Spicer. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940. xxxi + 319 pp. Tables, figures, and plates, $3.50.)

To show that Indians do exist with relation to other people, economically and socially, Edward H. Spicer and his wife spent a year with the Yaqui Indians in Pascua village, near Tuscon, Arizona. Some 429 individuals (1937) constituted the basis of their study in social anthropology.

Yaqui Indians were living on the lower Rio Yaqui in Southern Sonora where the Spaniards first recorded seeing them. They fought fiercely to maintain their independence; first, against the Spaniards, and later against the Mexicans. They were hunters and agriculturists, and though physically made excellent slaves for the Spanish mines and henequen plantations, the Yaquis died rather than surrender their freedom. Ales Hrdlicka says, "This is the only tribe on the continent that, surrounded by whites from the beginning of their history, have never been fully subdued." Always, the Yaquis lived in a continuous state of revolt against the government. After the uprising of 1895, Diaz tried to solve the Yaqui problem by a program of extermination. During the following years many Yaquis fled to the north, and eventually some families crossed the border into the United States, settling in seven villages in the southern part of Arizona. Pascua was established as a geographical unity shortly after 1917. There Spicer was able to study the effects of present social and economic influences upon their cultural development. He found Pascuans laboring on ranches and railroads, making and selling adobe brick and baskets, and doing various odd jobs; some were even on the W. P. A. Pascuans conformed to the economic life about them in the American community; yet they retained the social system and religious ceremonies used by their fathers and grandfathers when living in the river villages of Sonora. Spicer and his wife took up residence in Pascua learned Spanish and attacked the problem of how an economic system developed in one culture would combine with a social and ceremonial system developed in another. The results of their investigations are set forth in this book.

The preface clearly states the problem, the method of approach, and the position and relationships of the anthropologists to the village. A general history of the Yaquis and a summary of their settlements and material culture set the stage for more detailed investigations. The observations on economics, kinship, ceremonial sponsorship and societies, relation of the church and pueblo, the *Pascola* dancer, and the ceremonial system are each given a full chapter. The ceremonial system is divided into a discussion of events and patterns and ancestors and deities. Spicer concludes his study with comprehensive summary of the nature of the social and ceremonial organizations and the nature of the conflict between them and the economic system, setting forth a hypothesis of func-

tional inconsistencies in Pascua culture as defined by Radcliffe Brown. He describes assimilation of the *Pascola* and the problem of leadership in the ceremonial societies. In the light of his investigation he found he might restate the hypothesis: "Where a society is faced with functional inconsistency, and a way is presented to resolve the crisis as it is manifest in the lives of the individuals by their withdrawal either into the old system or out of society, there need occur no cultural resolution of the inconsistency, even though the disappearance of the culture results." It becomes clear then that Pascua culture continues to exist and even in certain respects to develop, but its existence is definitely threatened by economic necessity, which is gradually reducing the society which finds the culture usable.

Social studies of this nature partially fulfill their function by acting as springboards to other problems of a similar nature. It is possible that a comparative study of the Yaquis of the Rio Yaqui in Sonora and those of Pascua would suggest solutions to other questions arising from Spicer's investigation. This book appears to be an interesting basis for future work among the Yaqui Indians of Sonora and Arizona.

Texas Technological College W. C. Holden

Acculturation of Seven American Indian Tribes. Edited and summarized by Ralph Lenton. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. 526 pp. $4.00.)

This volume contains seven monographs about seven Indian tribes of the West and the South-West. The primary purpose of this book is to make available information on the acculturation process as it has gone on, and still is going on in certain American Indian tribes. The term acculturation in which the authors have used it has been defined by the Social Science Research Council, thus, "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different culture come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural pattern of either or both groups."

The Puyallup of Washington are the first to be discussed by Marion W. Smith. The home of these Indians is around the southern end of the Puget Sound. Christmas Eve, 1854, was the date when they first made a treaty with the United States. The author points that better conditions for the acculturation of native people would have been hard to imagine. The Indians and whites worked together at the same task. The only direct attempt to change the native culture were those in connection with the abandonment of the communal homes and the introduction of Christianity. There was no organized tribal life to be disrupted. The individualistic patterns of the native culture made it easy for certain Indians to take on white habits without waiting for the rest of the tribe to assume

them. When a chance came, as it did by the end of the century with the railroads, the backwash of civilization always manages to be in the forefront of its pioneering. Social discrimination, introduction of liquor and the sale of lands, a sudden influx of wealth descended upon the Indian for which he had no pattern. As Dr. Smith then points out, the inevitable result is the degeneration of a race.

The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada is the second Indian tribe taken up and discussed by Jack S. Harris. This branch of Shoshoni originally ranged over a portion of the Great Basin; now they are located in the northeastern section of Nevada. These Indians had no agricultural lands, their rivers had no fish, buffalo were too far east, consequently they lived on the barest existence. They were early made prey to all the white man's vices and none of his virtues. The first direct attempt at cultural change came with the agency period. The White Knives have no tendency to glorify the past. There is no factor, as the author sees it, which would prevent their complete Europeanization.

Marvin Oplet writes the chapter upon the Southern Ute of Colorado. The author in developing the acculturation of this Indian tribe stresses the fact that the Ute of Colorado got the horse before he came in contact with white civilization, and this fact has affected his cultural relations with the white. The horse was the important element in his life, because it gave him an independence not known before. This independence kept the Ute from submitting as readily to the whites as the Shoshoni.

The Indian tribe in the northwest was the Northern Arapaho of Wyoming which is discussed by Henry Elkin. The Arapaho of Wyoming were given a reservation within their original hunting grounds. He too had the horse and was dependent upon the buffalo. When the buffalo was eliminated, the Arapaho became economically dependent upon the government. His traditional desire to travel and visit has made the Arapaho take over the automobile more enthusiastically than any other known tribe. The automobile has given him a sense of values and prestige that was lost with the extermination of the buffalo. On the whole, Arapaho has not, so the author believes, made much progress taking on white culture.

The Fox of Iowa, the author Natalie F. Jaffe, points out, had more favorable conditions in which they came into contact with white civilization; hence there was no difficult period of transition as with the Plains tribes. All original culture was valued, but the Fox were not unmindful of the benefits to be found in white ways. The Fox were not historically minded; they easily forgot the past. They willingly borrowed from the whites.

The only tribe outside the United States is the Alkatche Carrier of British Columbia discussed by Irving Goldman. These Indians have occupied their present territory since prehistoric time. They have not been over run by other Indians or the white. The

change in their culture, which has taken place, has been voluntary. Their economic basis has been furs. The author sees a dependent state economically, in the near future, because of the decrease in fur-bearing animals, but that their final assimilation is far off.

The south-western Indian, the San Ildefonse of New Mexico, is discussed by William Whitman. The San Ildefonse still carry on their own methods of agriculture. The San Ildefonse culture was predominately masculine. With the white contacts in recent years, the reverse is taking place. Pottery is the women's work; they have the economic advantage.

Students of Indian culture will find this volume valuable. Each monograph has a bibliography and a summary by the editor.

Oklahoma College for Women Anna Lewis

The First Michigan Frontier. By Calvin Goodrich. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1940. viii + 344 pp. $2.50.)

The first Michigan frontier was the village of Detroit and a few scattered outposts such as Michillimackinac, St. Josephs, Sault Ste Marie, and a half dozen other "Minor Guardians of the Frontier." No army of farmers, clearing land and planting crops, invaded Michigan in the eighteenth century. Only missionaries, traders, and soldiers ventured in the region. Except for Detroit and the neighboring Canadian vicinity where ribbon-like farms existed, the other places were little more than stockades inhabited by a handful of traders, Jesuit missionaries, and irregularly garrisoned by a few soldiers. Indian encampments were to be found close by in all instances.

The author has not attempted to give a connected story of development nor a history of the Michigan frontier. Instead he has painted a literary mural depicting life at Detroit around the year 1763. There are scenes before and after that date, but the focal point is the time of the siege by Pontiac. The flora and fauna are adequately described, largely by the use of quotations from letters, journals, and diaries of contemporaries. The *coureurs de bois* and other "Brethren of the Wilderness" are pictured with a reality which makes these characters once again living men. Social life in Detroit, from the humblest habitant to the governor and his circle, is shown with great attention paid to the smallest detail, even as to the types of cooking utensils. The economic life, too, is so interwoven that the reader does not feel that the business of making a living is something apart from everyday existence. Although the chief locale is Detroit at the end of the French regime only one chapter, "A Siege on Odd Lines," is specifically devoted to the attempt of Pontiac to drive out the English. The conspiracy and the war, however, run as a theme throughout the whole work.

While there is no central figure in the book, the characters of Cadillac, Pontiac, and Major Henry Gladwin appear most often. One short chapter, "A Lesser Caesar," does deal with the great

Indian chief, and Gladwin is discussed as a man in a portion of another chapter, "Certain Figures of the Frontier." Two of the appendices are on John Montrésor and Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster. Other soldiers, such as Robert Rogers, Captain Dalyell, and various commandants make brief appearances. Among the traders, James Sterling and Alexander Henry are the most outstanding.

To make this picture the author has done a vast amount of painstaking research and has shown what can be done with a large mass of detail which on the surface might appear to be inconsequential. The view is blurred in places however, by vague statements or assumptions, but this is due to a lack of definite information. The assumptions are sometimes based upon much later events, which probably were also true of the time written about, but they do, nevertheless, give some distortion to the picture. For example, a description of the forests of Michigan in 1903 is used to describe those of Cadillac's day (p. 39). No doubt there was little change, but there is a possibility that 1903 was some different from 1703. The same may be said about Isaac Weld's description of the Indian dress in Upper Canada in 1795-97 as applying to 1763 even though Indian customs were "fixed" (p. 117). The "ceremony of the bell" and other French customs of the early nineteenth century may have been modified over a period of fifty or one hundred years (pp. 60, 74). A map showing the location of the other posts on the frontier would aid the reader not familiar with the geography of Michigan.

These are only minor criticisms, however, and in no way detract from the general excellence of the book. Although it may be claimed that it is a collection of miscellanies, these are so woven together that the reader finishes with a good and as accurate as possible picture of this first frontier of Michigan.

Wayne University Joe L. Norris

Lookout: The Story of a Mountain. By Robert Sparks Walker. (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1941. xviii + 282 pp. Illustrations, map, and appendices. $2.00.)

As its subtitle indicates, this is the story of a mountain. This interesting volume by the well known naturalist and historian, Robert Sparks Walker, gives an account of Lookout Mountain which is visited by historians and thousands of tourists each year. The author opens his account with a description of the mountain itself—its caves, its rock cities, its waterfalls, creeks, springs, its wild flowers, shrubs and trees. The second section of the book deals with Lookout Mountain in wartime, including Indian Wars and the fighting around the mountain during the War between the States. Of particular interest to our readers living in Oklahoma should be the description of Indian battles in chapter VI and the references to

Sequoyah, Daniel S. Butrick, Daniel Ross, John Ross, Ard Hoyt and Cyrus Kingsbury.

The latter part of this volume deals with educational activities taking place on this mountain. Here is related the founding of the University of the South and the brief but interesting story of the Lookout Mountain Educational Institution.

One of the special features of *Lookout* is the index, although here and there is found an omission of a name which should be included in a later edition. The reader is particularly impressed with the attractive illustrations which enhance the value of the book. The author writes with a smooth and flowing style in spite of the use here and there of an infelicitous expression. *Lookout* should be read with interest by many readers. J. W. M.

Boys Life of Will Rogers. By Harold Keith. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Publishers, 1939. ix + 271 pp. Illustrations. $2.00.)

The *Boys Life of Will Rogers* is a real contribution to the rapidly growing literature on the life of this noted Oklahoman. As its title indicates, this interesting volume was written primarily for boys although the reviewer has observed that it has been read with interest by members of both sexes and by adults.

The author writes from an intimate knowledge of his subject. He came from the section where Rogers spent his earlier years and knows the background.

The story is based on interviews with many persons who knew this interesting personality in the various periods of his life, and on careful research. The book deals largely with the periods of Rogers' boyhood extending through his early twenties. The volume is projected against the background of his Cherokee country, the influence of his parents, particularly his mother and the environment of his times. The versatility of Rogers' career is indicated by some of the chapter headings: "Early Days on Rab's Creek"; "First School Days"; "Hard Lessons"; "A Horse and a Herd"; "At Willie Halsell College"; "The World's Fair at Chicago"; "Scarritt College"; "Kemper"; "A Panhandle Cowboy"; "Trailing a Herd to Kansas"; "Days at Oolagah"; "Argentine"; "The Mulhall Ranch and the World's Fair of 1904"; "Madison Square Garden and Vaudeville."

The twenty-eight illustrations redrawn from photographs by Karl S. Woerner add to the interest of the reader. A comprehensive index would add to the value of the book. The *Boy's Life of Will Rogers* should find a place on the shelves of libraries in Oklahoma as well as elsewhere.

J. W. M.

Pioneers in American Anthropology: The Bandelier-Morgan Letters, 1873-1883. By Leslie A. White (*Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940.* Edited by George F. Hammond. *Bandelier Series.* xv + 272, and viii + 266 pp. (Albuquerque, The University of New Mexico Press, 1940. Vol. I, xvi + 272 pp. Vol. II, vi + 266 pp. Illustrations, $10.00 per set.)

This is an extremely interesting biographical study. Far from being merely a descriptive account of travels, it is a glowing, step by step account of the processes of personal research done by Adolph F. Bandelier, a man sensitive to the actions and opinions of others.

In an Introduction of fourteen divisions, Professor White brings forth the setting, sketches of the lives of both Bandelier and Lewis H. Morgan, and critical examinations of various viewpoints relating to the 158 letters of Bandelier to Morgan, and the 5 letters to Mrs. Morgan following Morgan's death, a period covering the years between 1873-1883. Unfortunately there are no letters of Morgan to Bandelier. However, the close insight into the character of Bandelier is a very valuable study to help us understand the thoroughness of his work in anthropological research. If the thread of this research seems to be hung too much with real or fancied slights, or somewhat biased or subjective opinions, the reader will have to remember that the field of anthropology was, at that time, rather infirmly established, and, consequently, we find a certain groping and cluttering of ideas. Thus we find out how Bandelier, through his correspondence and earlier talks with the older Morgan, allowed himself to be won over from a sound position to a rather unsound one, in regard to the primitive society of Mexico.

Professor White, in clear and concise language, weighs carefully both Morgan's and Bandelier's working hypotheses and conclusions, bringing us up-to-date with a worthy evaluation for future reference. He is careful to connect both men with their age, and to point out that, "what is quite apparent today, may have been obscure more than a half a century ago. Moreover, it is much easier to discover the errors and shortcomings of those who have gone before us than it is to surpass their achievements." (Vol. I, p. 53). This is, of course, a point which cannot be stressed too often to all modern anthropologists.

In speaking of the results of this study, Professor White feels that it not only showed how "Morgan was the most important single factor in Bandelier's scientific career", but also showed "a rather vivid picture of the condition of the science of anthropology in America at that time", when scientists of good caliber were struggling to outgrow the mid-Nineteenth Century romanticism of spectacular "treasure hunting" expeditions in their effort to study mankind by scientific factual method. (Vol. I, pp. 103-104).

Elizabeth Y. Kingman

Tulsa, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

DR. EVERETT G. NEWELL

1870-1930

By Robert L. Williams

Dr. Everett G. Newell, born on a farm near Nevada, Missouri on January 10, 1870, son of John Franklin Newell and his wife, Nancy (Hudson) Newell. His paternal grandfather was William H. Newell, and paternal grandmother a Miss Vaught, and his maternal grandfather Joseph Hudson, and maternal grandmother, Sallie Young.

He was educated in the local schools at Nevada, Missouri and graduated in medicine from the Beaumont Medical College in 1893, later absorbed by the University of St. Louis, Missouri. He engaged in the practice of medicine at Neosho, Missouri, and removed to Oklahoma Territory in 1895, first locating at Jennings in Pawnee County, where he was licensed to practice medicine in said Territory under the Act of 1893.

In the winter of 1902-1903 he removed to Yale in Payne County, participating in platting and ownership of the townsite, and organization of its first bank, and the institution of the A. F. & A. M. and I. O. O. F. lodges in Yale, and became its first Mayor, and in addition to being active in the practice of medicine, aided in many civic efforts for the betterment of the community.

For eight years (1908-1915, inclusive) he was superintendent of the State Insane Hospital at Supply, Oklahoma.

He was a leader in his profession, and active in the Methodist church and the Democratic party.

On March 30, 1895 he and Miss Pearl Jane Hyder were married.

He was elected from District No. 19 on the Democratic ticket as a delegate to the Convention to frame a Constitution for the proposed state of Oklahoma and served on the following committees: (1) State and School Lands, (2) Public Debt and Public Works, (3) Schedule, and (4) Board of Public Health.

He died on December 17, 1930, interment in the Lawson Cemetery at Yale, with the funeral from the Methodist Church, survived by his wife and the following children: John C., Tonkawa; William C., Yale; Mrs. B. Million, Woodward; Mrs. Beatrice Josey, Dallas,[1] to all of whom he was devoted and faithful.

R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

CHARLES HOLLAND PITTMAN

1871-1936

By Robert L. Williams

Charles Holland Pittman, born in Webster County, Mississippi on June 2, 1871, was son of John Wesley Pittman and his wife, Ellen Bradford Pittman, his paternal grandfather being John Harkey Pittman, and great-grandfather, Matthew Pittman, and paternal grandmother, Mary Arena Halsey, and paternal great-grandmother, Sarah Harkey, and maternal grandfather, George S. Bradford, and maternal grandmother, Mary Kent, daughter of Smith H. Kent. His ancestors were school teachers, ministers, physicians and farmers.

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[1] *Yale Record*, December 18, 1930; *Sturms Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. 4, p. 6, (Mar.-Apr. 1907); *Makers of Government in Oklahoma*, 1930 (Harlow) p. 668; *Oklahoma South of the Canadian*, (R. M. Johnson, Editor) 1925, p. 282.

DR. EVERETT G. NEWELL

DR. JAMES LAFAYETTE SHULER

He was educated in a private school taught by Maluina S. Ward, and the public schools at Walthall and the Walthall Normal College at Walthall, Mississippi. As an itinerant preacher and member of the North Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, he held charges at Corinth, Rosedale, Shelby, and Charleston, Mississippi.

He was married on April 30, 1891 to Luticia Matthews near Winona, Mississippi.

He removed to Oklahoma Territory in 1900, locating at Enid, and engaged in the real estate business and the practice of the law, and at different times thereafter was engaged in farming, and also in the mercantile and oil business at Muskogee and Tulsa.

In 1906 he was elected from District 11 in Garfield County, usually a Republican District, on the Democratic ticket as a member of the Convention to frame a Constitution for the proposed state of Oklahoma. At said convention he became closely associated with William H. Murray, its president, and later when Murray became governor and caused Pittman to become secretary of the election board, the two had a disagreement and Pittman retired from said position.

In the Constitutional Convention he served on the following committees: (1) Convention Officers and Employees, (2) Rules and Procedure, (3) Judiciary and Judicial Department, (4) Public Institutions, (5) Primary Elections, (6) Insurance, (7) Contests, (8) Legislative Apportionment (chairman), (9) Steering Committee, and (10) Committee of the Whole (chairman).

During the session of the first Legislature he was Chief Clerk of the House.

He had an active career during his life in Oklahoma as an attorney, in real estate and oil business, and as a politician. Prior to his death he had been deputy state securities commissioner. During his boyhood in Mississippi he had served as the "eyes" for Senator Tom Gore in reading and gathering information for the blind youth who later became a United States Senator.

In response to a questionnaire that was sent to Pittman during his lifetime, inquiring as to facts or circumstances that would be relevant or important to be incorporated into a condensed necrological biography to preserve his name in the history of Oklahoma, his answer was: "Nothing important, the brief and simple annals of the poor. He lived, married, had offspring and died."

He died in Enid on June 22, 1936,[1] survived by his wife; four daughters, Mrs. Charles Hetherington, Muskogee; Mrs. Charles E. Helvenston, Muskogee; Mrs. C. H. Straight, Omaha, Nebraska, and Mrs. V. S. Kershner, Enid; a stepson, John E. Ashworth; two sisters, Mrs. Judge Stewart of Embres, Mississippi, and Mrs. Anna Miller of Crenshaw, Mississippi; and two brothers, Dr. Judge Pittman of Crenshaw, Mississippi, and Marvin Pittman of Atlanta, Georgia.

R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

DR. JAMES LAFAYETTE SHULER
1860-1939

Dr. James Lafayette Shuler, born at Adairsville, Georgia on January 28, 1860, was the son of John Shuler and his wife, Matilda Hill. His maternal grandfather was Ladson Frazier Hickman, and maternal grandmother was Rebecca Josephine Ross.

In the 1880's, with his father and mother he came from near Cartersville, Georgia and settled on a farm near Hackett City, Arkansas, and he received his primary education at the local schools in the community in

[1] *Enid Daily Eagle,* June 22, 1936.

which he lived in Georgia and in Arkansas. His medical education was received in the Medical Department of the Arkansas Industrial University (Little Rock), now the University of Arkansas School of Medicine, in 1887 graduating with the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He was licensed to practice medicine in Oklahoma under the Act of 1908. Prior to that time he had been licensed under the laws in force in the Choctaw Nation. He was a member of his local and state medical societies and a Fellow of the American Medical Association, secretary and past President of the Bryan County, Oklahoma Medical Society, and Medical Director of the Bryan County Hospital.

After his graduation he practiced medicine in the Choctaw Nation at Pocola and removed to Cameron in 1895 where he engaged in the practice of medicine until 1901, when he removed to Durant and continued in the practice of medicine until his death on August 24, 1939 at Hobbs, N. M., where he was on a visit to his son.

Funeral services were held on August 26, 1939 from the First Methodist Church of Durant, Oklahoma, Rev. W. L. Broome and Rev. W. L. Blackburn officiating, interment being in Highland Cemetery at Durant.

He was married on January 11, 1896 at Pocola in the Choctaw Nation to Lucy A. Hickman, who together with their son, Dr. Ashley Cooper Shuler, who resides at Hobbs, N. M., survive him.

Dr. Shuler was an active and leading member of organized medicine in Oklahoma. After his location in Durant in 1901 he served as President of the State and County Societies, and at the time of his death was Secretary of the County Society. For many years he was Councilor of the State Medical Association and served as President in 1912. He had devoted his time and talent liberally in the support of his profession. He was a member of the Masonic Order, holding membership in the Blue Lodge, Knight's Templar, Scottish Rite, and Shrine, and had from his youth been an active and consistent member of the Methodist Church and a supporter of the Democratic Party, and of local civic enterprises.

A devoted husband and father and a good citizen has passed away.

R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

DR. HENRY BUCHANAN FUSTON
1885-1941

Dr. Henry Buchanan Fuston, born November 25, 1885, at Smithville, De Kalb County, Tennessee, was son of James Fuston and his wife, Paralee (Cubbins) Fuston, and grandson of Dr. John A. Fuston, and his wife, Martha Leroy (Allen) Fuston, who were born in Cannon County, Tennessee.

Dr. Henry Buchanan Fuston was married on December 24, 1908 to Nancy V. Adcock, and came to Oklahoma and located at Blue, in Bryan County, Oklahoma, on January 4, 1910, where he engaged in the general practice of medicine until January 1, 1915, when he removed his residence to Bokchito and continued in the practice of his profession of medicine until his death on February 22, 1941; interment in Highland Cemetery at Durant, Oklahoma.

He is survived by his wife and two children, to-wit: a son, Ehrlix H. Fuston of Bokchito, Oklahoma, and a daughter, Mrs. Jalasca Randle, and the following brothers: W. L. D. Fuston, of Smithville; Bass Fuston, of McMinnville; and Dell Fuston, of Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Four brothers and sisters predeceased him, to-wit: John, Monroe, Nancy, and Paralee.

He received his academic education at Dibrell College in Warren County, Tennessee, and his medical education at the University of Nashville, Tennessee, afterwards absorbed by the University of Tennessee, graduating with the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

Dr. Fuston was licensed to practice medicine in Tennessee in 1909, with his address as Smithville, De Kalb County, Tennessee, and in Oklahoma in 1910, with address as Blue, Bryan County, Oklahoma.

DR. HENRY BUCHANAN FUSTON

WILLIAM NICHOLS BARRY

In 1925 he was designated as a Captain in the United States Army Medical Reserve Corps.

In 1935, 1936 and 1937 he was County Health Officer of Bryan County, Oklahoma. He was a past President of the Bryan County Medical Society, and a member of the Oklahoma State Medical Society and a Fellow of the American Medical Association.

A devoted husband and father, a leading citizen of his community and county, taking an active interest in all matters promoting the public welfare; a Thirty-second degree Mason, member of the Christian Church, Democrat, and a good citizen; his place in the walks of life is greatly missed.

R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

WILLIAM NICHOLS BARRY
1879-1938

William Nichols Barry, born September 9, 1879 at Caswell, Lafayette County, Mississippi, was son of Jesse Richard Barry (born May 7, 1837 and died December 8, 1913, who was a planter and slave owner before the Civil War, and enlisted on June 10, 1861 at Oxford, Mississippi, for three years service in Confederate States Army, and was a sergeant in Company B, 1st Regiment Mississippi Cavalry, the company muster roll for September and October, 1864, last on file, showing him "Absent, wounded July 28, 1864," and his name appears on a register of Floyd House and at Ocmulgee Hospitals, Macon, Georgia, "Flesh wound, G. S. (gun shot), popliteal region, left leg, healing by granulation," and name on a roll of prisoners of war surrendered at Citronelle, Alabama, by Lieut. Gen. R. Taylor, C. S. A., to Maj. Gen. E. R. S. Canby, U. S. A., May 4, 1865, and paroled at Grenada, Mississippi, May 20, 1865), and his wife, Ellen Elizabeth Nichols, born in 1849, died August 12, 1906, who was the daughter of William Sumner Nichols, a prominent educator.

William Nichols Barry was educated in the private and public schools in Lafayette County, Mississippi.

An early ancestor was Andrew Barry, Scotch-Irish, who came first to Pennsylvania, and then about 1760 to Spartenburg, S. C., and served in the Revolutionary Army on side of the Colonies. His wife who came with him to South Carolina was Margaret Kathryn Moore. They had a son by the name of Richard Barry, who married Margaret Kilgore, and they had a son by the name of Jesse Richard Barry, who married Ellen Elizabeth Nichols, and their son, William Nichols Barry, married Eunice Inez Busby in Okemah, Creek Nation, Indian Territory, on December 9, 1906, a daughter of Jasper D. Busby.

William Nichols Barry died on October 13, 1938, the funeral services being held at the First Presbyterian Church in Okemah, Oklahoma, Rev. James W. McMillan, local pastor, and Rev. Graham Frasier of Cushing officiating; interment in Highland Cemetery at Okemah.

In 1903 when he was 23 years old, he came from Lafayette County, Mississippi to Okemah and entered the employment of John D. Richards Hardware & Furniture Company. From Okemah he went to Paden in 1907 to engage in the hardware business with said John D. Richards, and on January 1, 1911, returned to Okemah and established the Okemah Hardware Store, and Barry Funeral Home, and also the Barry Chevrolet Company, and the Barry Oil Company, of Okemah, and Progressive Chevrolet Company of Henryetta, all of which he owned at the time of his death. He first entered the banking business by acquiring an interest in the First

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[1] American Medical Association Records (Directory Department), 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

National Bank of Okemah, which afterwards was disposed of and in 1928 he acquired control of the Citizens State Bank of which he was president at the time of his death.

He was a member of the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh (1915-21) and Twelfth (1929) legislatures of Oklahoma, and was a member of the State Senate at the time of his death.

Beginning with the organization of the state government on November 16, 1907, he was a member of the Board of County Commissioners of Okfuskee County, District No. 1, until in January, 1913, the first term extending to January, 1911, and the second term to January, 1913.

At the time of his death he was an official member of the Presbyterian Church, and member of the Masonic Order, (Blue Lodge), and of the Eastern Star, Knights of Pythias, Country Club, Kiwanis, Chamber of Commerce, Retail Merchants Association, and Oklahoma Bankers' Association, and actively affiliated with the Democratic party from the time of reaching his majority.

He is survived by his wife and the following children: Lois Inez, married to Ralph R. Price, Okemah; William N. Barry, Jr., Okemah; Lillian, married to Harvey W. Powell, Holdenville; and the following children predeceased him: Eleanor Elizabeth Barry and Eunice Louise Barry.

The following sisters survive him: Mrs. D. R. Park, Putnam, Texas; Mrs. Rice Park, Hernando, Mississippi; Mrs. E. D. Richmond, Memphis, Tennessee; Mrs. H. C. Wait, Oxford, Mississippi; Mrs. R. E. Lee, Oxford, Mississippi; and Mrs. B. G. Leggette, Memphis, Tennessee.

A representative citizen of the old South, a loyal party man and friend, and an aggressive, public-spirited citizen, faithful to his country, has passed from this earthly sphere.[1]

R. L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

PAUL MARTIN GALLAWAY

1873-1941

The late Paul Martin Gallaway whose life correlated with the early growth of Tulsa and its environs, was a purposeful, self-reliant character of heroic qualities. Northeastern Oklahoma makes an appreciative pause in his memory.

Mr. Gallaway was born at Memphis, Tennessee on March 13, 1873, being the eldest son of John Bell Gallaway, a native of Alabama and Margaret Gallaway nee Martin who was a Mississippian. They were of an ancestry which reached back into Scotland and later to an emigrant ancestry which landed in Virginia and the Carolinas. Four known ancestors fought in the Colonial armies in our War of the Revolution. Young Gallaway initially attended the public schools at New Orleans where his father had entered the service of the Southern Pacific Railroad and later at Fayetteville, Arkansas to which place his mother had removed to educate her six children after the death of her husband. Shortly after his father passed away Paul became employed in janitor service in the railroad offices at New Orleans, to assist his mother. The young man attended the Arkansas Industrial University, now the University of Arkansas, at Fayetteville for one year being enabled to accomplish this by performing odd jobs on the University campus. These gestures of his early boyhood days are indicative of the sustained efforts in his later life. At the age of seventeen he became a bookkeeper for the Dallas Ice Company at Dallas, Texas. Success rewarded his efforts as he successively became, secretary, vice-president and general manager of the Dallas Ice, Light and Power Company. He removed to

[1] *Okemah Daily Leader*, Oct. 13, 1938.

PAUL MARTIN GALLAWAY

Tulsa in 1905 and became manager of the Peoples Gas and Electric Company. In 1913, he assumed management of the Tulsa Water, Light and Power Company which is recognized today as the Public Service Company of Oklahoma and one of the largest dispensers of electric power in the Southwest. Mr. Gallaway organized the Tulsa Cold Storage Company.

In the civic life of Tulsa, Mr. Gallaway became a most engaging figure. He was an active member and director of the Chamber of Commerce, was one of the founders and the first president of the Rotary Club, a Son of the American Revolution, a Son of the Confederacy and of the Elks Society in which he functioned as Exalted Ruler of the Tulsa Lodge. He was an affiliate of the Episcopal Church. There was no wavering in fidelity to his public engagements and he was recognized as a persuasive public speaker but was not of the effervescent type. He grasped the significance of things, was in no sense a dreamer but represented the type of man of larger affairs. The name of Paul M. Gallaway was linked most intimately with the public endeavors of Tulsa during those formative years as he became an outstanding citizen. He was for many years an interested and valued member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Fate moves mysteriously and, at times, tragically. Without premonition came the sudden but protracted illness of Mr. Gallaway in 1919 which in the succeeding year occasioned his total loss of sight. It was a complete blackout and from this personal tragedy there came no surcease. He regained his general health but with his blindness, life took on new complexities. The door on yesterday apparently was closed but with calm resolve Paul M. Gallaway brushed aside the adverse situation. He evidenced a philosophy of life which was not of the defeatist type and spurned all thought or suggestion of humiliation because of the personal tragedy. In 1924, having quite fully recovered his health save his eyesight, he organized and managed the Consumers Ice Company at Sand Springs which became the dominant ice distribution plant in that community. He preserved his civic, fraternal and spiritual affiliations with the spirit of his former years. Although he carried a heavy cross, his ideals of life were never lowered. The smile on his face bore no evidence of self-pity or remorse. He did not permit himself to become dispirited but accepted the tragedy with heroic fortitude. He pressed boldly on to build anew and with marked success. Life to him was a constant unfoldment and he bravely met life's challenge, seeking no preferred status because of his infirmity. The November, 1929 issue of *Holland's* magazine contains a sketch by Mr. Gallaway, which is of compelling interest. In this article which is appropriately entitled "Yet I see Enough" he unfolds the entire story of his affliction and of the consequent battle he was waging.

The grim hand of Fate again struck and in April, 1936, Mr. Gallaway was stricken with a cerebral hemorrhage. After weeks of critical illness he was bourne to the home of his boyhood years at Fayetteville where he lingered an invalid for five years. The days of his colorful life were soon to be concluded. On May 27, 1941, with a smile on his wearied face Paul Gallaway passed on and into the Land where there is no Night. His tired body rests in the historic Evergreen Cemetery at Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Paul M. Gallaway was a genial, loveable and most highly respected character. His engaging talents were combined with genius. He was broad-minded which, combined with a flexible intellect, enabled him to grasp and interpret life's difficult problems. The twenty-one years of his blindness and five years of invalidism were years of heroics which challenge the high regard and esteem of those who knew him.

These roses we lay upon his life's altar.

John Bartlett Meserve.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

SAMUEL E. GIDNEY

1865-1941

Judge Samuel E. Gidney was born in Shelby, North Carolina, on November 5, 1865. He died on June 18, 1941, in Muskogee, Oklahoma. He was the son of Captain John W. and Mary McFarland Gidney, both of whom were natives of Cleveland County, North Carolina. Captain Gidney served with great distinction and bravery at the head of his command as a Confederate Officer during the Civil War. While so engaged, he was drafted and elected by the voters of his district as a member of the Legislature of North Carolina. He was also an active leader in bringing order out of the chaos prevailing during the days of reconstruction. When reference is made to the bravery of a soldier from North Carolina, in that great conflict between the States, it should be recalled that North Carolina furnished more soldiers in proportion to her population than did any other state of the Union; that her soldiers were the first at Manassas, the farthest at Gettysburg, and the last at Appomattox.

Samuel Gidney had the good fortune of being born into a Christian home, whose parents saw well to his early religious training. As a young child he received a medal for his regular attendance at Sunday School. He joined the Church (Methodist) at an early age and was an active member, official, and worker in that organization until his death. He was a charter member of St. Paul's Methodist Church of Muskogee, which was organized in 1903.

He grew to young manhood in the town of his birth and had the advantages of the schools of Shelby which were considered excellent for a town of that size and following so soon after the severe hardships and devastation of the terrible conflict between the States. After graduating from the town schools he entered the North Carolina State College where he distinguished himself as a student and as a debater. His ability as a debater won for him more than one medal.

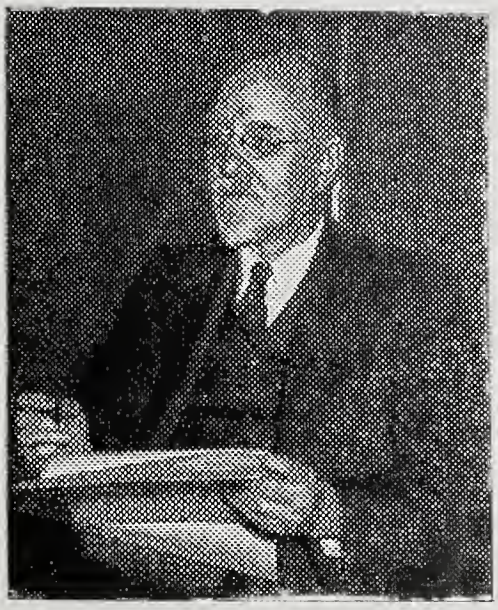
After leaving the University, he was elected Superintendent of the military school at Shelby; and, while he was engaged in that work, the following named students received instruction under him: Hon. Max Gardner and Hon. Clyde R. Hoey, both former Governors of North Carolina; Hon. Yates Webb, United States Federal District Judge.

While engaged in educational work in North Carolina and during the summer of 1888, he, together with other educators took a trip abroad, their objective being a visit to the Holy Land. After reaching and touring the British Isles and the European countries, their plans were unavoidably changed; and they had to return home without realizing their objective.

On April 28, 1891, he was united in marriage to Miss Susie T. Stephens of Shelby. The family connections on both sides of this young couple were among the oldest and most prominent of that section of North Carolina, and close bonds of personal friendship existed between those families. Of that marriage three children were born, John M. of Muskogee, Evelyn, now Mrs. James D. Garrison, also of Muskogee, and Stephen Edwin, who died in childhood.

Soon after Judge Gidney's marriage, he and his young bride moved to Texas, first settling at Smithville in that State where Judge Gidney was appointed Superintendent of Schools. Subsequently he filled the position of Superintendent of Schools at Bartlett and Tyler, Texas. While in Texas, he became acquainted with and formed the friendship of our well-known citizen, Philas S. Jones, a native of Kentucky, who was also engaged in school work in Texas, and who subsequently moved to Wilburton, Oklahoma. He is now in active practice of law in Muskogee.

In 1903 when Judge Gidney located in Muskogee, then Indian Territory for the practice of law, he formed a partnership with Benj. Martin. The style of the law firm being Martin and Gidney. This firm continued to



JUDGE SAMUEL E. GIDNEY

practice in the Federal Courts of Indian Territory for a number of years. After its dissolution, Judge Gidney continued practice in Muskogee until his election as County Judge of Muskogee County in 1934. While in the general practice in Muskogee, he associated with himself his son, John, who survives and is a practicing attorney in Muskogee at this time. Judge Gidney formed no other partnerships during his practice of the law in Oklahoma.

For many years Judge Gidney was an active member and held important offices in the fraternal organization of the Knights of Pythias. On several occasions, he attended, as a delegate and representative of his home lodge, the national conventions of that brotherhood when it convened both in the United States and Canada.

After his election as County Judge in 1934 and on assuming the duties of the office in January following his election, he was successively re-elected to that office in 1936, 1938, and 1940, and at each succeeding election with increased majority. In the last election before his death, his majority was the largest of any elected one on the County ticket. He had only served a few months of the term for which he was last elected when taken by death which occurred while he was sitting on the bench holding court.

Judge Gidney, by education and temperament, was well qualified to discharge the important duties of a County Judge. He was painstaking, patient, kind, and considerate. His lectures and admonitions to wayward boys and girls and his kindness and considerateness for them and his ever willingness to give them another chance to reform were most admirable. Not only did he discharge the duties of his office with ability, patience, and kindness, but also with a degree of love for his work which is seldom surpassed and perhaps infrequently equaled. With each succeeding year his popularity and efficiency in his office increased, and it may well be said of him that his last days on earth were his best days.

Judge Gidney's home life was exemplary. Only a short time before his death, at his home in Muskogee, he celebrated the Golden Anniversary of his marriage with the wife who walked hand in hand and side by side with him during the half century.

Judge Gidney had much capacity for work and throughout life he had been an active and industrious worker. He had the blessing through life of good health and a cheerful, kind, patient temperament. The end came as he had expressed that it would come—while he was still able to work and lead an active, useful life.

By Benjamin Martin

Muskogee, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 23, 1941, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Judge Robert L. Williams, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Grant Foreman, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Hon. John B. Meserve, Hon. J. B. Milam, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams, and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

The Secretary read a telegram from Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, stating that he was sorry to miss the meeting but he was detained on account of work on the National Defense Project preventing his leaving.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that he be excused and express appreciation that we have a member of the Board busily engaged in a project for defense of his country. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Gen. William S. Key stating that he would be unable to attend the meeting on account of official duties. Upon motion of Judge Harry Campbell, duly seconded, his excuse was approved and the Board felt honored to have one member of the Board at the head of such an important division of the military defense ready to serve anywhere when called or assigned in defense of his native land.

The Board expressed its gratification that Judge Thomas H. Doyle had recovered from his recent illness and extended to him their congratulations.

The illness of Senator George L. Bowman was reported and upon motion of Judge Baxter Taylor, duly seconded, he was excused and hope added for his speedy recovery which was to be communicated to him.

Mrs. J. Garfield Buell reported that she would be unable to attend this meeting as she would be out of the state at the time of the meeting; and Dr. James H. Gardner also was absent from the state on pressing matters, and upon motion of Judge Baxter Taylor they were excused from attending.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that it is the sense of this Board to express appreciation that we have with us Gen. Charles F. Barrett. Motion was seconded and carried.

Hon. W. J. Peterson had advised the Secretary that he would be unable to attend on account of pressing legal business in which he was engaged and upon motion, duly seconded, he was excused.

Dr. Grant Foreman transmitted to the Society a picture of Jesse Bushyhead, gift of Mrs. Callie McSpadden.

Mrs. Frank Korn moved that it be accepted and that Mrs. McSpadden be thanked for this picture. Motion was seconded and carried.

Upon motion of Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, duly seconded, it was ordered that the picture be framed.

The President read a letter from Dr. Grant Foreman presenting a collection of the Adair papers, accumulated by Judge John H. Adair.

Hon. John B. Meserve moved that they be received and Dr. Grant Foreman thanked for the donation. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Grant Foreman asked to be excused from further attendance on account of an accident to Mrs. Foreman, which request was granted.

Hon. John B. Meserve moved that the Board extend its sympathy to Mrs. Foreman and hope for her speedy recovery, and also the wish that we

have many more articles for the *Chronicles* from both Doctor and Mrs. Foreman. Motion was seconded and carried.

A saddle blanket, used by Allyn K. Capron, Troop L Rough Riders, had been sent to Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman by Captain Capron's mother for presentation to the Historical Society.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that the saddle blanket be accepted and that Mrs. Foreman and Mrs. Capron be thanked for their part in the contribution. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President read the following resolution:

"This Board has heretofore directed that a description and lists of all property in the custody of the Historical Society, which had been left with it as custodian, be filed with this Board showing whether it was left under written contract and if so what terms specified; and if not then so state verbal condition, and anyone connected with the Society is prohibited from parting with the possession of it without authority of this Board or by the joint written order of the President and Secretary."

Mrs. Frank Korn moved its adoption, seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor, who put the motion, which carried.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas introduced Mrs. Emmett Thompson of Ponca City, wife of the late chief of the Kaw tribe, who presented to the Society two group pictures of seven hereditary chieftains of the Kaw Indian Tribe which she had obtained from the Catlin art collection in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that these pictures be accepted and Mrs. Thompson thanked for this contribution to the art gallery. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Frank Korn, President of the Women's Culture Club of El Reno, presented a collection of books, donated by the Business and Professional Women's club of El Reno for the research library of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that these books be accepted and that Mrs. Korn and the Business and Professional Women's club be thanked for this collection of books. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams reported that he had recently secured the following books: Official copy of Proceedings of the National Democratic Conventions held in Charleston and Baltimore in 1860, and in St. Louis in 1876 and in Chicago in 1884, and offered them to the Society if they would reimburse him for the actual cost; i. e., $10.35.

Hon. J. B. Milam moved that we accept these books and pay Judge R. L. Williams the price $10.35 out of the private funds of the Society. The motion was seconded and Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, vice president, put the motion which carried.

The President read the following resolution concerning the west side of the museum on the fourth floor of the Historical building set aside for the use and benefit of the D. A. R.

"As to the space on the west side of the museum on the fourth floor set aside for the use and benefit of the D. A. R. and which has been furnished by them with lovely pictures and furnishings, and which has heretofore, on account of the elimination of the custodians for the Grand Army Hall and the Confederate Memorial Hall by veto of the Governor of the appropriation for said custodians and thereby reducing the Society to only one guide; that part of the museum was directed to be closed until further orders. And the D. A. R. through its regular officers, having stated that they had taken insurance on their said property located in said space covering fire, theft and every damage so as to provide for replacement in case of loss, and requested that the doors affording access to said space be left open during the regular hours that said Historical building is kept open for the public.

"Now, therefore, such request is granted and the space will accordingly be kept open during such hours and a certified copy of this resolution be furnished said officers of the D. A. R."

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved its adoption and upon receiving a second, put the motion, which carried.

A verbal invitation was extended to the members of the Board to attend the dedication of this D. A. R. exhibit in the museum to be held November 12, 1941, and the President urged all members, who could, to attend.

It was resolved that the two halls, the Confederate memorial hall and the Union Soldiers' hall be kept closed until we have custodians qualified under the law for same, but that the Daughters of the Confederacy and the Auxiliary of the G. A. R. shall have the use of these respective rooms for their meetings. Judge Hefner moved that this be done and being seconded, the motion carried.

Judge R. L. Williams read a letter from Senator Robert L. Owen in which he stated he would donate to the Society two portraits; to-wit, one of his mother, Narcissa Chisholm Owen, and the other of Sequoyah.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that Senator Owen be thanked for the gift of these two portraits and that the Society pay for crating and shipping them to the Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge R. L. Williams presented a receipt of the deed to the Robert M. Jones tract of land, and asked that it be made a matter of record.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that the receipt of the deed be accepted and that it be made a matter of record. Motion was seconded and Judge Taylor put the motion which carried.

Judge R. L. Williams reported that another twenty acres of land of the Robert M. Jones tract will be put up for sale next May, and Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that the additional acres be purchased by Judge R. L. Williams for the use and benefit of the Oklahoma Historical Society, when advertised for sale in May, 1942. The motion was seconded and Judge Baxter Taylor put the motion which carried.

The President presented to the Society a photostat copy of a letter dated March 15, 1865 and copy of another letter dated September 2, 1864, written by the father of Mr. P. A. Norris, of Ada, to become a part of the Norris collection.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that they be accepted and also that Mr. Norris be thanked for these manuscripts, and upon receiving a second, put the motion which carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, a member of the Chickasaw tribe, expressed her appreciation to Judge Robert L. Williams and Hon. John B. Meserve for their work in connection with having the graves of Gov. Benjamin Crooks Burney and Gov. Benjamin Franklin Overton, former Chickasaw Governors, moved from the old Chickasaw burial grounds in the Red river dam section to the cemetery at Tishomingo.

Judge Robert A. Hefner offered a resolution thanking Judge Robert L. Williams for his splendid work in securing the Robert M. Jones tract of land for the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion and put the question which carried.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for life and annual membership in the Society:

LIFE: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater; James C. Denton, Tulsa; W. S. Noble, Houston, Texas; Mrs. Leslie B. Speakman, Sapulpa.

ANNUAL: J. P. Battenberg, Oklahoma City; Arthur A. Beyer, Guthrie; F. W. Bird, Poteau; Mrs. Edna Henderson Bohnke, Helena; J. Fred Boston, Enid; F. L. Carson, Wichita, Kansas; Dr. Marlin R. Chauncey, Stillwater; Thomas G. Cook, Buffalo; Prof. Walter H. Echols, Stillwater; Robert Grady

Elliott, Oklahoma City; J. E. Falkenberg, Medford; Elmer L. Fraker, Mangum; Mrs. L. L. Franklin, Tulsa; Mabel R. Gillis, Sacramento, California; Frances Ferne Guilliams, Shawnee; Elmer Hale, McAlester; Ben Hatcher, Oklahoma City; Bernie Herstein, Idabel; Homer W. Hicks, Tulsa; R. C. Hicks, Kansas City, Missouri; Samuel W. Hogan, Okemah; Charles P. Howell, Ponca City; Mrs. Edwin Stevens Larrabee, Stillwater; Edmon Low, Stillwater; Tom C. McGee, Bison; Joseph H. Matthews, Oklahoma City; Pixie Mayes, Oklahoma City; Charles E. Mehew, Enid; Henry Methvin, Anadarko; L. R. Northcutt, Ponca City; James H. Patterson, Checotah; Frank Orr Quarles, Fairfax; J. Jones Quarles, Jr., Fairfax; U. S. Russell, Oklahoma City; W. Mark Sexson, McAlester; Alexander Spoehr, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. J. R. Weldon, Enid; Dr. George Posey Wild, Weatherford; and Chester A. Williams, Oklahoma City.

Mrs. Frank Korn moved that they be elected and accepted for membership in the class indicated in the list. Motion was seconded and carried.

The question of sending the Secretary to meetings out of the state was discussed.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that we bear the expense of sending the Secretary to only one such meeting, allowing him to choose the one which he wished to attend. Motion was seconded and carried, and the Secretary chose to attend the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Atlanta, Georgia, November 6, 7 and 8.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that Dr. E. E. Dale be chosen to represent the Society, in event the Secretary was not in attendance, at the meetings of the American Historical Association to be held in Chicago the last of December and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association to be held at Lexington, Kentucky in the spring, without expense to the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Board meeting held July 23, 1941, and upon motion of Dr. E. E. Dale the reading of the minutes was passed subject to be called for consideration upon request.

Hon. J. B. Milam presented to the Society a gavel made of wood from the old treaty tree which stood in front of the Cherokee capitol in Tahlequah and the handle of wood from the old Female Seminary occupied in 1851; and also transmitted to the Society a block of type set up to print the Lord's prayer in the Cherokee alphabet, gift of Waddie Hudson, of Muskogee; and a document presented to the Society by Joe Vann, of Muskogee, which was a mortgage on some slaves given by John Drew and his wife to William P. Denckla to secure the payment of a debt; and upon motion duly seconded these gifts were received and the donors thanked for same.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow presented the proceedings of the Indian Territory Grand Lodge beginning in 1873 up to the time of the consolidation in 1909, which was originally in the possession of the late Joseph S. Murrow who was Secretary for a number of years. Upon motion duly seconded, this was received and Mr. Muldrow thanked for this donation.

The President appointed Mr. H. L. Muldrow to serve on the committee regarding the restoration of the old Chickasaw capitol.

Judge Harry Campbell moved that the meeting stand adjourned subject to the call of the President, which was carried.

Robert L. Williams,
President.

James W. Moffit,
Secretary.

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES:

D. A. Richardson is a member of the legal firm, Richardson, Shartel, Cochran, Chilson and Pruet, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma, is the author of *Oklahoma Imprints* and of biographical articles which have appeared in *The Chronicles.*

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Gilbert L. Robinson is Vice-principal of the William Howard Taft Junior Highschool, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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In this number of *The Chronicles* Dean Trickett, Tulsa, Oklahoma, continues his series of articles on the Civil War in the Indian Territory.

H. L. Schall is Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Ponca City, Oklahoma.

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